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INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
A-I. C. C. Resolution, Its Importance and Implications, The		Indian Periodicals	71, 155, 239, 323, 407, 487
K. K. Bhattacharya	203	Indian Railways a Century Ago	126
Asia : Past and Present		A. C. De	220
B. M. Barua	386	Indian Womanhood (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Bombay Once Upon a Time (<i>illustr.</i>)		India's International Opium Policy	193, 283, 359, 452
B. P. Correa	299	H. C. Mookerjee	
Book Reviews	66, 150, 284, 319, 402, 482	India's Sterling Balances	141
Breeding Cattle for High Milk Production		Santosh Kumar Brahma	
Amiya Bhushon Kar	50	Industrial Protection in the Post-War Period	105
Britain and Socialism		A. S. Gill	
S. M. Taqi Hashmi	57	Industrial Strikes	21
Britain Plans Her Post-War Homes (<i>illustr.</i>)		Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay	
Gilbert McAllister	118	Influence of Indian Medicine on the Arabs, The	399
British Museum, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		Abdul Aleem	
Egon Larsen	458	International Exhibition of Modern Art in Paris (<i>illustr.</i>)	209
Cabinet Mission and After		Ramendra Nath Chakravorty	
Akshoy Kumar Ghosal	109 197, 363	International Houses in the United States, Aid Foreign Students (<i>illustr.</i>)	217
Chandrasekhara Siva : A New Find in Karnasuvarna (<i>illustr.</i>)		USIS	
Braja Nath Ghatak	208	(Rev. Dr.) John Haynes, Holmes (<i>illustr.</i>)	370
Climate of Calcutta and Human Energy (<i>illustr.</i>)		Taraknath Das	
P. C. Chakravarty	468	London Letter	277
Combined Hospital and Medical Center Helps Safeguard New York's Health (<i>illustr.</i>)		Mayor D. Graham Pole	
USIS	39	Longest and Earliest Brahmi Inscription in Chattisgarh	65
Comment and Criticism	218	L. P. Pandeya	
Compensation of the Secretary of State's Services	473	Madura—The Temple City (<i>illustr.</i>)	381
A. K. Ghosal		A. V. Krishnamurthy	458
Current Political Trends in Europe		Marvels of the Colorado River Control (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay	273	Kamalesh Ray	306
Edison Centennial (<i>illustr.</i>)	205	Memories of Austrian Music	
English Foreign Policy Since the War		Arun Ganguli	60
G. L. Schanzlin	133	Modern Iranian Muse	
Famine Epidemics and Measures of Health Rehabilitation		Rattan Lal Khanna	149
Karunamoy Mukherjee	145	Modern Literature of Turkey	
Famine of 1943 and the Nature of Land Transfer in a Village in Bengal, The		Subash Rai Choudhuri	
Karunamoy Mukherjee	309	Modern Paintings in Delhi Asian Conference (<i>illustr.</i>)	379
First Village Art Institution in India (<i>illustr.</i>)		O. C. Ganguly	291
"Chitra Gupta"	462	My Christian Church : Adapt or Quit	
Foreign Periodicals	79, 165, 247, 333, 415, 493	Anthony Elenjmittam	52
Free Hindustan, Defence and Progress		Mystery of Cosmic Rays, The	
Jadunath Sarkar	414	Swami Jagadiswarananda	
Fundamentals of Chinese Nationalism (<i>illustr.</i>)		National Academy of Fine Arts and Culture (<i>illustr.</i>)	297
V. G. Nair	47	O. C. Ganguly	
Further Notes on Partition of Bengal		(A) Negro University in the Southern United States of America (<i>illustr.</i>)	303
An F.R.S.S. & F.R. Econ. S.	221	USIS	
Classification of Coal Mines		Nehru Birthday Dinner in New York	59
N. V. Eswar	312	Hilda Wierum Boulter	
Gita and Progress—Spiritual and Social		New York Public Library (<i>illustr.</i>)	294
K. Kalliana Swami	397	USIS	
Great Challenge, The		(A) Note on Fundamental Rights and Constitutional Safeguards	219
Taraknath Das	23	D. N. Banerjee	
Hawai May Become 49th U. S. State (<i>illustr.</i>)		Notes	1, 85, 169, 253, 337, 421
USIS	115	Notes on Partition of Bengal	130
Help the Blind	396	An F.R.S.S. & F.R. Econ. S. (Lond.)	
H. G. Wells on Atomic Bombs and Indians		On Planning of Education and the Educational Needs of U. P.	366
M. F. Soonawala	144	S. Datta	
H. M. G's Statement on February 20 and Its Implications		(An) Open Letter to the Indian Public on Educational Policies of the Government of India	279
K. K. Bhattacharya	890	Taraknath Das	
Impressions of Meerut Congress Session	29	Place of Geography in the Economic Development of the Country	383
R. C. Bhatia		Nisith Ranjan Kar	
In Art and Life (<i>illustr.</i>)			
Nagesh Yawalkar	45		
Indian Art in London Paris (<i>illustr.</i>)			
Austin Coates	374		

NOTES

	Page		Page
Abolition of the I.C.S. and I.P.S.	94	Interim Government's First Budget	265
Acharya Kripalani's Reply to F. M. Smuts	15	Is it Inflation ?	184
A-I. C. C. Resolution, The	85	Jagjiban Ram on Harijan Disabilities	350
A-I. W. C. Statement on the British		(Mr.) Jinnah's Reception in Egypt	10
Cabinet Declaration	2	Joint Electorates or Separation	87
(Chowdhury) Akbar Khan on League Policy	93	Justiciable Fundamental Rights, The	345
All-India States People's Conference	96	National Shipping Policy for India	353
Ambedkar's Electorate Plan	88	Kosi Project, The	355
Amenities for Harijans, U. P.	20	League Agitation in the Punjab	176
American Desire for a Stable India	269	League Policies Through Nationalist Eyes	92
Anti-Corruption Bill	89	Lords Debate, The	171
Asian Economy	356	Mahatma Gandhi's Advice to Assam	6
Asian Relations Conference	268	Minority Oppression in Sind	260
Assam	259	Mountbatten Proposals, The	338
Background to London Talks	13	Mountbatten to Succeed Wavell	173
Bengal Congress on Partition of Bengal	258	(Sir) Muhammad Zafarullah Khah on	
Bihar Assembly Debate on Disturbances	174	Communal Issues	8
Bill for Consolidation of Holdings in		Muslimisation of the Delhi Telephone System	342
Bombay, The	182	(A) New Political Statute for Goa	101
Britain Sets a Date	160	New West Bengal Province	256
British Cabinet and the Constituent		1947	1
Assembly, The	1	N.-W. F. P., The	340
British Intriguing Group in India	342	Official Action in Bihar and Nounkhal	339
Burma Debate, The	18	Ourselves	357
Calcutta Corporation Supports Bengal Partition	343	Pandit Nehru on Attlee Statement	171
Charkha to Remedy Yarn Shortage	19	Pandit Pant on Two-Nation Theory	5
Church and State in the U.S.S.R.	103	Partition or Succession ?	337
Churchill on Labour Government's India Policy	264	Patent System in India	271
Congress Constitution	178	Primary Education in Bengal	175
Conservative Opposition, The	263	Princes Enter Constituent Assembly	174
Control of Capital Movements	185	Provincial Budgets	266
Damodar Project Makes Headway	375	Punjab	254
Damodar Valley Project	99	Punjab Affairs in the House of Commons	255
Datia Unrest	11	Question of Sterling Balances, The	185
Division of the Punjab	343	Railway Budget, The	179
Egypt and Sudan	101	Rao Committee Report	270
Elections in Sind	10	Remedy, The	87
Eviction Policy of Assam Government	7	Richest Thorium and Uranium Deposits in	
(Mr.) Fazlul Huq's Latest	178	India	356
(A) Five-Year Geological Plan	351	Rights and Obligations of Labour	351
Food Position in India	352	Rights of Divorce to Hindu Women	181
Full Text of Attlee Statement	170	R. I. N. Mutiny Report	98
Fundamental Rights in a Free India	344	Riots and Remedies	253
Future of Berar	351	Third Calcutta Disturbances	256
Future of Congress in Bengal, The	86	Sardar Patel's Anti-Corruption Bill	179
Gandhiji and Nehru on Hyderabad Reforms	12	Select Committee Report on Banking Bill	188
Gandhi-Jinnah Appeal	339	Shape of Renascent Asia, The	260
Gaon Hukumat Bill in U. P., The	182	Sind University Bill	261
Hindu Mahasabha Session at Gorakhpur	17	Smuts on His Defeat at U.N.O.	14
House of Commons Debate, The	262	South Africa to Ignore United Nations'	
I.C.S. and I.P., The	186	Decision ?	92
Immigration Bill in East Africa	15	Soviet Comment on Kenya Affairs	16
India : Bulwark Against Materialism	20	Soviet Comment on Pakistan	9
Indian Christians in New India	349	Speakers' Conference, The	96
Indian National Trade Union Congress	350	Special Committee Recommendations on	
Indian Political Science Conference, The	4	Grouping of States	180
Indian Students in England	95	Splitting South India into Linguistic Groups	102
Indian Unity	103	States Committee Report	348
Indians in Western Transvaal	352	Sub-Province for Punjab	88
India's Defeat in Security Council Election	15	Support for Bengal Partition	259
India's Mineral Policy	100	Union Powers Committee Report	346
India's Population Problem	271	U. N. Trade Policy in India	268
Indo-China's Struggle Against French		When Jinnah Ruled out Population Exchange	94
Imperialism	18	White Paper on Burma	90
		Withdrawal of the Punjab Agitation	177
		World's Moral Crisis	187

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Aleem, M. Abdul		Ganguly, O. C.	
The Influence of Indian Medicine on the		Modern Paintings in Delhi Asian	
Arabs	399	Conference (<i>illustr.</i>)	379
(An) Artist		National Academy of Fine Arts and	
South-Indian Society of Painters' Annual		Culture (<i>illustr.</i>)	297
Exhibition (<i>illustr.</i>)	113	Ganguli, Arun	
Banerjee, D. N.		Memories of Austrian Music	306
A Note on Fundamental Rights and Constitu-		Ghatak, Braja Nath	
tional Safeguards	219	Chandrasekhara Siva : A New Find from	
Banerji, Nripendra Chandra		Karnasuvarna (<i>illustr.</i>)	208
Swadeshi Days	32	Ghosal, Akshov Kumar	
Barua, B. M.		Cabinet Mission and After	109, 197, 363
Asia : Past and Present	386	Compensation for the Secretary of State's	
Bhatia, R. C.		Services	473
Impressions of Meerut Congress Session	29	Gill, A. S.	
Bhattacharya, K. K.		Industrial Protection in the Post-War Period	105
The A.I.C.C. Resolution, Its Importance		Graham Pole, Major D.	
and Implications	203	London Letter	277
H. M. G.'s Statement on February 20 and		James, L.	
Its Implications	290	The Political Future in India	28
Boulter, Hilda Wierum		Jagadiswarananda, Swami	
Nehru Birthday Dinner in New York	59	The Mystery of Cosmic Rays	52
Brahma, Santosh Kumar		Joshi, Pradyumna C.	
India's Sterling Balances	141	The Religious Note in Modern Poets	479
Chakrabarti, Bisweswar		Joshi, Ramesh Chandra	
A Pre-Gupta Sculpture from Talanda (<i>illustr.</i>)	36	Village Life in Kumaon Hills (<i>illustr.</i>)	120
Chakravarty, P. C.		Kajana Swami, K.	
Climate of Calcutta and Human Energy	468	Gita and Progress—Spiritual and Social	397
(<i>illustr.</i>)		Kar, Amiya Bhushon	
Chakravorty, Ramendra Nath		Breeding Cattle for High Milk Production	50
The International Exhibition of Modern Art		Kar, Nisith Ranjan	
in Paris (<i>illustr.</i>)	209	Place of Geography in the Economic Develop-	
Chattopadhyay, Kamaladevi		ment of the Country	383
Current Political Trends in Europe	273	Khanna, Rattan Lal	
Industrial Strikes	21	Modern Iranian Music	60
Racial Discrimination in South Africa	441	Krishnamurthy, A. V.	
Struggle of Viet Nam Against French		Madura—The Temple City (<i>illustr.</i>)	381
Imperialism	189	Larsen, Egon	
Chaudhuri, J. B.		The British Museum (<i>illustr.</i>)	458
Some Sanskrit Lyrical Poems of Bengal	140	Mariwalla, C. L.	
Chaudhuri, Rama		Sind and the Indian Mutiny of 1857	227
Sastrie Injunctions Regarding Foreible		McAllister, Gilbert	
Conversion and Abduction	392	Britain Plans Her Post-War Homes (<i>illustr.</i>)	118
"Chitra Gupta"		Mookerjee, H. C.	
First Village Art Institution (<i>illustr.</i>)	462	India's International Opium Policy 192, 283, 359, 452	
Clerk, S. I.		Mukerjee, Karunamoy	
Two Art-Crafts of Karachi (<i>illustr.</i>)	37	Famine Epidemics and Measures of Health	
Coates, Austin		Rehabilitation	145
Indian Art in London and Paris (<i>illustr.</i>)	372	The Famine of 1943 and the Nature of Land	
Correa, B. P.		Transfer in a Village in Bengal	309
Bombay Once Upon a Time (<i>illustr.</i>)	299	Nair, V. G.	
Das, Sarbeshwar		Fundamentals of Chinese Nationalism (<i>illustr.</i>)	47
Tolstoy and His Theory of Art	55	Navani, U. S.	
Das, Taraknath		The Railway Budget	372
Great Challenge. The	23	Pandeya, L. P.	
Holmes, Rev. Dr. John Haynes (<i>illustr.</i>)	370	The Longest and Earliest Brahmi Inscription	
(An) Open Letter to the Indian Public on		in Chhattisgarh	65
Educational Policies of the Government of		Paul,arendra Chandra	
India	279	Sufism	134
Significance of the Truman Doctrine and		Prakas Rao, V. L. S. and Chakravarty, P. C.	
India (<i>illustr.</i>)	357	Port-Planning in India (<i>illustr.</i>)	123
(A) Struggle for Control of Germany	447	Radhakrishnan, Sir Sarvapalli	
Datta, S.		Tasks Before UNESCO	111
On Planning of Education and the Educational		Rahman, Atiar	
Needs of U. P.	366	The Role of the Nationalist Muslims	308
De, A. C.		Rai Choudhuri, Subash	
Indian Railways A Century Ago	126	Modern Literature of Turkey	149
Elenjimitam, Anthony		Ray, Benoy Gopal	
My Christian Church : Adapt or Quit	291	Spinoza Lives Again	478
Eswar, N. V.		Ray, Brajasundar	
Gassification of Coal Mines	312	Synthesis	305
(An) F.R.S.S. & F. R. Econ. S. (Lond.)		Two Systems of Thought	107
Notes on Partition of Bengal	130		

	Page		Page
Ray, Kamallesh		Britain and Socialism	57
Marvels of the Colorado River Control		Thakur, K. P.	
(<i>illust.</i>)	459	Stock Exchange Stinks	314
Sankalia, H. D. and Dikshit, M. G.		USIS	
A Unique VI Century Inscribed Sati Stele		Combined Hospital and Medical Center Safe-	
(<i>illust.</i>)	213	guards New York's Health (<i>illust.</i>)	39
Sarkar, Hemanta K.		Edison Centennial (<i>illust.</i>)	205
A Plea for Separation of West Bengal	146	Hawaii May Become 49th U. S. State (<i>illust.</i>)	115
Sarkar, Jadunath		International Houses in the U.S.A. (<i>illust.</i>)	217
Free Hindustan, Defence and Progress	444	(A) Negro University in the Southern	
Schanzlin, G. L.		U.S.A. (<i>illust.</i>)	466
English Foreign Policy Since the War	133	New York Public Library (<i>illust.</i>)	294
Sen, Samar Ranjan		Southern California (<i>illust.</i>)	43
A Tale of Two Countries (<i>illust.</i>)	375	U. S. Antarctic Expedition (<i>illust.</i>)	377
Singh, Anup		U. S. Boy and Girl Scouts (<i>illust.</i>)	466
Reception for India's First Ambassador		Verma, Rajendra	
(<i>illust.</i>)	456	Poetry Between the Wars	142
Soonawala, M. F.		Vohra, D. B.	
H. G. Wells on Atomic Bombs and Indians	144	The Romance of Sindh's Oldest Town,	
Speight, E. E.		Schwan (<i>illust.</i>)	121
Where the Gods Dwell (<i>poem</i>)	42	White, Leo	
Srivastava, Gyan P.		Wings over the World (<i>illust.</i>)	215
Secret Mission to Algiers	137	Yawalkar, Nagesh	
Thamaskar, B. G.		In Art and Life (<i>illust.</i>)	45
Some Misconceptions about the Succession of		Zucker, Paul	
Monarchs in the Nizamshahi Dynasty	62	The Role of Architecture in Future	
Taqi Hashmi, S. M.		Civilization	288

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Arati Worship (<i>in colours</i>)		(A) Negro University in the Southern U.S.A.	
Nisith Kumar Majumdar	1	(6 illustrations)	303-4
Bombay Once Upon a Time		Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal	85
(6 illustrations)	299-302	New York's Public Library	
Chandrasekhara Siva	208	(8 illustrations)	295-96
Combined Hospital and Medical Center in		Pan-American Union Building in Washington	129
New York		Polo Players	
(8 illustrations)	40-42	Karimi (Iran)	337
Constituent Assembly at Delhi	52	Port-Planning in India (2 illustrations)	124-25
Dalai Lama, His Holiness, The		Post-War Homes in Britain	
Kamal Krishna	374	(5 illustrations)	118-19
Disappointment		Premiers' Conference at New Delhi, The	160
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	253	Ramkiri (<i>in colours</i>)	
Edison Centennial		Ramgopal Vijayavargiya	85
(8 illustrations)	205-7	Sakuntala Leaves for Her Lord's Palace	
Four Eminent British Scientists	226	(<i>in colours</i>)	
Gopini		Anil Paul	253
Jamini Roy	372	Sehwan in Sind (2 illustrations)	122
Hawaii (8 illustrations)	115-17	(A) 6th Century Sati Stele from Sangsi,	
Head of Vishnu in buff-coloured sandstone	37	Kolhapur	212
Holmes, Rev. Dr. John Haynes	371	Southern California	43-44
In Art and Life (6 illustrations)	45-46	South-Indian Society of Painters' Annual	
Indian Delegation to the UNESCO General		Exhibition (3 illustrations)	113-114
Conference in Paris	52	Sun Yat-sen and Generalissimo Chiang	47
Inter-American Conference in Mexico		(Miss) Suptimayee Sinha	220
City in 1945	129	Switzerland (2 photographs)	373
International Exhibition of Modern Art in		(A) Tale of Two Countries—Germany and	
Paris, The (8 illustrations)	209-12	Switzerland	
International House in New York		(6 photographs)	377
(2 illustrations)	169	(2 photographs)	373
Lovers Meet, The (<i>in colours</i>)		Toilers	
(Kangra School)	169	Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	253
Madura—The Temple City		Two Art-Crafts of Karachi	
(4 illustrations)	381-82	(7 illustrations)	37-39
Mahatma Gandhi at Noakhali	1. 128	Under the Kadamba Tree (<i>in colours</i>)	
Map of Europe	416	Baidyanath Das	337
Mara Daughters		U. S. Antarctic Expedition	
S. P. Sakalasutiya (Ceylon)	337	(7 illustrations)	377-78
Medill School of Journalism, Illinois	53	Village Decca	
Modern Paintings in Delhi Asian Conference		Ramendranath Chakravorty	372
Landscape with Volcano	380	Village Life in Kumaon Hills	
Ministrel, The	379	(3 illustrations)	120-21
National Academy of Fine Arts and Culture		Wings Over the World	
(4 illustrations)	297-98	(5 illustrations)	215-16



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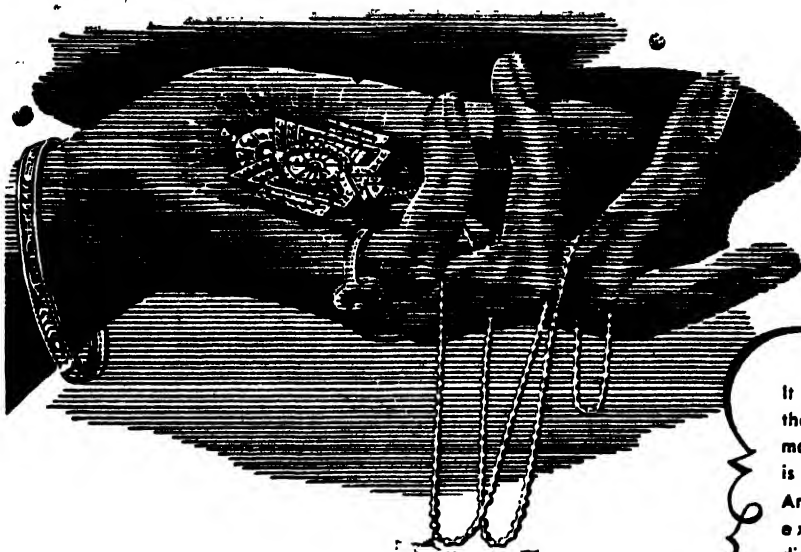
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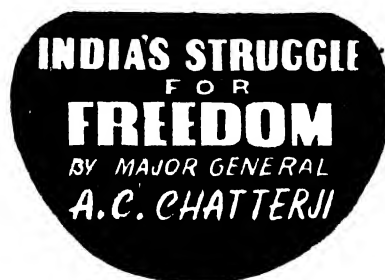
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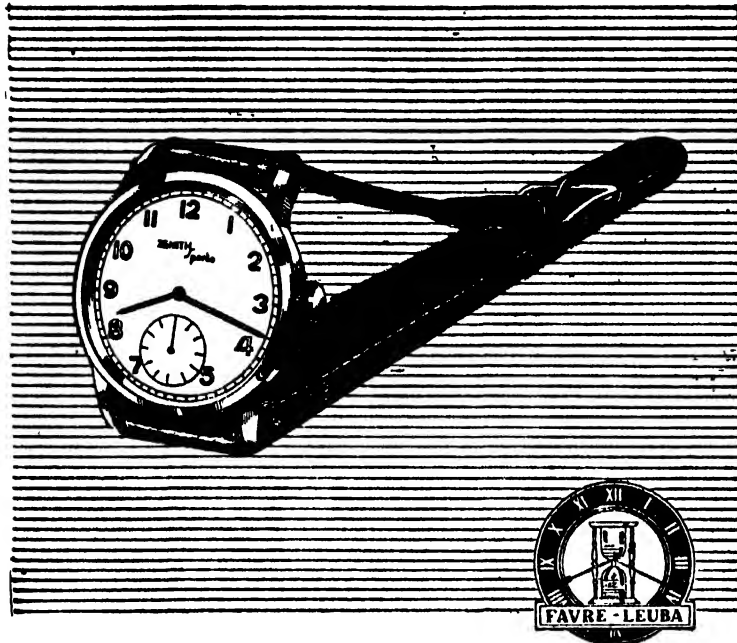
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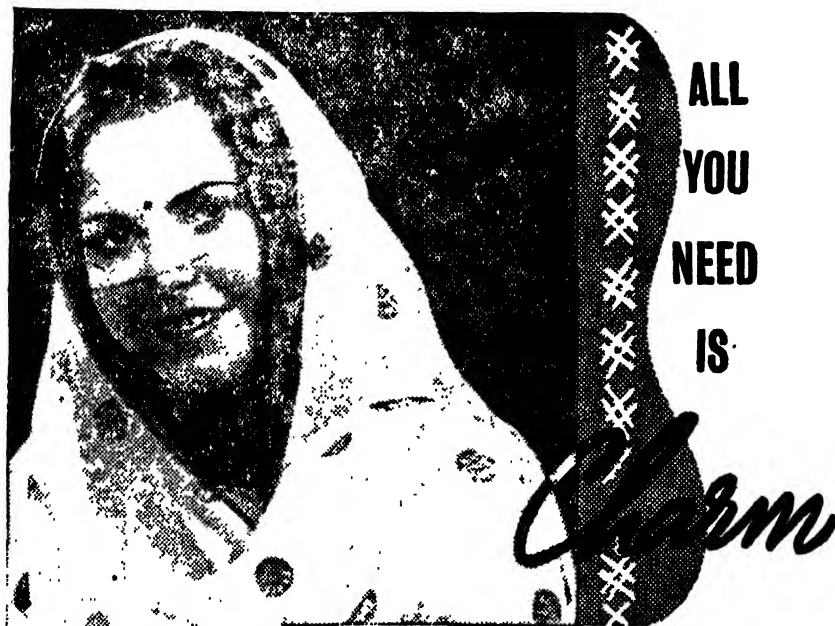
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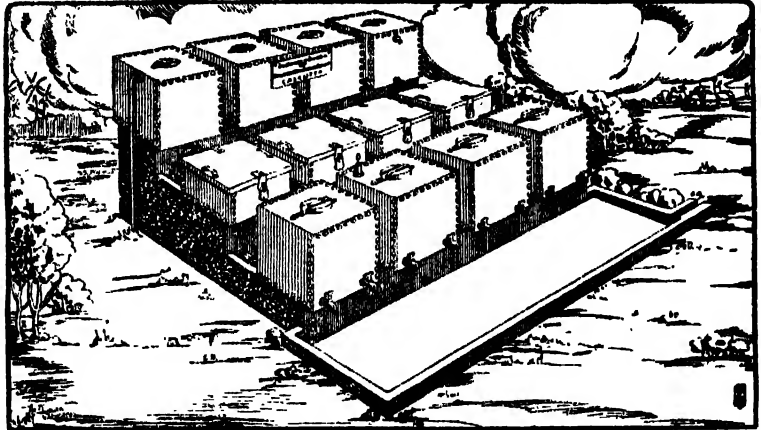
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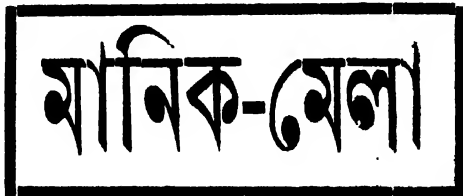
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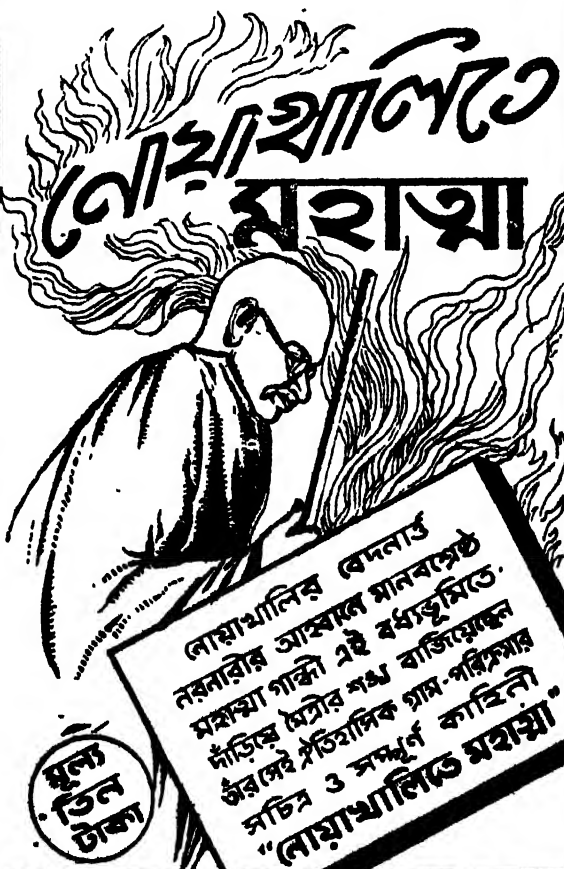
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CONTENTS FOR AUGUST 1947.

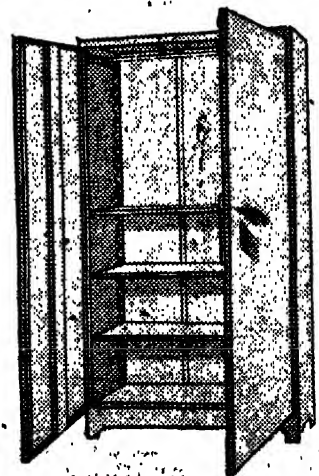
	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—A Devotee Of Lord Buddha (in colours)—Nihar Ranjan Sen Gupta	
NOTES—	85-104
The Tennessee Valley Authority—A Social Experiment—Kamladevi Chattopadhyay	105
America Takes A Stand Against Communist Menace—Prof. Taraknath Das, Ph.D.	108
India's International Opium Policy—H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.	109
General Eisenhower To Become President Of Columbia University, New York City— Prof. Taraknath Das, Ph.D.	112
The Economic Problem Of Burdwan Division— Prof. Gobinda Chandra Mandal, M.A.	113
The New Flag Of India—Nanimadhab Chaudhuri, M.A.	117
Bengal's Food Deficiency And Our Immediate Task—Kali Charan Ghosh	118

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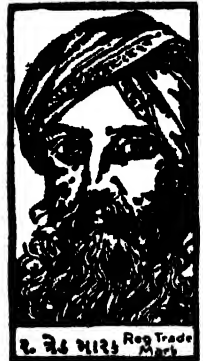
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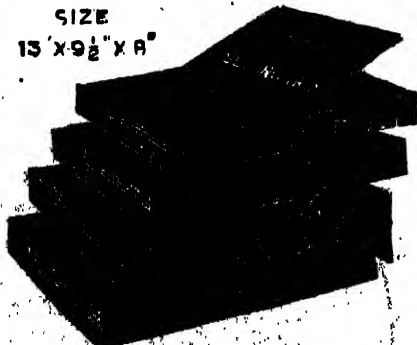
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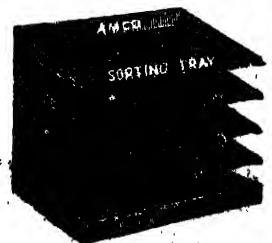


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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	Page
Shasta Dam, World's Second Largest Concrete Dam, Gives New Life to California (illustr.)—USOWI ...	121
Fresco Paintings Of The Lepakshi Temple (illustr.)—Sudhansu Kumar Ray ...	124
William Morris (illustr.)—Noel Carrington ...	126
Indian Womanhood ...	127
The Versatile Helicopter (illustr.)—USIS ...	128
Planning And The City Of Calcutta (illustr.)—Prof. P. C. Chakravarti and Prof. V. L. S. Prakash Rao ...	129
India's Most Historic River—D. B. Vohra ...	134
My Experiences Of Field Work—Prof. Karunamoy Mukerjee, M.A. ...	136
The Plight Of Minorities In Pakistan—H. I. Mansukhani ...	143
Tagore's Chitra—Maya Gupta ...	144
Role Of A Critic—Prof. Somnath Dhar, M.A., LL.B. ...	147



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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
Puzzles Of History—Prof. Sudhansubimal Mookerji, M.A.	149
Combination Movement In Indian Industry—Prof. G. L. Srivastava, M.A., B.Com.	151
BOOK REVIEWS:	153—156
K. R. Qamranga, U. N. Ghoshal, Sunil Kumar Bose, Swami Jagadishwarananda, A. B. Dutta, B. Misra, Nalini Kumar Bhadra, K. M. J.	
INDIAN PERIODICALS:	159—63
Tagore: The Great Sentinel	159
August 15	159
India and Pakistan	159
Switzerland's Contribution to European Civilisation	160
India and The Right of Self-Determination	162
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:	164 68
Soviet Russian Colonial System in East Europe	164
The Soviet People Honour the Memory of Maxim Gorky	165
Brazil	165

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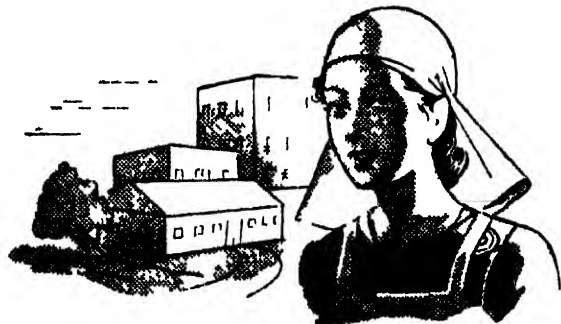
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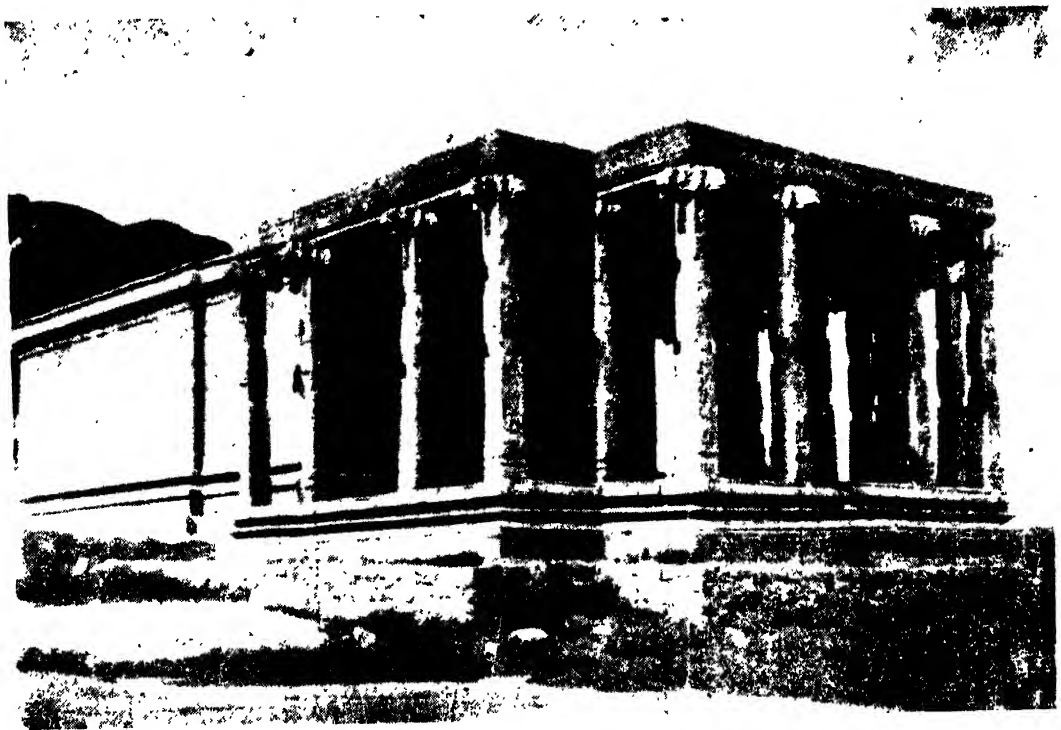
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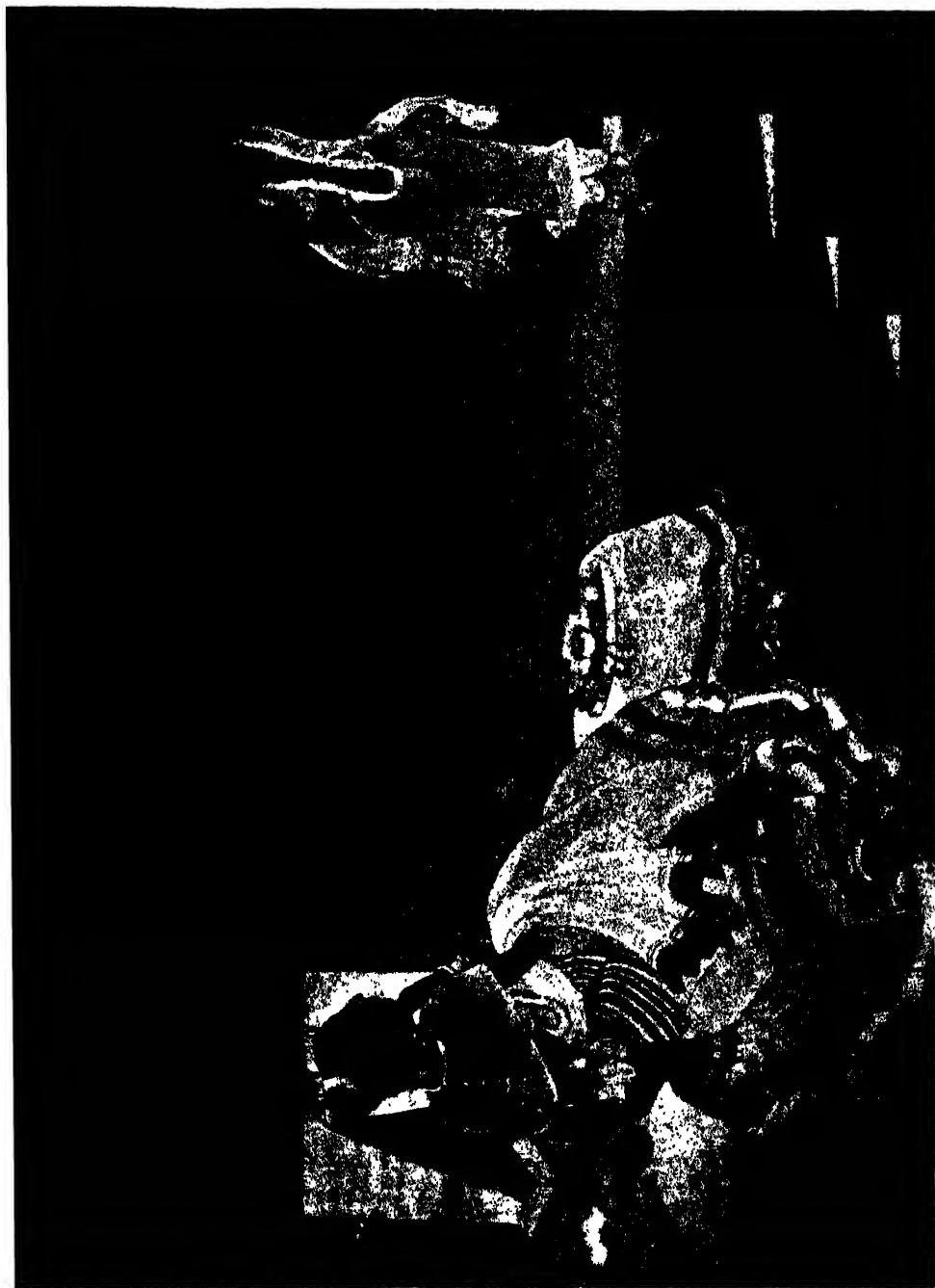
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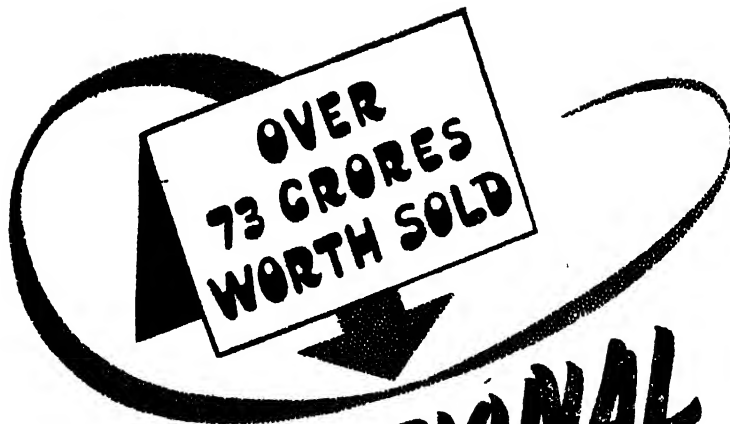
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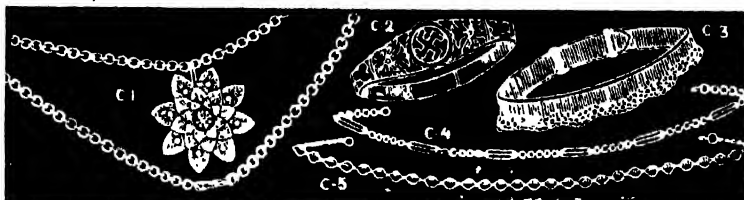
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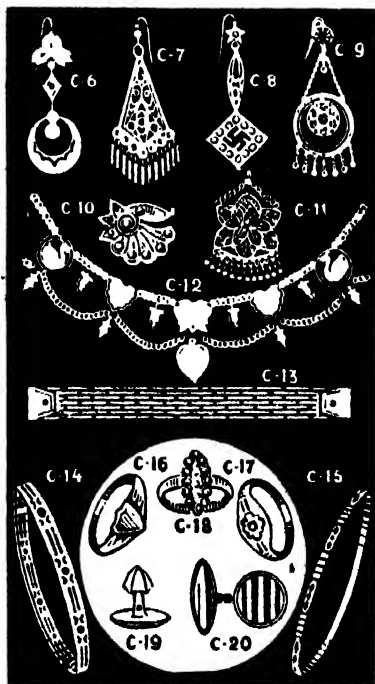
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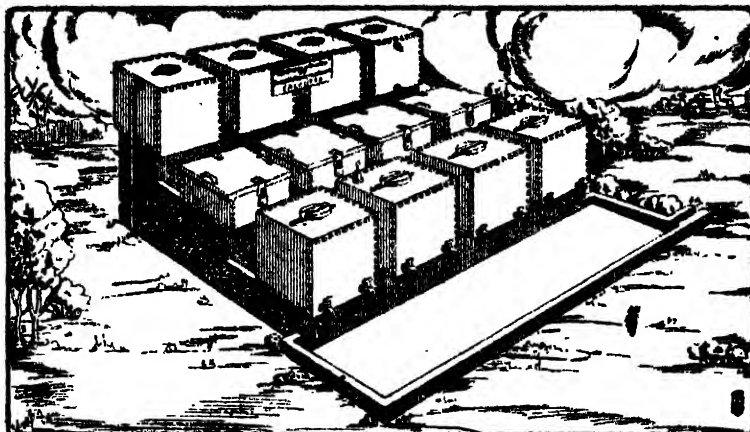
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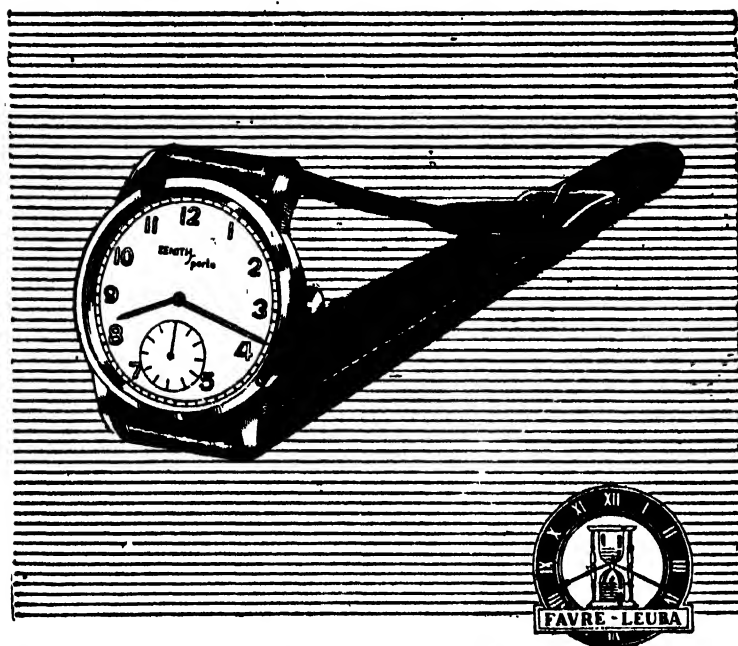


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VOL. LXXXII, No. 1.

WHOLE No. 487

CONTENTS FOR JULY 1947.

	PAGE
FRONTISPICE—Where The Sky Meets The Earth' (in colours)—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	
NOTES—	1-20
The Case For Rajshahi-Maldah and Bengal Partition—Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. C.I.E., Hon. D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B., Hon. M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Mm. Bidhusekhar Sastri, Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S. & others	20A
The Dawn Of A New Era—"Observer" ...	21
India's International Opium Policy—H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. ...	25
The Dangers Ahead—D. M. Sen, B.A. (Cantab.), B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond. ...	28
The Sovereignty Over Berar And The Question Of The Retrocession Of Berar To The Nizam—R. K. Thombre, B.A., LL.B. ...	31
Indian History And Discovery Of New Data—Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ...	35
The Great Freeze-Up Of The Century (illustr.)—Dr. S. M. Das, D.Sc., F.Z.S. ...	37
Art-Crafts Of The Punjab (illustr.)—"Musavir" ...	44

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
Pandit Sukhlal Sanghavi (illustr.)—Mahamahopadhyaya Bidhusekhara Sastri ...	45
A Literary Partnership (illustr.)—Katharine Moore ...	47
Chakravarthy-Koothu (illustr.)—Richard Chinnathambi	49
U. S. Farmers Become Air-Minded (illustr.)—USIS. ...	50
James Audubon—Naturalist And Artist (illustr.)—Malcolm Vaughan ...	53
Belwa Where Two Copper-Plate Inscriptions Have Been Excavated (illustr.)—Monoranjan Gupta, B.Sc. ...	54
Compensation For The Secretary Of State's Services (II)—Dr. A. K. Ghosal, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.) ...	55
Asoka's Example And Brahman Animosity—Prof. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.) ...	59
The Needs Of Under-Developed Areas—G. L. Mehta ...	63
Our Food Problem—Prof. P. C. Rakshit, M.Sc., Ph.D. ...	65

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

March Of The Desert—L. H. Ajuani	... 67
BOOK REVIEWS:	69—71
Nirmal Kumar Bose, A. B. Dutta, Chintan- haran Chakravarti, Natini K. Bhadra, K. M. J.	
INDIAN PERIODICALS:	73—79
Clarity	... 73
Party System in Britain	... 74
The Imitation of Christ	... 75
On Literature	... 77
Biological Concepts	... 78
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:	81—84
Imperialism and the Indian Army	... 81
Indians in Trinidad and British Guiana	... 83

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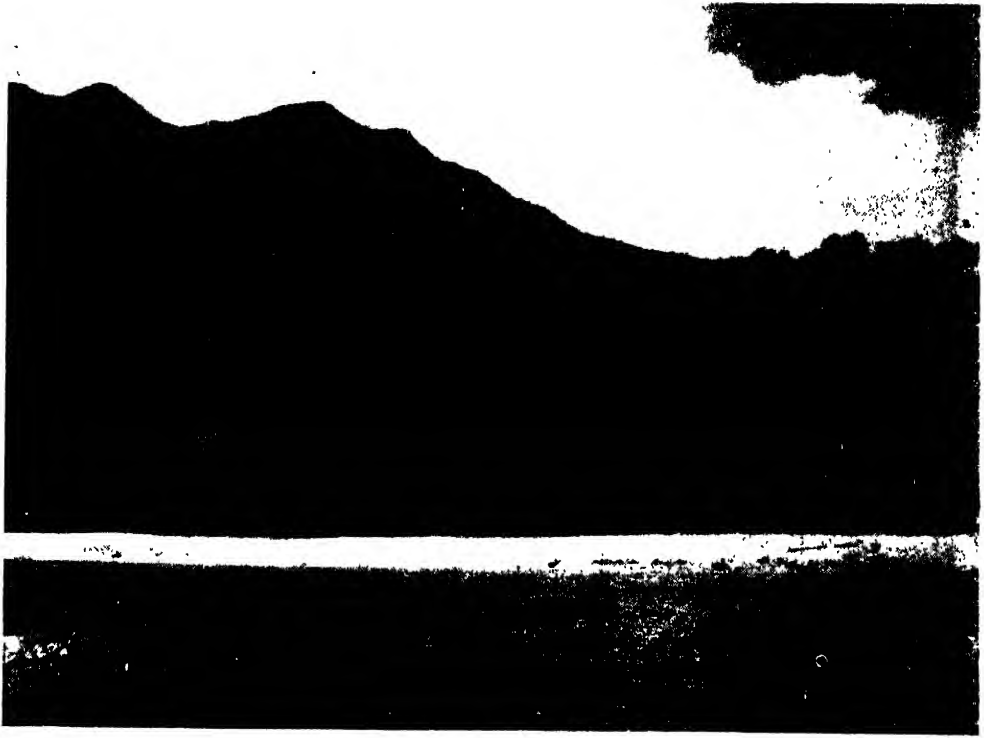
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1947

VOL. LXXXII, No. 1

WHOLE No. 487

NOTES

Independence

We are on the eve of independence. The real interregnum starts within a few weeks. Let us hope that the troubled night, that has lasted nearly a year of human computation, is now coming to an end and the light of dawn will soon dispel the nightmare horrors that disturbed its peace.

The India Independence Bill has put a period to all speculations. It is clear, unambiguous and comprehensive in its character. There is no question now about the "Quit India" procedure or about the reservations and residuary implications with which we might have been faced. It must be evident even to the most obtuse of political pessimists that the British Labour Cabinet is transparently sincere in its attempt to implement its promises and obligations. It is true that many things have yet to be done before matters are completely straightened out as between India and Britain, such as treaties and the Sterling Balance. But the question of Indian Independence has been answered by Britain and it must be said that under the circumstances Britain has done her best. So at last the goal is in sight.

But all the same it would not do to forget that we shall soon be facing grim realities of the Post-war World. At home and abroad herculean tasks await our leaders. At home there is acute shortage—even scarcity—of all the essentials of life such as food, clothing, and medicine, and education is almost at a standstill. Labour is in the hands of reactionary opportunists and the professional agitators, and as a result all the public services have degenerated to an extremely low level. Black-marketeers and profiteers are still sucking out the life-blood of the common man, and the whole of the country's trade, industry and commerce is within their stranglehold.

Abroad there is an uneasy truce, with almost the whole of Europe lying prone under the heels of the conqueror. The Balance of Power has been upset with a vengeance, and there does not seem to be any chance of equilibrium being established within any appreciably short period of time. World shortages of food and consumer goods are complicating the position still

further the two fortunate countries, who are in positions of vantage, the U. S. A., and the U. S. S. R., both being inclined to use their surplus stocks as political weapons. Countries and nationals are being used as pawns in this game for political ascendancy and the more helpless the nation, the more abject becomes its dependence on the "protecting" power.

In all these spheres our troubles and headaches have been further aggravated by the partial Balkanisation to which we have had to submit. So, in all conscience, our joy must need qualification at this juncture. Flag-waving and illuminations have been ordered, and we would be last to oppose it, for freedom is truly above all price and, cost what it may, it must be acclaimed and attained. But what we would impress, with all the weight that we might command, is that unless that cost be reckoned and provided for at this stage, it might become higher still. As matters stand, the Union of India will need prolonged and highly skilled administration before it recovers from the effects of the last war and its terrible aftermath, for a century and a half of ruthless and shameless exploitation and domination has left it weak and demoralised to a degree.

So, the Delhi political picnic must come to an end with August 15th. We need every ounce of our skill and strength to pull the Union out of the mire into which it has been plunged through our weakness and inexperience. Far greater dangers lie ahead of us, than what we experienced in the immediate past, and unless the Congress takes heed in time it would land the country into another defeat as it did in 1942. The world is still to the strong, and there should be no place for the complacent, smug and the unwary in the councils of the nationals of the Union, if it is to survive with glory the coming trials.

At home, it must be admitted that as yet there has been no serious attempt at combating profiteering and black-marketing. Unless the "Controls" are uniformly and rigorously enforced and exemplary punishment be meted out to delinquents there will be no relief. Consumer's committees with authority to initiate action must be set up in every province and

all complaints about mal-practice, corruption and black-marketing must be searchingly investigated by persons of spotless integrity.

Henceforward the Best man and the Right man in the right place must be our motto. There is no sin in the modern world like the sin of inefficiency and all virtue and "sacrifice" that the world contains cannot atone for it. Let us realise that fact and see that our cabinets and legislatures are purged of all figureheads, whatever be their record otherwise, and fill them with the best that the nation can give. All shibboleths, party slogans and similar opuses must be discarded forthwith and fresh elections must be arranged on modern lines as soon as possible. The Legislatures and the Assemblies of the Union are unsatisfactory, beyond all doubt, as they stand.

It is true that changes on a large and comprehensive scale cannot be brought into being in short order, but we must take into account the speed with which the world is changing and orientate ourselves fittingly. Long deliberations may be inevitable but the time is not very far off when quick decisions and even quicker action will be called for, unless we want to become a helpless beggar at the U. N. O.

The Defence and Foreign Relations departments would need men with drive, initiative and cool judgement. It must not be forgotten that a friendly world can change suddenly into a menacing and ominous ring of would-be aggressors. First-class men with tactful and patient dispositions and with a record of devoted and fruitful service are needed for the embassies and consular offices. New men must be tried out in less responsible posts. We say this because we are uneasy about some of the selections for foreign service which, from the records of service of the men selected, are dubious to say the least. Defence today has become a highly technical and specialized affair, and we are not only short of men but also short of plans for adequate organisation of the department. Our frontiers have changed, thanks to the Pakistan arrangement and as a result we have to go into details of very complicated changes before a satisfactory solution can be arrived at. Piloting committees are needed at every step and the personnel of these committees will have to be selected with meticulous care. The Assemblies have been filled with men chosen from a wrong angle altogether, and we have doubts whether the requisite committee can be filled by men chosen from that body.

Indeed, the Congress has proceeded about the elections and selections in the fashion of a school prize-giving committee up till now. Party factions and personal likes and dislikes have had full play, and we have failed to find even the vestige of a proper balanced judgement or modern state-craft either in a majority of the nominations for the legislatures or in many of the selections for posts, high and low. Bengal has been the worst sufferer in this respect. Mahatma Gandhi had said that "you may send any one to the Legislatures whatever be his capacity" and the Congress "Leaders"—quintessence of that word—have acted accordingly. As a result, the dumb millions of this unfortunate province are now being represented in the Assembly by their still more dumb nominees, the term "dumb" being fully true in the latter case in its American meaning. In the other Congress provinces the case may not be so bad but in most of them it is little better. "New brooms sweep clean" is a tried

proverb, and we have no hesitation in saying that new brooms are urgently called for in all walks of the political set-up to be of the Indian Union.

The New Frontiers

We have remarked before, our frontiers are changing, in the West and in the East. The final awards of the Boundary Commissions have not come before us, so there is little point in going into details over the matter. But whatever be the shape of the frontiers, it must be seen that matters will become far more complex in the near future than it has been hitherto. Not only in the matter of defence, but in communications, customs, commerce, trade and industry, new factors will enter the daily life of those nationals of the Union who will live in the frontier provinces that will vitally affect the well-being not only of those provinces but of the entire Union.

The Congress needs to concentrate on proper arrangements being made about such areas. Perhaps, the folly of those wisecrackers who gave the dictum "what matters if Bungalow perishes" is not yet fully apparent to the prize-giving committee of Delhi and their yes-men in the A.-I.C.C. We may be wrong—and we hope we are—but as yet we do not find that any special attention or regard is being paid to the problems of the Bengal of the Union. We would like to bring to the notice of the powers-that-be the fact that Eastern Pakistan would be in essence, the real meta-centre of the Pakistan State, both in the matter of man-power and the wherewithal for the management of the State.

We have given the details of the problems before the Bengal Boundary Commission in the Editorial Notes of this issue in two places, and as an example of the complicated issues before the Commission we have annexed the memorandum submitted by the representatives for Rajshahi and Maldah districts at the end of the Notes. We hope the Award will be made after full and proper consideration of all the issues. But whatever be the nature of the Award, the frontier problem is bound to be complex and troublesome for many years to come. Eastern Punjab and some of the States that are coming under the Union will have to face almost identical problems. Therefore, the Union will have to look to both these frontiers with an alert eye.

In both these areas large sections of population will retain close affinities with their friends, neighbours and relatives that have to stay back in the newly created foreign State. Further, there would be many who would retain substantial property and other interests in both the States. These would give rise to new tensions and added stresses that might lead to serious consequences. An irredentist movement is bound to arise on both sides moreover, because the Award cannot possibly satisfy all parties, judging by the memoranda submitted.

These problems will have to be tackled with finesse and with firmness. Special posts will have to be created, with permanent officials in charge, to meet emergencies that will most certainly arise out of such a situation. The Congress has to realise that all fires will not be quenched by the Boundary Commission Awards. They will most certainly smoulder for some time to come, and unless adequate measures are adopted in time a chance flare-up may lead to a major conflagration.

'India Independence Bill'

The full text of the Bill is as follows :

"A Bill to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 which apply outside those Dominions and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions

"Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows :

"*Clause 1, Section 1* : As from August 15, 1947, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

"*Section 2* : The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the New Dominions' and the said 15th day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the Appointed Day.'

"*Clause 2, Section 1* : Subject to the provisions of Sub-sections (3) and (4) of this Section the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which immediately before the Appointed Day were included in British India except the territories which under Sub-section (2) of this Section are to be the territories of Pakistan

"*Section 2* : Subject to the provision of Sub-sections (3) and (4) of this Section, the territories of Pakistan shall be

(a) the territories which on the Appointed Day are included in the provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following Sections :

(b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan ; and

(c) if whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the Appointed Day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which at the date of the passing of this Act is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the North-West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which at the date of the passing of this Act are included in that province.

"*Section 3* : Nothing in this Section shall prevent any area being at any times included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so however, that—(a) no area forming part of the territories specified in the said Sub-section one or as the case may be the said Sub-section two or which has after the Appointed Day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.

"*Section 4* : Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of Sub-section three of this Section nothing in this Section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

EAST BENGAL AND WEST BENGAL

"*Bengal and Assam, Section 3 Sub-section 1* : As from the Appointed Day—(a) the province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist ; and (b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

"*Sub-section 2* : If, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the Appointed Day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the district of Sylhet are in favour of that district forming part of the new province of East Bengal, then, as from that day, a part of the province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of Sub-section 3 of this Section form part of the new province of East Bengal

BOUNDARY

"*Sub-section 3* : The boundaries of the new provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in Sub-section 2 of this Section the boundaries after the Appointed Day of the province of Assam, shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the Appointed Day, by awards of Boundary Commissions appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—(a) the Bengal districts specified in the First Schedule for this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in Sub-section 2 of this Section, the Assam district of Sylhet shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new province of East Bengal ; (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new province of West Bengal and (c) in the event mentioned in Sub-section 2 of this Section the district of Sylhet shall be excluded from the province of Assam.

PUNJAB

"*The Punjab, Section 3, Sub-section 1* : As from the Appointed Day—(a) the province of the Punjab, as constituted under the Government of India Act of 1935, shall cease to exist ; and (b) there shall be constituted two new provinces to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab.

"*Sub-section 2* : The boundaries of the said new provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the Appointed Day, by awards of Boundary Commissions appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf but until the boundaries are so determined—(a) the districts specified in the Second Schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new province of West Punjab and (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of passing of this Act in the province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new province of East Punjab.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE NEW DOMINIONS

"*Section 5* : For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purpose of the Government of the Dominion.

"Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either

of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

LEGISLATION FOR THE NEW DOMINIONS

Section 8, Sub-section 1: The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

"Sub-section 2: No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the Law of England, or to the Provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

Sub-section 3: The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

Sub-section 4: No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the Appointed Day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

Sub-section 5: No Order-in-Council made on or after the Appointed Day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the Appointed Day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.

Sub-section 6: The power referred to in Sub-section 1 of this Section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

H. M. G.'S RESPONSIBILITY CEASES

Section 7, Sub-section 1: As from the Appointed Day—(a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the Government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India.

INDIAN STATES

(b) The suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the Rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the Rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise.

TRIBAL AREAS

(c) There lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between

His Majesty and any persons having tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas and all powers, right, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise; provided that, notwithstanding anything in Paragraph (b) or Paragraph (c) of this Sub-section effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements.

OMISSION OF ROYAL TITLES

Sub-section 2: The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal style titles of the words "India Imperator" and the words "Emperor of India" and to the issue by His Majesty for that purpose of his Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

TEMPORARY PROVISION AS TO GOVERNMENT OF EACH OF THE NEW DOMINIONS

Section 8, Sub-section 1: In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this Act to the Legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

Sub-section 2: Except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the new Dominion under Sub-section 1 of this Section, each of the new Dominions and all provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935; and the provisions of that Act of the Orders in Council, Rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall so far applicable, and subject to any express provisions of this Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modification as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding Section, have effect accordingly.

Provided that—(a) The said provision shall apply in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this Sub-section shall be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions;

(b) Nothing in this Sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force on or after the Appointed Day any form of control by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any province or other parts thereof.

(c) So much of the said provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the Appointed Day.

(d) As from the Appointed Day, no Provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

NOTES

and no Provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

(e) The powers of the Federal Legislature or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under Sub-section 1 of this Section.

Sub-section 3: Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which as applied to either of the new Dominions by Sub-section 2 of this Section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the power of the Legislature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of Sub-section 1 of this Section, have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future the powers of that Legislature.

ORDERS FOR BRINGING THIS ACT INTO FORCE

Section 9, Sub-section 1: The Governor-General shall by order make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient—(a) for bringing the provisions of this Act into effective operation; (b) for dividing between the new Dominions, and between the new provinces to be constituted under this Act, the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General-in-Council as the case may be, of the relevant Province which, under this Act are to cease to exist;

(c) For making omissions from, additions to, and adaptations and modifications of the Government of India Act, 1935 and the orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder in their application to the separate new Dominions;

(d) For removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of this Act.

(e) For authorising the carrying on of the business of the Governor-General-in-Council between the passing of this Act and the appointed day otherwise than in accordance with the provisions in that behalf of the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935;

(f) For enabling agreements to be entered into, and other acts done, on behalf of new Dominions before the Appointed Day;

(g) For authorising the continued carrying on for the time being on behalf of the new Dominions, or on behalf of any two or more of the said new Provinces, of services and activities previously carried on on behalf of British India as a whole or on behalf of the former provinces which those new provinces represent;

(h) For regulating the monetary system and any matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank of India; and

(i) So far as it appears necessary or expedient in connection with any of the matters aforesaid, for varying the constitution powers or jurisdiction of any Legislature, court or other authority in those new Dominions and creating new legislatures, courts or other authorities there.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S POWER

Sub-section 2: The powers conferred by this Section on the Governor-General shall, in relation to their respective provinces, be exercisable also by the Governors of the Provinces which under this Act are to cease to exist; and those powers shall, for the

purposes of the Government of India Act, 1935, be deemed to be matters as respects which the Governors are under that act to exercise their individual judgment.

Sub-section 3: This Section shall be deemed to have had effect as from the third day of June, 1947, and any order of the Governor-General or any Governor made on or after that as to any matter shall have effect accordingly and any order made under this Section may be made so as to be retrospective to any date not earlier than the said third day of June.

Provided that no person shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence by reason of so much of any such order as makes any provision thereof retrospective to any date before the making thereof.

Sub-section 4: Any order made under this Section, whether before or after the Appointed Day, shall have effect (a) up to the appointed day, in British India; (b) on and after the Appointed Day, in the new Dominion or Dominions concerned; and (c) outside British India, or as the case may be, outside the new Dominion or Dominions concerned to such extent whether before, on, or after the Appointed Day, as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned would have on or after the appointed day, but shall in the case of each of the Dominions be subject to the same powers of repeal and amendment as laws of the Legislature of that Dominion.

Sub-section 5: No order shall be made under this Section by the Governor-General after the 31st day of March 1948, or such earlier date as may be determined in the case of either Dominion by any law of the Legislature of that Dominion.

Sub-section 6: If it appears that a part of the province of Assam is on the appointed day, to become part of the new province of East Bengal, the preceding provisions of this Section shall have effect as if, under this Act, the province of Assam was to cease to exist on the appointed day and be reconstituted on that day as a new province.

SECRETARY OF STATES SERVICES

Section 10 (Sub-section 1): The provisions of this Act keeping in force provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, shall not continue in force the provisions of that Act relating to appointments to the civil services of and civil posts under the Crown of India by the Secretary of India or the provisions of that Act relating to the reservation of posts.

Sub-section 2: Every person who (a) having been appointed by the Secretary of State or Secretary of State in Council to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the appointed day to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any province or part thereof; or (b) having been appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a judge of the Federal Court or of any court which is a High Court within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935 continues on and after the appointed day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and provinces or parts which he is from time to time serving on or as the case may be, which are served by the courts in which he is from time to time a judge the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or, as the case may be, as respects the tenure of his office, or rights as similar thereto as

changed circumstances may permit, as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day.

Sub-section 3: Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enabling the rights and liabilities of any person with respect to the family pension funds vested in Commissioners under Section 200 and 73 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be governed otherwise than by Orders in Council made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by His Majesty in Council and rules made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by a Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act 1946.

INDIAN ARMED FORCES

Section 11, Sub-section 1: The orders to be made by the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty between the new Dominions, and for the command and governance of those forces until the division is completed.

Sub-section 2: As from the appointed day, while any member of His Majesty's forces, other than His Majesty's Indian Forces, is attached to or serving with any of His Majesty's Indian forces—(a) he shall, subject to any provision to the contrary made by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned or by any order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act, have, in relation to the Indian forces in question, the powers of command and punishment appropriate to his rank and functions; but (b) nothing in any enactment in force at the date of the passing of this shall render him subject in any way to the law governing the Indian forces in question.

BRITISH FORCES IN INDIA

Section 12, Sub-section 1: Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction or authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, or of the Admiralty, the Army Council, or the Air Council or of any other United Kingdom authority, in relation to any of His Majesty's forces which may, on or after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions or elsewhere in the territories which, before the appointed day, were included in India, not being Indian forces.

Sub-section 2: In its application in relation to His Majesty's military forces, other than Indian forces, the Army Act shall have effect on or after the appointed day—(a) as if His Majesty's Indian forces were not included in the expression "the forces." "His Majesty's forces" and "the regular forces" and (b) subject to the further modifications specified in parts one and two of the third Schedule to this Act.

Sub-section 3: Subject to the provisions of Sub-section 2 of this Section, and to any provisions of any law of the legislature of the Dominion concerned, all civil authorities in the new Dominions, and subject as aforesaid and subject also to the provisions of the last preceding Section, all service authorities in the new Dominions, shall in those Dominions and in the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day, perform in relation to His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces the same functions as were before the appointed day

performed by them or by the authorities corresponding to them, whether by virtue of the Army Act or otherwise, and the matters for which provision is to be made by orders of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall include the facilitating of the withdrawal from the new Dominions and other territories aforesaid of His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces.

Sub-section 4: The provisions of Sub-sections 2 and 3 of this Section shall apply in relation to the air forces of His Majesty, not being Indian air forces, subject, however, to the necessary adaptations, and in particular as if—(a) for the references to the Army Act there were substituted references to the Air Force Act; and (b) for the reference to part two of the Third Schedule to this Act there were substituted a reference to part three of that Schedule.

NAVAL FORCES

Section 13, Sub-section 1: In the application of the Naval Discipline Act to His Majesty's Naval Forces, other than Indian Naval Forces references to His Majesty's Navy and His Majesty's ships shall not as from the appointed day include references to His Majesty's Indian Navy or the ships thereof.

Sub-section 2: In the application of the Naval Discipline Act by virtue of any law made in India before the appointed day to Indian Naval Forces, references to His Majesty's Navy and His Majesty's ships shall, as from the appointed day, be deemed to be, and to be only, references to His Majesty's Indian Army and the ships thereof.

Sub-section 3 in Section 90 (B) of the Naval Discipline Act (which in certain cases subjects officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to the law and customs of the ships and naval forces of other parts of His Majesty's Dominions) the words "or of India" shall be repeated as from the appointed day, wherever those words occur.

SECRETARY OF STATE

Provisions as to the Secretary of State and the Auditor of Indian Home Accounts:

Section 14, Sub-section 1: A Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order-in-Council under the Ministers of the Crown (transfer of functions) Act, 1946, is hereby authorised to continue for the time being the performance, on behalf of whatever Government or Governments may be concerned, of functions as to the making of payments and other matters similar to the functions which up to the appointed day the Secretary of State was performing on behalf of Governments constituted or continued under the Government of India Act, 1935.

Sub-section 2: The functions referred to in Sub-section one of this Section include functions as respects the management of, and the making of payments in respect of, Government debt, and any enactments relating to such debt shall have effect accordingly; provided that nothing in this Sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force so much of any enactment as empowers the Secretary of State to contract sterling loans on behalf of any such Government as aforesaid or as applying to the Government either of the new Dominions, the prohibition imposed on the Governor-General in Council by Section 315 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as respects the contracting of sterling loans.

NOTES

Sub-section 3 : As from the appointed day there shall not be any such advisers of the Secretary of State as are provided for by Section 278 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that Section, and any provisions of that Act which require the Secretary of State to obtain the concurrence of his advisers, are hereby repealed, as from that day.

Sub-section 4 : The Auditor of Indian Home Accounts is hereby authorised to continue for the time being to exercise his functions as respects the accounts of the Secretary of State or any such other Minister of the Crown as is mentioned in Sub-section 1 of this Section, both in respect of activities before, and in respect of activities after, the appointed day, in the same manner as nearly as may be as he would have done if this Act had not been passed.

Legal proceedings by and against the Secretary of State :

Section 15, Sub-section 1 : Notwithstanding anything in this Act and, in particular, notwithstanding any of the provisions of the last preceding Section, any provision of any enactment which but for the passing of this Act would authorise legal proceedings to be taken, in India or elsewhere, or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India or any part of India shall cease to have effect on the appointed day, and any legal proceedings pending by virtue of any such provision on the appointed day shall by virtue of this Act abate on the appointed day so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.

Sub-section 2 : Subject to the provisions of this Sub-section, any legal proceedings which, but for the passing of this Act, could have been brought by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India, or any part of India, shall instead be brought—(a) in the case of proceedings in the United Kingdom, by or against the High Commissioner ; (b) in the case of other proceedings ; by or against such person as may be designated by order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act or otherwise by the law of the new Dominion concerned, and any legal proceedings by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any such right or liability as aforesaid which are pending immediately before the appointed day shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner or, as the case may be, the person designated as aforesaid : provided that, at any time after the appointed day, the right conferred by this Sub-section to bring or continue proceedings may whether the proceedings are by, or are against, the High Commissioner or person designated as aforesaid, be withdrawn by a law of the legislature of either of the new Dominions so far as that Dominion is concerned, and any such law may operate as respect proceedings pending at the date of the passing of the law.

Sub-section 5 : In this Section, the expression "the High Commissioner" means, in relation to each of the new Dominions, any such officer as may for the time being be authorised to perform in the United Kingdom, in relation to that Dominion, functions similar to those performed before the appointed day, in relation to the Governor-General in Council by the High Commissioner referred to in Section 302 of the Government of India Act, 1935 ; and any legal proceedings which, immediately before the appointed day, are the subject of an appeal to His Majesty in Council, or of a petition for special leave to appeal to His

Majesty in Council shall be treated for the purposes of this Section as legal proceedings pending in the United Kingdom.

ADEN, SECTION 16

Sub-section 1 : Sub-sections 2 and 4 of Section 288 of the Government of India Act, 1935, (which confer on His Majesty power to make by Order-in-Council provision for Government of Aden) shall cease to have effect and the British Settlements Act, 1887 and 1945 (which authorise His Majesty to make laws and establish institutions for British settlements as defined in those Acts) shall apply in relation to Aden as if it were a British settlement as so defined.

Sub-section 2 : Notwithstanding the repeal of the said Sub-sections 2 to 4 the Orders-in-Council in force thereunder at the date of the passing of this Act shall continue in force, but the said Orders-in-Council, any other Orders-in-Council made under the Government of India Act, 1935, in as far as they apply to Aden, any enactment applied to Aden or amended in relation to Aden by any such Orders-in-Council as aforesaid, may be repealed, revoked or amended under the powers of the British Settlements Act, 1887 and 1945.

Sub-section 3 : Unless and until provision to the contrary is made as respects Aden under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, or, as respects the new Dominion in question, by a law of the legislature of that Dominion, the provisions of the said Orders-in-Council and enactments relating to appeals from any courts in Aden to any courts which will, after the Appointed Day, be in either of the new Dominions, shall continue in force in their application both to Aden and to the Dominion in question, and the last-mentioned courts shall exercise their jurisdiction accordingly.

DIVORCE JURISDICTION, SECTION 17

Sub-section 1 : No court in either of the new Dominions shall by virtue of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Acts, 1926 and 1940 have jurisdiction in or relation to any proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage, unless those proceedings were instituted before the appointed day, but save as aforesaid and subject to any provision to the contrary which may hereafter be made by any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by any law of the legislature of the new Dominion concerned all courts in the new Dominions shall have the same jurisdiction under the said Acts as they would have had if this Act had not been passed.

Sub-section 2 : Any rules made on or after the Appointed Day under Sub-section 4 of Section 1 of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act 1926, for a court in either of the new Dominions shall, instead of being made by the Secretary of State with the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor, be made by such authority as may be determined by the law of the Dominion concerned, and so much of the said Sub-section and of any rules in force thereunder immediately before the Appointed Day as require the approval of the Lord Chancellor to the nomination for any purpose of any judges of any such court shall cease to have effect.

Sub-section 3 : The reference in Sub-section 1 of this Section to proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage include references to proceedings for such a decree of presumption of death and dissolution of a marriage as is authorised by Section 8 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937.

Sub-section 4 : Nothing in this Section affects any court outside the new Dominions, and the power conferred by Section 2 of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, to apply certain provisions of that Act to other parts of His Majesty's Dominions as they apply to India shall be deemed to be power to apply those provisions as they would have applied to India if this Act had not been passed.

PROVISIONS AS TO EXISTING LAWS—SECTION 18

Sub-section 1 : In so far as any Act of Parliament, Order-in-Council, Order, Rule, Regulation or other Instrument passed or made before the appointed day operate otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions references therein to India or British India however worded and whether by name or not shall in so far as the context permits and except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide be construed as including references to the new Dominions, taken together, or taken separately, according as the circumstances and subject-matter may require :

Provided that nothing in this Sub-section shall be construed as continuing in operation any provisions in so far as the continuance thereof as adapted by this Sub-section is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act other than this Section.

Sub-section 2 : Subject to the provisions of Sub-section 1 of this Section and to any other express provision of this Act, the Orders-in-Council made under Sub-section 5 of Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935, for adapting and modifying Acts of Parliament shall, except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, continue in force in relation to all acts in so far as they operate otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions.

Sub-section 3 : Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, the law of British India and of the several parts thereof existing immediately before the appointed day shall so far as applicable and with the necessary adaptations continue as the law of each of the new Dominions and the several parts thereof until other provision is made by Laws of the Legislature of the Dominion in question or by any other Legislature or other authority having power in that behalf.

INSTRUMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS TO VICEROY AND GOVERNORS

Sub-section 4 : It is hereby declared that the instruments of instructions issued before the passing of this Act by His Majesty to the Governor-General and the Governors of provinces lapse as from the appointed day and nothing in this Act shall be construed as continuing in force any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, relating to such instruments of instructions.

Sub-section 5 : As from the appointed day so much of any enactment as requires the approval of His Majesty in Council to any rules of court shall not apply to any court in either of the new Dominions.

Section 19, Sub-section 1 : References in this Act to the Governor-General shall in relation to any order to be made or other act done on or after the appointed day be construed—(a) where the order or other act concerns one only of the new Dominions as references to the Governor-General of that Dominion ; (b) where the order or other act concerns both of the new Dominions and the same person is the Governor-General of both those Dominions as references to that

person and (c) in any other case as references to the Governor-General of the new Dominions acting jointly.

Sub-section 2 : References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done before the appointed day, be construed as references to the Governor-General of India within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, and so much of that or any other Act as requires references to the Governor-General to be construed as references to the Governor-General in Council shall not apply to references to the Governor-General in this Act.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Sub-section 3 : References in this Act to the Constituent Assembly of a Dominion shall be construed as references—(a) in relation to India, to the Constituent Assembly, the first sitting whereof was held on the ninth day of December, 1946, modified—(1) by the exclusion of the members representing Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and British Baluchistan ; and (2) should it appear that the North-West Frontier Province will form part of Pakistan, by the exclusion of the members representing that province ; and (3) by the inclusion of members representing West Bengal and East Punjab ; (4) should it appear that, on the appointed day, a part of the province of East Bengal by the exclusion of Assam and the inclusion of members chosen to represent the remainder of that province ; (b) in relation to Pakistan, to the Assembly set up or about to be set up at the date of the passing of this Act under the authority of the Governor-General as the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan ; provided that nothing in this Sub-section shall be construed as affecting the extent to which representatives of the Indian States take part in either of the said assemblies or as preventing the filling of casual vacancies in the said assemblies, or as preventing the participation in either of the said assemblies, in accordance with such arrangements may be made in that behalf, of representatives of the Tribal Areas on the borders of the Dominion for which that Assembly sits, and the powers of the said Assemblies shall extend and be deemed always to have extended to the making of provisions for the matters specified in this proviso.

Sub-section 4 : In this Act, except so far as the context otherwise requires—references to the Government of India Act, 1935, include references to any enactment amending or supplementing that Act, and in particular references to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946 ; "India," where the reference is to a state of affairs existing before the appointed day or which would have existed but for the passing of this Act, has the meaning assigned to it by Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 ; "Indian forces" includes all His Majesty's Indian forces existing before the appointed day and also any forces of either of the new Dominions ;

"Pension" means, in relation to any person, a pension whether contributory or not, of any kind whatsoever payable to or in respect of that person, and includes retired pay so payable by way of the return, with or without interest thereon or other additions thereto, of subscriptions to a provident fund ;

"Province" means a Governor's province ; "Remuneration" includes leave pay, allowances and the cost of any privileges or facilities provided in kind.

Sub-section 5 : Any power conferred by this Act

NOTES

to make any order includes power to revoke or vary any order previously made in the exercise of that power.

SHORT TITLE SECTION 20

This Act may be cited as the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

EAST BENGAL AND WEST BENGAL

First Schedule : Bengal districts provisionally included in the new province of East Bengal. In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tippera. In the Dacca Division, the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh. In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia. In the Rajshahi Division the districts of Bogra, Dinapur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpur.

Second Schedule : Districts provisionally included in the new province of West Punjab. In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwalla, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura and Sialkot. In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur. In the Multan Division, the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh.

ARMY ACT AND A. F. ACT

Third Schedule : Modifications of Army Act and Air Force Act in relation to British forces.

Part (1) : Modifications of Army Act applicable also to Air Force Act.

(1) The proviso to Section 41 (which limits the jurisdiction of courts martial) shall not apply to offences committed in either of the new Dominions or in any of the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day.

(2) In section 41 (which relates to complaints) the words "with the approval of the Governor-General of India in Council" shall be omitted.

(3) In Sub-sections 8 and 9 of Section 54 (which amongst other things require certain sentences to be confirmed by the Governor-General in Council) the words "India or", the words "by the Governor-General, or as the case may be" and the words "in India, by the Governor-General, or, if he has been tried" shall be omitted.

(4) In Sub-section 3 of Section 73 (which provides for the nomination of officers with power to dispense with courts martial for desertion and fraudulent enlistment) the words "with the approval of the Governor-General" shall be omitted.

(5) The powers conferred by Sub-section 5 of Section 130 (which provides for the removal of insane persons) shall not be exercised except with the consent of the officer commanding the forces in the new Dominions.

(6) In Sub-section 2 of Section 132 (which relates to rules regulating service prisons and detention barracks) the words "and in India for the Governor-General" and the words "the Governor-General" shall be omitted except as respects rules made before the appointed day.

(7) In the cases specified in Sub-section 1 of Section 134, inquest shall be held in all cases in accordance with the provisions of Sub-section 3 of that Section.

(8) In Section 136 (which relates to deductions from pay) in Sub-section 1, the words "India or" and the words "being in the case of India a law of the

Indian Legislature." and the whole of Sub-section 2 shall be omitted.

(9) In paragraph 4 of Section 137 (which relates to penal stoppages from the ordinary pay of officers), the words "or in the case of officers serving in India the Governor-General" the words "India or" and the words "for India or, as the case may be" shall be omitted.

(10) In paragraph 12 of Section 175 and paragraph 11 of Section 176 (which apply the Act to certain members of His Majesty's Indian forces and to certain other persons) the word "India" shall be omitted wherever it occurs.

(11) In Sub-section 1 of Section 180 (which provides for the punishment of misconduct by civilians in relation to courts martial) the words "India or" shall be omitted wherever they occur.

(12) In the provisions of Section 183 relating to the reduction in rank of non-commissioned officers, the words "with the approval of the Governor-General" shall be omitted in both places where they occur.

Part 2 : Modifications of Army Act.

Section 184 (b) (which regulates relations with the Indian air force) shall be omitted.

Part 2 : Modifications of Air Force Act

(1) In Section 179 (d) (which relates to the attachment of officers and airmen to Indian and Burma air forces) the words "by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or, as the case may be" and the words "India or" wherever those words occur shall be omitted.

(2) In Section 184 (b) (which regulates relations with Indian and Burma air forces) the words "India or" and the words "by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or as the case may be" shall be omitted.

(3) Sub-paragraph (3) of paragraph 4 of Section 190 (which provides that officers of His Majesty's Indian air force are to be officers within the meaning of the Act) shall be omitted.

Bengal Boundary

It must be remembered that the present partition of Bengal is not like the old partitions of provinces, as of Bengal in 1906, or of districts or divisions which, under the control of the old British administrative regime of one Sovereign Power, had been made from time to time. The present partition has been decided upon Mr Jinnah's two-nation theory and India is going to be divided into two distinct and separate Sovereign States with entirely different political conceptions. In Bengal, the unchallengeable fact is that Hindus and Muslims are more than nine hundred ninety-nine out of a thousand cases belong to the same race, are descendants of common ancestors, speak the same language, have the same outlook towards life and have common economic problems. Muslims in Bengal are descendants of converts from Hindus specially from the undeveloped cultural levels. This is recorded history. The natural consequence is that exclusively Hindu or Muslim areas here are rare when larger units beyond villages are taken. The population in percentage stands as at the 1941 Census, at 45 per cent Hindus (46 per cent non-Muslims) and 54 per cent Muslims. In dividing the province of Bengal, therefore a complete and meticulous separation of Hindus and Muslims is impossible. They reside in mixed groups. On the other

hand, there are "other factors" which completely control the life, economics and health of the countryside.

So far as West Bengal is concerned the Nadia rivers, the Bhagirathi, the rivers to the west of the Bhagirathi with the catchment areas in the valley and plateau of Chota Nagpur form one integrated river system. Similarly, East Bengal has the Jumna, the Brahmaputra, the Meghna and its tributaries as an integrated river system. The Padma to the north of the Presidency division is a part of the Central and West Bengal river system which is derived from it and is of less importance to East Bengal regions which have more important and independent river systems. Much of the areas in West and Central Bengal are decadent through neglected and dying rivers. The food requirement in consequence needs larger areas in the West than in the East. The productivity of East Bengal which still has the benefit of flushing with silted water is definitely more superior.

The next consideration is the port of Calcutta. The site of the port was selected after a good deal of examination and inspection. Port Canning and Diamond Harbour were selected and attempts were made to develop them. Ultimately both had to be abandoned. For a variety of reasons, the Bhagirathi which gets into lower Bengal from the north of Murshidabad had been neglected. The neglect affected not only the feeder rivers and stopped the flushing of the deltaic regions as well as the western portion of the Bhagirathi, but also endangered that regular flow of water supply to the sea so that at one time it was feared that the port of Calcutta would become inoperative. Colonel Hirst was placed on special duty to look into the whole question of the regulation of water along the Bhagirathi and the Hooghly (the name given to the portion on which Calcutta stands) and submit a report. This was done by Notification No. 1360TR of 1914. After detailed investigations, the concluding remarks of Col. Hirst were, "I consider that the lower Hooghly is in imminent danger of losing much of its fresh water supply, because the Jalangi and Mathabhangra are rivers which look as if they will not last. Nature's efforts to re-establish the old south-east tendency of the rivers in this area have been greatly thwarted by the hand of man. But I think that the South-East tendency may re-establish itself in the near future and . . . that the Bhagirathi be considered alone so far as artificial improvement of navigation and the provision of fresh water to the Howrah Bridge are concerned." (Page 110 of the *Report on Nadia Rivers* by Col. F. C. Hirst, Director of Survey.) Very recently another Committee of the Port Commissioners consisting of experts was appointed and they came to the conclusion that unless the feeder rivers of the Bhagirathi and the off-take of the Bhagirathi from the Ganges are improved, the continuance of the port will be problematical. Hence, it is clear that if the port has to continue in Calcutta,—and Calcutta or for the matter of that even India, without the port of Calcutta, will be much poorer in wealth, prosperity and importance—it must have a well-regulated water-flow down the Bhagirathi. To regulate this flow, one must have to regulate the headwater intake from the Padma and also to regulate its intake from the feeder rivers of Nadia, e.g., Jalangi, Mathabhangra, Bhairab, etc., and its smaller branches on the eastern side as well as Damodar, Rupnarain, Cosye, Silay, Haldi and its western bank. All these regulations can be possible

by one centralised and concerted action under one national authority.

The third point that has to be taken into consideration in drawing the Bengal boundary is her river system. The river system of the Presidency Division is one integrated whole. Its functions are more than one. First, it has to sustain the water supply of the Bhagirathi, as has already been stated, in order to maintain the port of Calcutta in a satisfactory working condition. Secondly, it is to flush the drainage of the entire area of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Khulna, and 24-Parganas and it is because of the neglect of this flushing that the whole of Central and Southern Bengal have been largely converted into stagnant ill-drained areas unfit for human habitation. Major Fry's Report, quoted in page 19 of Dr. Bentley's *Report on Malaria in Bengal*, shows the extremely high percentage of the splenic index. That the out-turn and health of Central Bengal is associated with the decline in the Nadia Rivers has been recorded in history. Dr. Bentley says in para 28 of his Report on Malaria in Bengal, "Central Bengal was seriously affected with Malaria some years before the disease became prevalent in Western Bengal and certain amount of evidence exists to show that the public health in that area underwent a change for the worse about the middle of the last century." In the *Report of the Malarial Commission of the League of Nations on its Study Tour in India* (August 23 to December 28, 1929) occurs the following passage, (page 38) with reference to the region of the "dead rivers" in the Central Bengal districts: "All the water here is stagnant even during the rains owing to the formation of alluvial areas by years of sedimentation which have transformed the water-courses into 'dead rivers'; these elevated areas are sometimes formed alongside of other regions which are flooded during the rains by the silty water of running rivers. The surface waters of the higher ground, untouched by the floods, become stagnant and clear by a process of sedimentation. Consequently this water allows of a luxuriant growth of submerged as well as of floating aquatic vegetation but it no longer fertilises soil." Since then Sir William Wilcox, one of the greatest world authorities on Irrigation Engineering, made the assertion in a series of Readership Lectures at the Calcutta University, "We have the single tract in the whole British Empire which once was very prosperous and healthy and which is today very poor and unhealthy." And then he stated, "To the unique system of irrigation and wonderful power of co-operation, the health and wealth in the past were due." He recommended that a barrage should be constructed across the Padma, to resurrect the Bhagirathi and the Nadia rivers system. The Government of Bengal appointed an Irrigation Committee in 1930 and that Committee recommended the constitution of a River Board Trust, Hydraulic Survey of the Nadia Rivers and Contour Maps of the districts which they serve in order to formulate and prosecute definite policies. Owing to continuous political changes, however, nothing could be done. Thirdly, a constant fight is going on in the lower reaches of the districts of 24-Parganas between the saline water from the sea working its way up and the fresh water from the varied river systems of these Nadia rivers checkmating and keeping down the inroads of the saline water. If the fresh water supply is lowered and unless the river system is kept in

order, it is bound to be lowered, the saline water wins the battle and makes its way by converting the upper reaches into unfertile land destroying cultivation, the human and cattle stock and probably spreading the Sundarbans northward and widening the area of swampy uninhabitable marsh. In order that this inevitable result be prevented, continuous fresh water must be brought down to thwart the ingress of the saline water. For this the entire drainage water-flow of the river system of the Presidency Division must be controlled and regulated and that can only be done by one authority. If this system be divided up between rival authorities, each can work to the detriment of the other and Southern Bengal being denied the benefit of the fresh water from the upper reaches will be absolutely helpless to keep either its port active or its lower reaches free from the inroads of saline water and will thus become progressively converted into a swampy marsh. The struggle is continuously going on and runs up northwards as the influx of fresh water weakens and the saline water grows in strength to push its northward march. It is on records of the Calcutta Corporation that at the water pumping station at Palta, over hundred miles from the sea face, in the years 1936 and 1941, the salinity figures rose to 70 and 112 parts per thousand as against the normal average of about twenty parts between the years 1896 to 1935. The effect of excess salt on health, properties, cattle and cultivation is disastrous.

The fourth factor to be taken into serious consideration is the problem of decadence of the West and Central Bengal areas. In respect of crop production this area is much poorer than the Eastern Bengal areas. Referring to the nature of soil of the Burdwan Division, Government of Bengal stated, "The eastern portion is rugged, broken and hilly country consisting of spurs and ridges from the gneissic table-land of Chota Nagpur, while between the two there is an undulating country covered by an irregular band of laterite. This laterite is of the low level or detrital variety which thins out and vanishes over the gneiss on the west, being more and more thick towards the East until it disappears under the alluvium. In the gneissic tract the uplands are mostly gravelly and are largely covered with forests, the soils being of little value to agriculture." (page 13 of Notes on the soils of Bengal by Mr. D. N. Mukherjee, Assistant Director of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, Bengal). In the Report of the Irrigation Committee at page 6 it is stated that, "In the West with comparatively short monsoon and small rainfall, the chief demand is for irrigation to ensure crops." In the Note on page 3 of the Report on the Development of Decadent areas in Bengal it has been noted by Mr. H. P. Townsend, the then Development Commissioner, "It has been shown by figures from Chinsura farms that lack of irrigation leads on an average to failure to transplant about 20 percent of the land." The districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapur (Sadar and Jhargram Subdivisions) have large tracts of land covered with laterite unfit for cultivation by the ordinary methods of ploughing and tilling. The districts of Bankura, Birbhum and North Midnapore have been in consequence subject to constant famine. In fact they are considered to be suffering from chronic scarcity. Similarly in Central Bengal where malaria is rampant, drainage is stagnant and irrigation is scarce, the out-turn is much poorer than what could be in the yet

well-watered tracts of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. The Irrigation Department Committee records, on page 11 of their Report, that the most serious problem is presented by dead and dying rivers of Central Bengal, specially in Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore and Khulna districts. The Malarial Commission of the League of Nations, after its India tour, left a comparative appraisal of Central Bengal to the West and of East Bengal to the East of the Padma. "The healthy land in Lower Bengal as we saw it on the eastern banks of the Padma (e.g., at Tarpansa) looks more flooded than the worst water-logged areas in the Punjab. Even after the rains are over at the end of October, the land seems a huge swamp but all covered with rice, sugarcane and jute. The rice has particularly long stalks and has to be cut from boats only very heavy floods submerging it. The ordinary floods to which all this land is continuously subject during the rains and long afterwards do no harm at all. On the contrary, these floods improve the soil, because the silt suspended in the water during the rains from the end of September onwards gradually settles and acts as an indispensable fertiliser. Perhaps it is not so much the lack of water as the lack of this fertiliser which renders the fields in the western portion of lower Bengal—the malaria portion—so much less fertile" (page 29, *Report of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations*). So much poor had been the out-turn of crops that a particular system of sharing of produce called *utbandi* had developed in Central Bengal region where no responsibility for fixed tenancy nor fixed rent could be undertaken by the cultivators. In the schemes that were prepared for the development of decadent areas in Bengal when the Bengal Development Act was being evolved not one need be suggested for Eastern Bengal for the obvious reason that the out-turn there was satisfactory and for irrigation there is no clear proof of the possibility of any definite increase in out-turn or profits over what are earned now.

The next point for consideration is the problem of the Sundarbans. The area covered by the Sundarbans is now situated in the districts of 24-Parganas and Khulna. What had previously been Sundarbans has been completely cleared in Barisal and the area brought under cultivation. In the districts of Khulna and 24-Parganas such clearance was impossible because the Government through its experts discovered that unless the sea-front is guarded by the roots of trees of deep forests the soil would be washed away by erosion. The system of clearance was therefore very rigidly controlled and reserve forests were developed. For these areas which were reserved as forests, there are no permanent habitations and there is no cultivation. In consequence all that could be gathered there were timber for fuel, fish and honey and as the forest had to be closely guarded, the income from these had to be carefully controlled. There is only a floating population in these areas where people go in boats either to fish or to gather woods with permits and the population is continuously floating from season to season and year to year. The system of gathering forest produce or fish is thus described in *The Survey and Settlement Report of the 24-Parganas* (page 137). "The forest works on the permit system. The principal exits from the forest are guarded by Revenue Stations from which permits are issued on payment of royalty according to the schedule of rates prescribed by the

Conservator of Forests. . . . For the purpose of efficient patrolling necessary for detection of smuggling and theft of forest produce as well as to check the work of permit-holders, the forest is divided into patrol beats in charge of patrol officers." This area cannot be all at once converted into arable lands without risk of erosion by sea. Some clearances have been made, known as *abads*. But it is a well-known administrative problem that cultivation there entirely depends upon the proper maintenance of embankments which so far have been very unsatisfactorily kept. A breach in the embankment infiltrates saline water which not only destroys the cultivation carefully developed but also destroys the supply of sweet water tanks for drinking water and renders the whole tract insanitary and uninhabitable. For the welfare of the Sundarbans area, therefore, the whole tract over the two districts should remain under one administrative authority as their interests are inseparable.

It is now abundantly clear, firstly, that a complete control of the Bhagirathi from its entrance in the district of Murshidabad to the sea is essential for the maintenance of the port of Calcutta, and secondly, the districts of 24-Parganas and Khulna will need their rivers to be flushed continuously by fresh water. Both for the maintenance and control of the Bhagirathi and the very life and property of the southern parts of the Delta the control of all the Nadia Rivers, *viz.*, the Jalangi, the Bhairab, the Mathabhang and the Gorai with their tributaries is absolutely essential. They constitute the subsidiary channels essential for feeding the Bhagirathi, essential as spill areas, and essential for bringing in fresh water to flush the entire southern tracts. In short, this river system constitutes the life-line of Southern Bengal as an integrated whole. Bengal is a land of rivers, and in dealing with any problem of this province, due regard must be paid to her river system. The Nadia River group is essential for the health and prosperity, for the very existence of the entire Presidency Division. This integrated system cannot be divided, without permanent and irredeemable injury to both parts, and placed under two different sovereign controls. Through hostility or negligence, the authorities controlling the upper reaches may destroy the lower region under a different authority.

The above statements have been made on the basis of a Note submitted to the Boundary Co-ordination Committee by Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukharji, a retired Director of Land Records and Survey, Bengal. He had an opportunity to study at first hand the problem of Bengal at the villages, and during his fairly long tenure of office he utilised this opportunity to the full. We attach the utmost value to his opinion. His Note emerges out of locally acquired knowledge and experience. According to him, the claim of West Bengal may be divided up into three parts: (1) the North-Western part, (2) the entire Presidency Division, and (3) the Eastern portion which includes the contiguous Hindu majority areas of Gopalganj Subdivision of the Faridpur district, and the northern part of the present district of Backerganje.

The Northern part should start with the Hindu majority districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri running down along the Atrai in the district of Dinajpore which has almost an equal proportion of both the communities and is divided up by the Atrai. It may

be noted here that the Hili thana with a high Muslim percentage was in the district of Bogra right up to the recent time and was smuggled into Dinajpore only recently which raised the Muslim percentage of that otherwise Hindu majority district. The boundary should come approximately along the Pakirni down through Baral to meet the Padma of Charghat Ghat and should include the town of Rajshahi. This tract will include the small district of Maldah but as a whole the entire tract to the west of the Atrai reach will be Hindu majority and overwhelmingly Hindu. It further separates West Bengal in such a manner that the Lalgola-Godagari Railway line falls within this part. It is essential to have this line within West Bengal because the Darjeeling line goes over to Pakistan. It provides the only railway communication of any significance although in itself insignificant, because all the big railway lines will be in Pakistan.

The boundary line should therefore run along the Eastern Boundary of the present districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, then more or less along the Atrai through Dinajpore and Rajshahi to Charghat on the Padma, then along the Padma to the Eastern boundary of the Presidency Division, then along the Kumar to the north of Gopalganj, then to the Atrai Khan down to its junction with the Barisal river turning west along the Barisal to the Baleswar and finally through the Haringhata to the sea.

Burmese Immigration Act

It is highly regrettable that the Government of Burma has adopted a deliberate anti-Indian policy. The Burma Agricultural Debts Moratorium Act already seriously affected the position of a section of Indians in Burma. The Emergency Immigration Act kept out of Burma nearly three lakhs of Indians who were all residents of Burma before the war. The ban put on the return of evacuees, unskilled labourers and their family keeps back at least one and a half lakhs of Indians more from exercising their right of returning to that country.

The Press Note issued in this connection by the Government of Burma says that the Immigration Act has been necessitated by the large-scale unauthorised entry of non-Burmans meaning Indians principally. Evidently, the Act has been motivated by the prevailing impression that there is an Indian menace and that "Burma will be flooded by Indian immigrants." This impression, now being much played up in Burma, is without any foundation. It had never been the policy of the Government of India to encourage large or unrestricted immigration into Burma. Neither in the Bajpai-U Saw Agreement nor in the draft Tin-Tut-Bannerjee Agreement was there any indication of such a policy. All that the Government of India were interested in was that the Indian evacuees from Burma should not suffer, and that Indians settled in Burma who came to India and wished to return there for renewing business or family contacts should have no difficulty in returning to Burma. The present Act is therefore a great hindrance to the success of the policy of the Government of India.

The following classification of immigrants made by the Government of India would clearly demonstrate that the Government of India had taken scrupulous care to respect the wishes of the Burmese Government. Indians proceeding to Burma have been divided into three classes:

(1) Indians who were in Burma at the time of separation of Burma from India in 1937. They are really citizens of Burma.

(2) Indians who were compelled to return as evacuees to this country as a result of occupation of Burma by Japan. It is generally recognised that there can be no question of the right of entry and re-entry of these Indians in Burma. In spite of this right which has been internationally recognised, the Government of India respected the wishes of the Burma Government and allowed such Indians to return to that country only with the concurrence of that Government.

(3) As regards new entrants to Burma they would be only allowed to proceed to that country as a result of an Agreement to be arrived at between India and Burma.

But the measure has been unilateral in so far as it has been sprung without notice. Besides, the Burmese Government did not reply to the comments added by the Government of India to the draft sent from Burma. Moreover, the 'new measure,' as one official spokesman says, 'is very different from the draft sent to us by the Government of Burma. The present measure omits some points from the original draft and adds others, the effect of which is to completely deliberalise the Bill and make it unnecessarily harsh on Indians.' For instance, the original draft measure stated that the evacuees could return to Burma, without obtaining an entry permit or a passport with a Burmese visa. Only an identity certificate from the Government of Burma would be required. The new measure made no such exception and would therefore cause great hardship.

The measure has been no less discriminatory than unilateral. While Indians will have to obtain entry permits and visas in order to enter Burma, no such obstacles will be placed in the way of people with British domicile. Therefore, the Government of India has been well-advised to lodge their protest with Burmese Government against the measure. When the regeneration of entire South Asia depends so much on co-operation and good neighbourly relations of the adjoining countries, these irritants and discriminations should have been avoided by all means.

Divided India a Prelude to Divided World?

Writing in the *Bharatjyoti*, Louis Fischer says that unfortunately the course of world affairs is determined by the relations among the Big Three—America, Russia and Britain. These relations are being tested as never before. Between now and the end of 1947 is the last chance of establishing harmony between Washington and London on the one hand and Moscow on the other. If the attempt fails, the world will be divided into two. In case, the United States and Britain discover that they cannot settle international problems in concert with Russia, the two blocs will go their own way. They need not fight. Neither side wants to fight nor could afford to fight. But failure in the next six or seven months to find the key to mutually helpful collaboration among the great powers will commit the democratic nations to a policy of organising the non-Soviet countries as Russia has organised the Soviet sphere of influence. All the events of the coming half year must, therefore, be judged by one criterion: Do they contribute to

closer bonds within the Big Three or to estrangement. Fischer then says:

Some persons believe that the die has already been cast and that the two worlds have already emerged. Winston Churchill is one of them. Hence his latest proposal for the formation of a United States of Europe. Churchill excludes the nations in Moscow's orbit. He does so because they would not be allowed to join. It is more difficult to explain why he deliberately limits himself to the organisation of Europe.

Asia and Northern Africa are coming into their own. They are asserting themselves. Undoubtedly there is such a thing as European culture. But politically and economically Europe is part of other continents and the other continents are part of Europe.

A United States of Europe is impossible without the United States of America. This everybody understands. It is just as true though less apparent, that the problems of Europe cannot be solved without Asia and North Africa.

Turkey is in Europe and Asia. The Arab States are in Asia and Africa but they concern Europe and America. Continental politics is as absolute as nationalistic politics.

What are continents when the United States is involved in Turkish security, when England must have Iranian and Arabian oil, when a Chinese is the head of the United Nations commission to study Palestine?

But whereas Churchill and other individuals can permit themselves the luxury of discussing the future consolidation of the non-Soviet world, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain can afford no such luxury. They are exercising diplomatic restraint and will continue to do so until they see what the November conference of the Big Four foreign ministers in London has in store for the troubled universe.

That conference will be a fateful conference. It will shape destiny and history. The preparations for the meeting are today under way. But this time the preparations are not merely matters of research, drafting, and briefing. This time it is not merely a question of collecting the necessary documents and date.

The preparations for the November conference in London take the form of concrete measures in all parts of the world which lay the groundwork for the consolidation of the non-Soviet four-fifths of the earth in the event the conference ends with a little result as the recent Moscow conference.

Fischer's view that "whereas Churchill and other individuals can permit themselves the luxury of discussing the future consolidation of the non-Soviet world, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain can afford no such luxury" will not be accepted by many. The pusillanimous way in which the Attlee Government has gone back upon its declaration of maintaining the unity of India to the extent of denying Pakistan and a minority veto, has clearly showed that at heart the Labour Government has made an abject surrender to Churchill in respect of Britain's foreign policy. Churchill is anti-Soviet because he wants to take his life's chance in the consolidation and revival of the dying Imperialism in the world. With the world divided, Germany under the heel and non-German and non-Russian Europe containing the Imperialist powers united, it will not be difficult to strengthen the Imperialist ramifications in Asia and Africa. A United India, like the Soviet

Russia, would have been the great bulwark against this world Imperialist menace. So, India had to be divided into two warring camps in order to tie her down to her own affairs, so that, she may not have sufficient time and strength left to come to the succour of the Asian sufferers. Dutch aggression in Indonesia, simultaneously with the division of India is not insignificant. India has been placed under a *cordon sanitaire* with two Pakistans on two sides and Hyderabad on the South. Russia is already under it. So it is still Churchill and not Stalin, Bevin or Truman, that controls and shapes the future of the world for some more time to come. A third world war seems inevitable.

The Pakistan Menace

In an article to the *Bharat Jyoti* Dr. Balkrishna Keskar, some time ago a General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, has discussed the Pakistan menace and has asked the people to prepare to resist it. He says that old slogans must now be thrown overboard and India must build a new non-communal State. He explains that Jinnah may not have got all that he wanted but he is far from disappointed. The truncated Pakistan will be used as a springboard for further expansion. The League will try to disrupt the Union and undermine its strength. It believes the Hindus to be disorganised and will count on the help of Muslims in the rest of India who are a potential fifth column. There is already a conspiracy to strengthen hands of Muslims outside Pakistan. The large arms find in Bihar and some other places are only a small indication. Dr. Keskar says what more unpropitious moment could have been found to usher in an independent India when the people have lost faith in their leaders? The people now consider their leaders helpless and unable to check the diabolically disruptive forces.

Dr. Keskar writes :

The British Government's statement of June 3 is in many ways a triumph for Mr. Jinnah. 'Pakistan' is now an accomplished fact. At last a *lebenstraum* has been established for the realisation of his Islamic ideals.

No doubt, it is not an undiluted triumph. He did not get what he claimed. The truncated Pakistan that he got, will not be the powerful nation that he had depicted to his followers. The Rajastan that he hoped to have as an ally, has little chance of coming into being. But it would be a blunder to imagine that Jinnah is a disappointed man. He is too shrewd a politician to have expected to get all he claimed. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that since the last one year or so the alternative of a truncated Pakistan has been before him. He has accepted it without hesitation. For him the important thing is the acknowledgement of the principle of division.

The coming of Pakistan brings us face to face with a set of new problems. We also have to revise our approach to various old political or strategic questions. A new tableau is before us. Many old ideals and slogans must be thrown overboard. The entry of States in the new federation adds to the complexity of the picture.

In looking forward to future developments, a very important point to remember is the quasi-certainty that neither Mr. Jinnah nor the Muslim League are going to take it lying down. The very fact that they readily accepted the truncated terri-

tory offered—which many expected them to reject—should put us on our guard. The division of the Punjab and Bengal, and the non-inclusion of Assam are major blows to League prestige. It will be vitally necessary for the Leaguers to do something spectacular in the near future to regain it.

There is no indication that Jinnah has renounced his old dream of a full-fledged Pakistan. On the contrary, the present division is to him the first concrete step towards that goal. He is a realist if he is anything. He is not going to reject it in a huff because it is not enough. He had to accept the little that was offered as it was his only chance of getting without any trouble a sovereign Pakistan.

From the Muslim League point of view, Pakistan is meant to serve as a spring-board for further expansion. It is a major blunder to suppose that its present truncated shape will disillusion its devotees and show to them the absurdity of their pretensions. The achievement of an independent Pakistan is, on the contrary, encouraging them as the first solid step. No doubt, a certain number of Leaguers in India might abandon the League and prefer to remain ordinary citizens, but quite a large number will continue to sympathise with it and help it. They will constitute the League's fifth column in India.

Explaining the diabolical conspiracy that brought Pakistan into existence, Dr. Keskar says :

The immediate objective of the League is obviously the purification and strengthening of Pakistan, and the consolidation of Muslim position in the Indian Union. The process of purification is already going on in Bengal, Punjab and Sind. The main aim of this rapine and murder is to shatter completely the solid economic and social position of the Hindus and Sikhs, and make them helpless and weak. They will thus become politically inoffensive. When the process is complete the League will have no objection to their remaining in Pakistan. As a necessary corollary the position and privileges of Muslims in Hindustan have to be maintained. This, according to League calculation, is not very difficult. The Congress and its ministries are mortally afraid of doing anything which might faintly appear as anti-Muslim. The Leaguers also count upon the Nationalist Muslims exerting themselves to keep the Muslim position intact on the plea of fairplay and communal justice.

Moreover, an important part of League strength in India is in the services. It is obvious that the Muslim League has been in fact, all along the League of Muslim Government servants and zamindars. While in the Muslim-majority provinces the League is ruthlessly immobilising Hindu officials or simply eliminating them, it counts on being able to persuade India to keep intact the position of Muslim officials. In this way the Hindus and Sikhs will be reduced to a nullity in Muslim area while the Muslims will maintain their important position in Hindustan.

The League's assets in the Indian Union should not be minimised. The major part of the League's leadership is from Hindustan. From the same area comes the intelligentsia which propagates its ideals. Aligarh, its most important centre of preparing missionaries, is in India and Leaguers have a large amount of property this side of the Ravi.

After the achievement of their immediate objectives, future plans will depend upon developments in the Indian Union and in States like Hyderabad which are important allies of the League. In reply to the League's clear-cut plans have we any precise master plan as a counter-

measure? There is no sign of any as yet. Our ideas are confused and I very much fear that we are still hesitating and groping. In the first place an important section of our top-ranking leaders even now refuse to believe that the League will be a big bad wolf. They are frankly incredulous. They consider that no one in his senses can nurse such impossible dreams. The wild and provocative utterances of Jinnah are to them just platform oratory for attracting the Muslim masses. They have an appropriate disdain for the League's grandiose plans.

It would not be out of place to remind them that Hitler was also ridiculed in the same way at first. No one took him seriously though he was in dead earnest. Mr. Jinnah is no less serious and earnest. We ridiculed the idea of Pakistan in the beginning. Our leaders told us that it is impossible of realisation, yet it is there today in flesh and blood. Let us at least pay the compliment to the League of taking its ambitions seriously. The record of the last few years should at least teach us that much. Otherwise, as by ignoring Pakistan we allowed it to gather strength, we will lead the country to another catastrophe by further negligence.

It must be emphasised again that the League's ambitions are serious. Whether the League tries to realise them or just abandons them as hopeless depends entirely on our policy and behaviour hereafter. The League was encouraged to try for Pakistan by our indecision and weakness. There is no doubt that further indecision and weakness will encourage it to try for more. It will, in that case, consider its impossible dreams possible of realisation. Drift and indecision on the part of England and France led to the Second World War. Drift and indecision on our part might lead this country to a bloody and ugly conflict.

At such a critical time of our national history, Dr. Keskar has not hesitated to speak out plain truth although it sounds unpalatable. He says:

At such a critical juncture, it is our duty to speak plainly and bluntly even though it hurts a little. The panic and uneasiness that is at present prevailing all over the country, is due not so much to the fear of the League as to a grave doubt about our ability to take decisions and master the situation. This belief might be quite erroneous but it is there, and I cannot imagine a more unpropitious atmosphere for ushering in an independent India. Many of our leaders accuse the public of wanting courage. The unpleasant fact is that the public feels their leaders are helpless, and are unable to take effective steps against disruptive and diabolic forces, hence its feeling of helplessness. It is no use blaming the public for such a belief. Only strong and decisive action can banish it and check the rising tide of demoralisation in time.

The first step to stop this rot is a rigid enforcement of the principle of strict justice for all communities without any special concession or favour to any group or community. Side by side, there must be ruthless suppression of all anti-social and disruptive acts without regard for communal or personal susceptibilities. Indulgence and favour should not become a part of minority rights. In other circumstances any such favours would have been graceful acts of friendliness but at present it can only be a further incitement to intransigence.

The policy of appeasement must cease immediately. Facts have proved the hollowness of the belief that the League and its followers would be

placated by concessions and surrenders. Any continuation of the same would only make the League stronger. Our ministries have declared long ago that the Leaguers will be strictly dealt with, but when it comes to action they are showing a listless and ineffective attitude. Probably it is the force of habit. They must change this habit of always living on compromise. Their present policy is just to let sleeping dogs lie.

The League Ministries' directness and effectiveness is in striking contrast to this pusillanimity however much we may disagree with their aims. The fact is the League knows what it wants and goes direct to the objective. We don't know what we really want, and we always hesitate to take any action for fear of something.

The Muslim League is not the representative of a minority. A minority which has avowed ambition of converting itself into a majority cannot be treated like other minorities. No concession will satisfy it. The right course is to treat it firmly. Our want of firmness in dealing with the disruptive activities of Leaguers is only serving the purpose of increasing the popularity of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. We will be guilty of driving the public into the arms of Fascists and reactionaries if we cannot maintain peace and observe strict justice.

A careful study of the League press and literature gives us a glimpse of their psychology. It is clear that the ambitions of conquest and domination are the main forces driving its followers and they have not given up an iota of their dreams. The League approach is typically Hitlerian and Nazi. It understands only the argument of force. To them a concession or a desire for compromise is a sign of weakness and should be exploited accordingly.

The League is bound to make a great effort to disrupt the Indian Union or undermine its strength. It is more than probable that the Muslim governed State of Hyderabad might precipitate a conflict. The temptation is great because it believes the Hindus to be disorganised and counts on the help of Muslims in the Indian Union.

To counteract this danger, it is necessary to deal firmly with League propaganda in India. We must encourage and back the Nationalist Muslims who have gone through a lot of trouble. They should be given preference in services and business. Believers and propagators of the two-nation theory will have to be completely weeded out from the services. No compromise is possible or ought to be made with the League party in India unless it has shown over a specified period that it has dropped its domination complex and bullying tact. The real brains behind riots and disturbances must be made an example of by severe punishment.

An important question is the urgent need of settling a method for compensation or exchange of the immense wealth left by Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan area in the form of land or house property. Unless exchange or compensation is insisted upon, there is a great danger of these properties being lost for a song. India will have to take a strong attitude on this question.

The safety of minorities in Pakistan is also going to be a thorny problem for the future. The League's record is far from reassuring. Acharya Kripalani did well in pointing out that people in India cannot remain insensible to what is happening to their friends and relatives across the border, and strong reactions are inevitable if anything untoward happens. Only the fear of such reprisals is likely to restrain the League from unbridled

oppression, but one cannot be too sure and we will have to be very vigilant.

The conclusions arrived at by Dr. Keskar deserves most serious and careful attention. He points out that, in the new context, the method of non-violence that we followed until now for fighting the British, but which indirectly was reflected in all our actions, will have to be reviewed. We must abandon the present untenable position wherein we show lip-sympathy for the principle of non-violence but tacitly use violent arms and methods for governmental and other purposes. Either we follow non-violence thoroughly or recognising the changed situation we accept the use of violence as legitimate and justified. The present half-way position is making of us waverers and is rendering us incapable of following a decisive line of action. There is no inconsistency in such a change of policy because the Congress had accepted non-violence for the attainment of independence. There is no moral binding to continue it afterwards. To build a strong India capable of resisting all onslaughts from Pakistan, Muslim League, Britain or elsewhere, the prevalent theory of non-violence must be revised.

Disturbances Not Religious But Political

The present disturbances in India have been publicised as communal riots throughout the world, and most of us ourselves believe it to be so, meaning thereby that it was a religious war between Hindus and Muslims. Ralph Izard, a foreign observer, disagrees from this view and proves that this contention is very far from truth. He points out that the disturbances have followed a clearly political pattern set at Calcutta on August 16, 1946, when the military and the police were ordered not to interfere in the riots and were told "If the people want Swaraj, let them fight for it." The author toured India as a representative of the Telepress News Agency in 1946 and has made the following revelations in the *Spotlight* which agree hundred per cent with the realities. He was once arrested in Kashmir on a trumped up charge because the British did not want an independent newspaperman looking around. Here is Izard's version of the so-called riots in India :

Communal riots constitute most of the news from India appearing in the American press. Hindu-Muslim religious differences are preached to the world by such Empire spokesmen as Winston Churchill as the result of "irreconcilable" enmity. Yet it must be obvious to the most casual observer, remembering that such rioting dates only from 1897, that it is of the greatest aid to British policy in India.

The present wave of killing began in Calcutta on August 16, 1946, at a place called Sealdah Station. Eighteen days before that, more than two million Hindus and Muslims had marched together through the Calcutta streets in support of striking postal and telegraph workers. Their demonstration had political as well as economic significance : they marched for freedom as well as a living wage.

Had it continued, this strike-born Hindu-Muslim unity would have had the greatest political consequences. The attack on such unity began at Sealdah Station. An Indian officer described to me the methods used to provoke rioting. On duty there on August 16, 17 and 18, "Major Krishna," as I will call him, received his orders two days before the slaughter began.

"All officers at Barrackpore, a military cantonment about 12 miles north of Calcutta, attended a meeting called on August 14 by a Colonel-in-charge of airfield maintenance," Major Krishna told me. "This Colonel told us that there would be trouble in Calcutta on August 16. Then he gave us orders that were to govern all units on duty :

"When the rioting begins we will not interfere. If the people want 'Swaraj' (self-rule), let them fight for it."

How could the Colonel be so certain that the Muslim League demonstrations scheduled for that day would degenerate into murder ?

"Calcutta has thousands of *goondas*—professional criminals," Major Krishna said: "There are both Hindus and Muslims among them. A number of them were identified as known criminals to me by a Sub-Inspector of Police who was also on duty at Sealdah Station with his men. All these criminals spent the war-years in jail, but were released again soon after Japan surrendered."

And the police, knowing the looters and killers as criminals, still did nothing ?

"The police were under the same orders as us. Remain passive. Do not interfere. And we did remain passive except for one or two shots fired by some of my sepoy (enlisted men) who could not stand seeing women molested. For the first two days we did not interfere. The killing was going on all around us. Then our orders were changed. The situation was brought under control in a few hours."

This new variation of non-intervention was protested by all officers who had been on duty in Calcutta when the killing began. The general officer who had addressed the meeting turned all questions away with a constitutional explanation. Since the British Governor of Bengal was "merely a constitutional figurehead, he had no power to order the troops to intervene" until requested to take this step by the Muslim League Premier of the province.

From Calcutta the communal rioting spread to Noakhali in East Bengal, where sepoys known to Major Krishna took part in it at the command of their district soldiers' board. For these killings throughout the Muslim-majority districts of Bengal, the Hindu majority in Bihar later took terrible vengeance. From that point on the religious civil war that had been begun at Sealdah Station was almost self-perpetuating.

It died away to sporadic violence by the last month of 1946, and in the first two months of 1947. But it erupted with new fury in the Punjab in March, following the political—not religious—pattern that it has had from the beginning.

This is only a very imperfect account of what actually happened. The same story was reported from all parts of the disturbed areas—Leaguers following unchecked their orgy of murder, loot, arson and rape and British officials standing by pointing their guns at the defenders lest they hit back and create "riots." Frontier, Punjab and Bengal, all reported the same story—aggression by the League and open and covert support by the British officials from the Governor down to the troops. This cult of the knife and rape of woman was given the recognition of a "political struggle" and ultimately Pakistan was granted. The independence that India achieved after 60 years of suffering and self-immolation maintaining the highest level of political honesty and decorum that the world has ever seen, the Muslim League attained through less than a year through murder, loot, arson and rape. India cannot forget it.

Time for Relaxation of Arms Act

The continuous and steady increase in the use of firearms by the hooligan elements and the seizure of vast quantities of arms and ammunition in provinces like Bihar, Bengal, Bombay, etc., make out a strong case for a relaxation of the Arms Act so that respectable persons may bear firearms with them to counter-act *goonda*-activity on the streets or in the open. Goondalism is prevalent in cities like London, Paris, Berlin, New York as well, but hooliganism there on a scale practised in Bombay, Delhi or Calcutta is impossible because the upper and the educated section of those foreign cities may move about armed because there is no such restriction on the use of arms as is prevalent in India under British Rule. In an article, contributed to the *Nationalist*, Mr. T. M. Pillai had demanded a relaxation of the Arms Act and said, "At the present moment, it is an hourly happening that a *goonda* comes from some unknown quarters and stabs a passer-by or attacks passengers in a crowded tram or a bus and by dangling his dagger amongst the innocent law-abiding unarmed citizens returns to his lair undetected. On the very sight of the dagger in the hand of the *goonda*, all the passers-by on the road and all the passengers of the tram and the bus run away helter-skelter because they are all unarmed and do not possess even a walking stick, as all the law-abiding citizens are prevented from carrying any lethal weapons owing to the promulgation of Sec. 144 while the lawless *goondas* do not care to abide by such laws, and are moving about with smuggled arms and looted arms from the arms shops in their possession." The Government of India can help the law-abiding intelligent and responsible persons to check goondalism by properly administering the Arms Act. Licenses for the possession and carrying of arms may be granted to all graduates, members of Corporations, Municipalities and District Boards, members of the Legislatures, both Central and Provincial and all income-tax payers. Licenses may generally be granted to such people except in cases of persons with criminal convictions and moral turpitude. The Indian Government should give this matter their urgent and careful consideration.

A Test for Indian Statesmanship

At the 3rd death anniversary of Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, the president Sir Jadunath Sarker drew a lesson from his life which all India will do well to remember. He said :

Sir P. C. Ray's greatest gift to India is the example of his life and the principle that he preached and illustrated throughout his life. That principle is that no nation can become great, no race can continue long on the face of the earth, unless it rigidly seeks efficiency and cherishes the spirit of progress. This is not a popular creed, but our Acharya, like a true *Sanyasi*, never feared to face unpopularity in proclaiming his true convictions, however much popular leaders might preach theories which flattered our national vanity and gained for them the applause of ignorant and immature youths.

This was the constant burden of his talks with me.

This eternal quest of efficiency, this sleepless vigilance and daily attempt at improvement was Sir P. C. Ray's highest teaching for India, and the

need for it was never greater than to-day. We are all crying for a free and nationalist Bengal. Our prayer seems likely to be granted by Providence. But such political liberty will prove a Dead Sea apple, unless we can rouse our nation to imbibe a new spirit and accept a new line of national work in the place of the long familiar methods of political agitation.

The spirit of Sir P. C. Ray is watching over us, I feel assured of it from my many intimate talks with him throughout his life. With the eye of imagination I can see him warning our nation in these words.

"Don't regard the separation of nationalist Bengal from Pakistan, as an end in itself; it is only a means to an end. This partition is really a challenge to the intelligence, spirit and character of the Bengali nation.

"Now more than ever before, Bengal must produce honest, deep-thinking, hard-working leaders, and disciplined progressive-minded earnest workers. No nepotism, no manipulation of the result of examinations, no special rule for specially favoured candidates, and no personal canvassing for posts to be tolerated. Bengal must place efficiency and progress in the forefront of its programme of social and political work, otherwise it will perish.

"Don't remain any longer satisfied with the old slogans of political agitation, for the age of agitation is past, that of constructive work has come."

If we can act up to his teaching, then only can we claim that though Prafulla Chandra is dead, yet he liveth. There is a supreme test before us in the coming years. Will the educational standard, the industrial efficiency, and the purity and vigour of the public services in Hindustan be better than the same things in Pakistan,—or will the two sections of India go down arm in arm together into the same bottomless pit in a competition to lower the standard, and thereby earn cheap popularity and enjoy an easy life for the time being? This will be the test by which our leaders and people will be judged in the coming years.

The survival of the fittest is a law of Nature, but it is a cruel law, a silent relentless law; and its enforcement by the new Government of our dreams, will certainly involve widespread unpopularity in the beginning; the preacher of such a policy will be denounced as an enemy of the common people, a proud aristocrat, a secret agent of the Satanic British Raj. But it is the duty of every true statesman, of every genuine patriot to face ignorant clamour and unpopularity in the pursuit of the lasting good of his nation. Such fearless statesmanship has been shown by many a leader in England in the course of her long history. Is Bengal to be barren of such a noble breed? No, the life of Sir P. C. Ray shines as a beaconlight and bids us hope for the best.

Bengalees Outside Bengal

News about bad treatment of Bengalees in some places of Orissa is reaching us for some time. Instead of improving, things are tending to become worse and insult of Bengalee girls in the streets and seaside of Puri seems to have become common. Recently, a letter published in the Bengali daily *Basumati* of Calcutta, contains a number of instances of how school and college students of Orissa have made it dangerous for young Bengali girls to come out of their homes in the open. The most disquieting part of the complaint is that the insults very often

take place in the presence of the police and no action is taken against the miscreants.

The conduct of Oriya boys, against whom complaints have been made, is to say the least, disgraceful. We hope the Oriya elders will stop it. We shall be glad to learn that there are only isolated events and do not reflect any general anti-Bengali feeling in Orissa. It will be painful to think of a hostile relation between two provinces in an independent India. Dishonour of women will not be tolerated.

The Dollar Crisis

The already stupendous gap in the world's trading accounts with U. S. yawns wider with each succeeding official figure, and now far surpasses the most pessimistic official expectations. According to the official statistics of U. S. foreign trade, the excess of U. S. exports over imports during May indicates the amazing total of \$11,000 millions a year. Together with the favourable balance of \$3,000 millions on service and other accounts it makes up a world deficit of \$14 billions a year. This compares with an earlier official estimate of \$7,000 millions which, it was thought, would be sufficient to draw an appreciable part of the world's gold reserves into the United States. With the increase in the world's deficit, the world will have to be prepared for an outflow of its gold into the States at the unprecedented rate of \$3,000 millions. The extent of actual dependence of the rest of the world on the U. S., however, is not conveyed by these calculations of dollars as in all this reckoning no account has been taken of the vast flow of American goods into Europe in pursuance of the aid plans for which no immediate payment is necessary.

The automatic counterpart of this dollar situation, in alarmingly draining the world's reserves of gold and dollars is evidenced in an extraordinary sequence of reports not merely from the European countries whose reserves are known to be weak, but even from Canada and Argentina which formerly ranked as the strongest of the strong. While the French franc's present exchange "now threatens to become wholly artificial" and India will be faced with "extreme scarcity of current sterling and dollars," Britain has been hit hardest of all because of its key-position in world trade and international finance. France has initiated an austerity drive, India has imposed restrictions on import of luxuries and Dr. Dalton has acquainted the British public with economic hardships. Britain has to revise its import policy, economising use of petrol, reducing the quota of tobacco, and gearing the British press into four-page editions. But the value of this austerity in meeting the dollar crisis is inconsiderable. For, the life of the dollar loan is extended only by a month thereby. Britain's drawings on her U. S. loan jumped from 600 million dollars in the second half of 1946 to 1,450 million in the first half of 1947. If this acceleration continues, the remaining 1,700 million dollars would not last even until the end of this year. India's command over foreign exchange is largely dependent on the availability of sterling to be converted into a multiple exchange by July 15. But viewed in the light of Britain's sorry plight sterling arrangements after July 15 would seem to operate in "an atmosphere of international monetary disorder." The Government of India therefore have been well-advised in refusing revalidity of the licences to import the

luxury goods. Early this year it became apparent that the liberal issue of import licenses for commercial goods had substantially contributed to India's adverse balance of trade. Besides cancelling open general licenses, the position brought in now is as follows :

(a) Articles such as foreign liquors, motor cars, fountain pens, cigars, cigarettes, domestic refrigerators (complete), wireless reception instruments, etc., will not be licensed at all. Some of these articles about 200 in number have been coming into the country in very large quantities in recent months and consuming foreign exchange.

(b) Essential goods, such as plant and machinery, on the other hand will be licensed freely.

(c) Articles which do not appear in either of these lists will be licensed up to certain monetary "ceilings." Import trade controllers have invited applications for licenses up to July 15.

An international dollar crisis on the threatened scale may give the Bretton Woods system an air of strange unreality before long. The 'National Advisory Council' which supervises U. S. Foreign economic policy, reported that by last April almost all U. S. governmental authorisation for foreign financial aid had been committed and that the remaining moneys were now clearly inadequate. The shrinkage of world trade, most surely consequent on this dollar anomaly, will, it is feared, lead to disproportionate fall in world production and give a terrific momentum to the forces of slump.

India Electrified

Over and above the headway with the two major irrigation and hydro-electricity projects—the Kosi and the Damodar, the Government have made considerable progress with the Mahanadi project, the Tapti-Narbada project, the Mor project and the Bengal Electrification scheme.

The Chairman of the Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission, Rai Bahadur Khosla and Mr. J. L. Savage, the American expert, recently visited the site at Hirakud. The report which has been recommended and has all the chances of its acceptance notwithstanding the local 'Satyagraha' in Sambalpur envisages the barrage construction across the Mahanadi at Hirakud, nine miles upstream from Sambalpur town. Canals will take off from the dam on either side of the river and irrigate 1.1 million acres in the district of Sambalpur and adjoining areas, resulting in an increase in the output of foodcrops by 350,000 tons a year. There will be two power houses, one at the main dam and the other 12 miles down. They will use the head located by the construction of the dam at Hirakud and the steep slope of the river downstream for a distance of the 25 miles to generate 3 million kilowatts of power. The scheme when completed, will also afford flood protection to the delta area of Orissa and greatly improve existing navigation facilities on the Mahanadi. With the extensive mineral and forest resources of the province now under survey of the Geological Department, the project will help in the fulfilment of great industrial possibilities in the area. Besides, except for an expenditure of about Rs. 6 crores on flood control, the project is expected to be self-supporting.

Work on multipurpose development of the Narbada and Tapti rivers in the Bombay Presidency on

the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority and utilisation of the water resources of the province will, as is revealed by Mr. Bhabha, Member, Works, Mines and Power, Government of India, in one of his recent interviews to the *Associated Press of India*, be soon taken up by the Central Government in co-operation with the Government of Bombay. This scheme for construction of dams in the upper reaches of the Narbada and Tapti rivers to mitigate the intensity of floods during the monsoon will cost about Rs. 4 to 5 crores and the dams, when completed, will be able to impound flood water to be extent of 90,000 million cubic feet. Mr. Bhabha felt confident that when the Narbada-Tapti project was complete, the benefits accruing to Bombay Presidency and in particular to Surat and Broach districts would be immense. Vast areas hitherto uncultivated, he said, would soon be brought under perennial irrigation.

The Bengal Government schemes for the electrical development of the province were explained by Col. R. L. Evans, Special Officer, Electricity Development, Bengal, at a weekly luncheon meeting of Calcutta Rotary Club. The schemes envisage the linking together of as many towns and villages, as economically practicable by higher power transmission systems using existing generating stations for supply. The first and the main scheme, accepted by the Government, is the North Calcutta Electrification Scheme, which entails running a power line from Gouripore to Ranaghat and on to Burdwan in one direction and to Nabadwip, Krisnagar and possibly Katwa in another. As an extension to this, a second scheme, known as the East Calcutta Electrification Scheme, has been prepared under which a similar line will be extended from Ranaghat through Bongaon and Jessore to Khulna. Transformer stations at Jessore and Khulna would step down the high voltage current for supply to surrounding areas as far apart as Bagerhat and Saikupa. Provision has also been made for a power line from Barrackpore through Basirhat to Baraset and Taki. Other schemes provide for the supply of electricity to Diamond Harbour, Port Canning and neighbouring areas and for the interlinking of Midnapore and Kharagpur, Narayanganj and Dacca. The B. N. Ry.'s generating station at Kharagpur and the Dacca Electric Supply station would be used for such interlinking. Electrification of North Bengal is visualised from the prospects of the resources of the Jaldhaka river, between Bhutan and Kalimpong, being used for the purpose. Electricity will thus be made available not only to the Dooars and Darjeeling tea gardens but could also be utilised for the construction of the Teesta Valley dam when that project is undertaken. Further development of five nursery power stations in East Bengal at Brahmanbaria, Narsingdi, Bhairabbar, Chaumuhani and Feni is contemplated. Three sites in East Bengal on Karnafuli, Gumti and Someswari rivers are being investigated in this connection.

A second construction on the model of the Damodar project of the 1,200 ft. long barrage, two canals and necessary distributaries, all forming the irrigation part of the Rs. 7,00,00,000 double purpose Mor project has been sanctioned by the Bengal Government. This section of the scheme which may take five years to complete, subject to availability of materials and plant, will cost Rs. 4,00,00,000. Besides irrigating nearly the whole of the Mor basin in

Bengal, the project will generate 3,000 k.w. of hydro-electric power with an additional 1,000 k.w. during rains. But the Bihar Government has not sanctioned the building of the 125 ft. high concrete dam at Mersanjar. Their objection to its construction is that it will inundate 41.5 square miles of land in Bihar. It is clear that some inter-provincial co-ordination is necessary and the matter will form an agenda in the next conference on the Damodar Valley project in New Delhi.

The various aspects of the multipurpose development of a river like irrigation, hydro-electric development, flood control, control of soil erosion, fish culture and navigation, etc., are indivisible parts of one project. At the same time, there is an unavoidable division of control over these different aspects between the Centre and the provinces. Thus the control of navigation on rivers, in view of its importance to Defence and Communications, would be a Central or Union concern. While irrigation, flood control and hydro-electric power should be provincial subjects as they are connected with the provincial revenue and nation-building purposes. Realising this apparent conflict, the Government has decided upon a co-ordination of the various projects amongst themselves and between the Centre and provinces basing on the broad principle of centralizing the policy and decentralizing the authority. Accordingly, the Government propose to set up a number of bodies like an Arbitration Board, a Water and Power Commission and Catchment Boards for the various regions. "The new constitution should ensure," says the pamphlet issued by the Central Board of Irrigation on the waterways of India, "that all provinces and States will be free to develop, administer and legislate in respect of the generation and distribution of hydro-electric power and the distribution of water from natural streams within their respective territorial jurisdiction. They should also develop freely the resources of waterways which are entirely within their territorial boundaries.

"With respect to regional waterways, that is those that pass through more than one unit, the provinces and the States should exercise full powers with respect to such waters as are allocated to them for such purposes as by mutual agreement between the parties concerned or by the decision of a Statutory Arbitration Board.

"With respect to navigation, the authority to be exercised by the provincial governments should be subject to such direction and control as the Union Government may like to exercise. The units should be free, in case of dispute to seek a decision by an Arbitration Board.

"With respect to flood control and subsoil waters, the provincial and State governments should exercise full powers, but, if the action of one unit is likely to interfere with that of another unit, the latter unit, in the absence of mutual agreement should be at liberty to refer the matter to the Arbitration Board and the decision of that Board should be final."

Co-operative Registrars' Conference

The All-India Conference of the Registrars of Co-operative Societies held at Madras considered the recommendations of the Co-operative Planning Committee for linking the credit societies to a multipurpose

objective, introducing co-operative farming and housing, establishing an All-India Co-operative Council and a network of co-operative colleges and helping food production. In the absence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad who was present only in the last day's deliberations, the meeting was presided over by Sir Pheroze Khareghat, Secretary of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India.

One recommendation is: "As the supply of credit touches only one aspect of the life of the cultivator, the activities of the primary co-operative societies should be so extended as to cover the whole of his life. The primary credit society should, therefore, be reformed and reorganised so as to serve as a centre for the general economic development of its members." The reorganised primary agricultural societies should, therefore, (a) finance crop production, (b) act as agent for the sale of the produce to the nearest co-operative marketing organisation, (c) supply the farmer's simple needs for crop production like seed, cattlefeed, fertiliser and agricultural implements, and also consumer goods like cloth, kerosene, salt and matches, (d) serve as milk-collecting station for the nearest dairy and as a centre for animal first aid and maintenance of stud-bulls, (e) serve as a centre for maintaining agricultural machinery for the joint use of the members, and (f) encourage subsidiary occupations of the members. Sir Pheroze Khareghat remarked that though there could be no objection if a primary credit society acted on behalf of a trading society, it would not in any case be desirable for a credit society to take up trading.

As to farming the Committee recommends that the State, whenever it acquires land by reclamation or otherwise should set it apart for the settlement of ex-servicemen and landless labourers, who should be organised into co-operative collective farming or tenant farming societies, and that co-operative better farming societies should be more extensively organised, with at least two such societies in each district. In accepting this recommendation, the meeting added an amendment to the effect that the Government of India should send a delegation to study the working of co-operative farming societies in the U.S.S.R.

For the removal of the housing lag the recommendation of the Planning Committee is that the urban banks with a paid-up share capital and reserve fund of Rs. 50,000 and over, and with ten years' standing should be permitted to invest up to 40 per cent of their surplus funds on development purposes. In fact, Madras Government has already undertaken a co-operative house construction scheme. The scheme proposes to construct, as revealed by Rao Bahadur J. C. Ryan, Joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, 2500 houses at a cost of Rs. 2½ crores at Kalpadi. A similar scheme is in hand in Mangalore where it is proposed to construct 3600 houses. In Coimbatore some 3000 houses are to be built. There are also other smaller schemes for villages. The provincial government, as emphasised by the Registrar, are doing their best to get materials, such as cement and steel and expected from the Centre, at least a loan, if not subsidy for the purpose.

In conformity with the growing view that inspection should be a function of the non-officials only audit remaining as the statutory function of the Registrar, the Planning Committee recommended that every province should provide itself with an organisa-

tion to establish close and continuous association between the nation-building departments of the Government, co-operative workers and leading non-officials by setting up a provincial co-operative council. To ensure co-ordination of effort among the various development departments on an all-India basis, an all-India Council of Co-operation should be set up, the governing body consisting of 34 members, with an advisory board. The functions of the All-India Council would generally be (1) to watch, guide and foster co-operative movement in the country, (2) to advise the provinces and States on matters relating to agricultural co-operation, industrial co-operation, co-operative marketing, etc., and on the applicability of co-operative methods in carrying out schemes of improved farming, cattle breeding, etc., that may be suggested by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research or by the Central Cotton Committee, and (3) to work as a clearing house of information for the country on all matters relating to the co-operative movement.

Expressing its concern over the food situation, the conference resolved: "In view of the continued critical food situation in the country, this conference recommends for the consideration of various governments, (a) the prices of agricultural produce should be maintained at a level which would link them with the prices of articles which the agriculturists need, (b) preference should be given to the supply of articles of agriculturists over the supply of the needs of other interests and (c) co-operation of agriculturists should be secured particularly in the harvesting of produce, by closing various agricultural institutions at the time of harvest to enable boys to take part in the harvest."

Socialist Workers' Republic in Burma

The Anti-Fascist People's League, which commands 95 per cent of votes in the Assembly and won recent elections, unanimously adopted a draft constitution under which Burma would be a "Socialist Workers' Republic." Addressing the session of the Party Convention, U Aung San, President, Anti-Fascist People's League and Deputy Chairman of the Burmese Interim Government said that the draft constitution was generally modelled on the Yugoslav pattern, while the idea of establishing a chamber of nationalities was taken from the Russian system. According to Aung San, "The republic of Burma will be a State founded on the principles of the new war-born democracy and not the old time-worn democracy of the Anglo-Americans. This Burmese democracy will be a step towards restoration of the working man's rights."

The Chamber of Nationalities will comprise seven provincial councils with a total of 150 members including 70 Burmans and representatives of the minority races and the frontier tribes on a population basis. The frontier areas' representatives will comprise 26 Shans, 7 Kachins, 4 Karennis, 6 Chins, and 2 from other tribes. Forty-five representatives of Burma's frontier tribesmen will join the Constituent Assembly when it meets according to the calculation of Sao Sam Htun, a Shan Chieftain, who has just assumed the post of Counsellor for Frontier Areas in the Burmese Interim Government.

As to the future of the Interim Government, a general election will be held soon after promulgation.

of the new constitution, whereupon a provisional government will be formed replacing the present Interim Government. This provisional government will formally take over power from the British Government and negotiate treaties with Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Commending the proposals contained in the draft constitution, U. Aung San observed: "We have not tried to copy anything for the sake of copying. We have no partiality towards any particular 'isms'—except patriotism. Our motto is improvement of the lot of the common people in our country. Anything we have tried to utilise from the modern constitutions of the world, we have selected with utmost care and have thoroughly adapted them to suit Burma's aspirations and Burmese genius.

Referring to the proposal in the draft constitution to set up a 'chamber of nationalities' consisting of representatives of all parts of the Union of Burma, Aung San said, "I do not see how this creates a multi-national problem. It brings together various racial and minority groups within the country on terms of equality, mutual respect and common purpose. It is a practical measure for unification—an act of goodwill and generosity on the part of Anti-Fascist People's League as Burma's premier political organisation towards our brethren of the frontier areas who have befittingly responded to our gesture."

Discussing Burma's future relations with world powers, he said: "In the international sphere our idea is not independence but interdependence. In deciding in favour of declaring Burma as an independent, sovereign State, we have not in the least been swayed by sentiment."

Frontier and Sylhet Referendum

Referendums in the Frontier Province and the Sylhet district in Assam taken under the June 3 plan, have been completed and the results announced. The N.-W. F. P. referendum has resulted in the province declaring by a majority in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. A *communiqué* issued from the Viceroy's House analysed the result thus:

Valid votes for Pakistan ..	289,244
Valid votes for India ..	2,874
Majority ..	286,370

The percentage of valid votes to the electorate entitled to vote was, however, very slightly higher than half, the actual figure being 50.99 per cent. The total electorate entitled to vote in the referendum was 572,798. The percentage of votes for Pakistan was therefore only 50.49. The number of non-Muslim voters on the electoral role is 84,781.

The referendum results on the Frontier is a clear proof that although a vocal and fighting section of the Pathans are behind Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan, half of the Pathan population are not enamoured of it. It must be remembered that the referendum was fought on the issue of Pakistan *versus* Hindustan. Now that the Pathanistan movement is gaining momentum charm for Pakistan is fading away. With Afghan support, the Pathanistan movement is tending to become irresistible. Even now, if there be another referendum in the N.-W. F. P. on the issue of Pakistan *versus* Pathanistan, indications are there that the latter is sure to win. By boycotting the Frontier referendum, Pathan

Congressmen have made Jinnah's way still more thorny.

The Sylhet referendum has also resulted in a majority of 55,578 votes in favour of joining Eastern Bengal. Valid votes for joining Eastern Bengal were 236,619 and those for remaining in Assam 184,041. The percentage of valid votes to the total electorate entitled to vote was 77.83.

Bengal Boundary Commission

Nearly two hundred and fifty memoranda had been submitted to the Bengal Boundary Commission, most of them coming from the minorities in Muslim majority areas and claiming inclusion in the province of West Bengal. A dire anxiety of the minorities to get away from a Muslim administration is the cause that has resulted in the submission of such a large number of memoranda. The past ten years' history of Muslim rule in Bengal fully justifies this fear.

The Congress has tried to be more than fair to the Muslims in the memorandum that it has submitted. It has submitted a scheme and a plan. It has fought for the scheme and has asked the Commission to reject the plan.

The Congress scheme claimed the inclusion in West Bengal of the Burdwan and Presidency divisions (excluding portions of Nadia, Jessore and Khulna districts), a small tract of Rajshahi district, the thanas of Gaurnadi, Najipur, Sarupkati and Jhalakati in the district of Backerganj, the Gopalganj Sub-division and the Rajair thana in the Faridpur district. These are demanded on the ground that they are contiguous Hindu majority areas. In Nadia, the portion of Kustia Sub-division lying on the east of the Gorai river is excluded from West Bengal. The scheme also excludes from the district of Jessore the portion lying east of the Gorai river consisting of Alfadanga thana and a part of Muhammadpur thana. Two thanas of Khulna district, viz., Morelganj and Sarankhola are also excluded. The scheme claims the whole of the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts as well as the Hindu majority thanas of Dimla and Hatibanda in the Rangpur district as contiguous Hindu majority areas, and the Police Station of Bhurungamari as the only railway line connecting the Indian Union with Assam passes through it. Six thanas in the east and two in the south of the Dinajpore district and five thanas in Maldah are kept out of the demand.

The main bases of the Congress demand are, contiguity of the non-Muslim population apart, the need for control over headwaters, safety and security, ensuring a green belt for the supply of food and other requirements of Calcutta and questions of communications, public health and development.

The Congress memorandum asks for the inclusion in West Bengal of an area of 40,137 sq. miles with a total population of 28,032,000. This will consist of 31.78 per cent Muslims and 68.22 per cent non-Muslims, forming 45 per cent of the present total population of Bengal. The Chittagong Hill Tracts, with an area of 5,007 sq. miles and a population of 247,053 has been kept out of consideration and is not included in the totals.

It enunciates the following guiding principles to effect partition:

"The two parts respectively to contain as large a proportion as practicable of the total Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the province of Bengal.

The boundary being the boundary between two States must be contiguous; and necessarily the existence of many pockets and areas containing a majority of Muslim population in the western part, and a majority of non-Muslim population in the eastern part will have to be accepted.

If without substantially affecting these principles there could be found any natural boundary, namely, rivers over any portion of the boundary line that should be adopted.

Subject to the above rules any special reasons for any area to be incorporated either in the western or in the eastern part should be considered.

In applying these rules for effecting partition the following matters have to be noted:

The present administrative units, namely, Divisions, Districts, Sub-divisions or Police Stations cannot be treated as indivisible units for purposes of partition, having regard to the object of the partition.

They will have to be referred to as convenient areas for judging the distribution of Muslim and non-Muslim populations, and as areas for which there is a published census of the population.

They may be considered as units of partition when, besides being mere administrative units, they are also geographical and economic units so interconnected that their separation for partition purposes should, if possible, be avoided."

In a Note on Calcutta, the Congress memorandum states:

"Calcutta is the heart of West Bengal. It is a city within the boundaries of the districts of 24 Parganas where the non-Muslim population forms 67.53 per cent of the total, excluding the population of Calcutta. The area of Calcutta is 34 sq. miles; its population, according to the census of 1941, is 2,108,891 of which 497,535 i.e., only 23.59 per cent are Muslims.

According to the roll of 1944, the total number of electors in Calcutta is 68,567, of which only 10,149 or 14.8 per cent are Muslims.

Out of a total of 81,159 houses in Calcutta, only 6,863, i.e., 8.45 per cent, are held by Muslims. There are 32 Municipal Wards in the city of Calcutta. In seven out of these 32 Wards, the percentages of Muslim holdings is less than one. There are as many as 13 Wards in which the percentage is less than five and 23 Wards in which it is less than 15. There is not a single Ward where the percentage of Muslim holdings is 50 or above.

The total amount of consolidated rates payable in Calcutta is Rs. 5,219,674, out of which those payable by Muslims amount to Rs. 323,324, i.e., to 6.2 per cent of the total. In 19 out of the 32 Wards the percentage of rates payable by Muslims is less than five. There are only four Wards where it is about 25 per cent.

Calcutta is after all a part of what is known as Greater Calcutta. A comparison of the position of Muslims with that of non-Muslims in relation to the extended area of Greater Calcutta may be considered relevant. In this area, there is a total population of 3,571,899 out of which only 809,608 or 22.6 per cent are Muslims."

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha claimed that the new West Bengal province should comprise the entire Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Maldah district, Rajshahi town, and the portion of Faridpur and Barisal districts bounded by the Arial Khan and Barisal rivers. The Hindu Mahasabha pointed out that they were not merely settling the boundary lines between the two new provincial governments. The frontier of West Bengal would also be the frontier of the Indian Union. On this ground, the Mahasabha laid much emphasis on the need of a natural boundary.

The Muslim League made a very tall claim which they failed to justify with arguments before the Commission. They demanded that the Bhagirathi up to Katwa and the Brahmani thereafter should form the boundary line between the Muslim majority and the non-Muslim majority states of Bengal. According to the League, the new East Bengal province should comprise Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions, almost the entire Presidency Division with the exclusion of three Police Stations and certain portions of the Burdwan Division. The League demand included Calcutta.

The League claims Calcutta on various grounds. It says that the city has been built mainly by the resources of East Bengal. Nearly half of its population is engaged in industries maintained by East Bengal. It is the only usable and sizable port for trade and commerce for the entire province. Chittagong cannot serve as well for East Bengal because of difficult communications. The city is situated within that part of the country which, according to the Muslim League, "nature has made one where the Muslims are in the majority." The absurdity and hollowness of League claim on Calcutta has been proved by the Congress and the Mahasabha. If East Bengal can claim Calcutta on the ground that it was built mainly on the resources of East Bengal, it can also claim Dundee. If Muslim sailors can claim the Calcutta port as their property on the ground that it was built "with their blood," they can as well claim London and New York.

The Boundary Commission has concluded its sittings and it is understood that two separate reports have been prepared separately by the Hindu and Muslim Judges. The final Report is awaited and is expected to be released about August 10 or thereabout.

The Burma Assassinations

The world was shocked to learn of the murder of a number of members of the Burmese Executive Council headed by General Aung San. It is highly regrettable that at a time when this new country was engaged in preparing for independence under its young leader, party rivalry has thrown Burma into such a turmoil. It was not a political coup, but a dastardly murder and this is the worst feature of the crime. U Saw has been arrested after a fight with the police and Dr. Ba Maw has fled. The A.F.P.F.L. continues to remain in power. We hope Burma will recover this blow and continue in its path of progress.

MEMORANDUM ON BEHALF OF RAJSHAHI AND MALDAH DISTRICTS

Foreigners do not realise that there is nothing sacrosanct about the boundaries of the modern Bengal districts. Not one of them is a geographical area with a scrupulously preserved historical frontier going up to traditional times, as is the case with the counties of England. Nor have they sharp and unchangeable natural features to demarcate them, except on one side here and there. In fact, the districts of Bengal in 1947 are creations of the British period, caused by administrative convenience or even caprice, and the same causes have repeatedly added to or diminished their areas in the preceding century and a half of British rule. For example, the historical Rajshahi of the pre-British times was three times the size of the mutilated district that bears the same name today. Hence the partitioning of Bengal presents a simple problem, provided that there are, on both sides, good will and an agreement to construct a workable, orderly and economical State in each half of our province, and this agreement is given supremacy above every consideration of party, prestige or sectional gain.

It should never be forgotten that the frontier question between the Indian Union and Pakistan, as far as Bengal is concerned, is in no respect akin to the International frontier problems, like that between Poland and Russia, or between Greece and Albania. Curzon's Romance Lecture on Frontiers deals with a different world altogether. In Bengal, it is more like the legal partition of a landed estate between two brothers for ensuring more efficient and peaceful management. Here in the two halves of Bengal, the population is absolutely one by race, language, and manner of life, they differ only in religion, but a Hindu in East Bengal will have the same relations with the Muslims there as his brethren in West Bengal have with the Muslims of that half. Hence, the difference is simply a matter of geography and ought to be solved by administration.

Religion keeps the people of East Bengal internally divided, exactly the same way as in West Bengal by forbidding dinner, marriage and worship together. But both sects in both areas, speak the same language, write the same alphabet (which is different from those of Western Pakistan and of Central Hindu-land), and have so long read and composed the same literature. The Hindus and the Muslims of Bengali origin have lived together side by side in peace for so many centuries in their villages that it is now impossible to draw a clear-cut geographical line which would separate the Hindus from the Muslims without leaving any large pocket of the one sect in the territory of the other.

Therefore, in every conceivable plan of partition, some pockets will have to be conceded, and our concern is to find out a line that causes the least amount of (religious) isolation while ensuring the greatest compactness and administrative convenience and economy. Without such compactness no State can come into existence and no State can do any good to its people.

Hence, three principles must be accepted before

the map of Bengal can be re-drawn to any useful purpose, or such a partition can last.

1. (a) Physical continuity by land or some big river, between the different parts of the same demi-Province must be ensured, and,

(b) subject to that supreme consideration being fulfilled, the frontier between the two halves of Bengal should, where possible, be some river or marsh, otherwise it will be impossible to prevent smuggling escape of criminals, hatching of gang conspiracies except at a cost to the two administrations that is impossible (e.g., the smuggling of liquor and opium from French Chandernagore). To ensure this *sine qua non*, some concession will have to be made on both sides, and some pockets of one sect allowed to remain in the territory of the other. The problem for statesmanship is how to reduce the number of such pockets to a minimum, while securing the maximum of administrative efficiency and future peace. This makes a continuous stretch of territory of West Bengal between Darjeeling and Calcutta necessary. Such a frontier will make this territory administratively workable and give its government a fair chance of progress.

2. Where there are Hindu paraganas or thanahs in a district classed as a Muslim-majority district according to its present boundaries, with many Hindu paraganas or thanahs in the next district, either adjacent to the former Hindu tracts or separated by only a Muslim pocket, these Hindu areas may fairly claim to be joined to the Hindu district, and the intervening Muslim pocket or two will be included in the Hindu district so expanded. Similarly, Hindu pockets in the heart of predominantly Muslim districts must remain there. The same option should be given to Muslim pockets in Hindu districts if they lie on the frontier of any Muslim district.

3. Mere count of heads is not the chief consideration in deciding the future of any area. For the country's progress, and even future peace, we must see to it that where any compact Hindu (or Muslim) pargana or thanah, within the existing limits of Muslim (or Hindu) district has developed nearly all the institutions and business concerns with the Hindus' own money and enterprise, these people's stake in that area should be safeguarded by its being tacked on to Hindustan (or Pakistan), if it can be done by the separation of a few Muslim (or Hindu) pockets from Pakistan (or Hindustan) as the case may be. For example, the Boalia thanah is a Hindu sub-area and all its institutions are due to Hindu generosity (see Appendix I). If it be not ominous to refer to the partition of Sudetan areas from Czecho-Slovakia, the principle of "Stake in the land" was admitted by both Chamberlain and Hitler.

PROPOSED BOUNDARY LINE FROM THE NORTH SOUTHWARDS

In view of the above facts, it is suggested that the eastern boundary line of West Bengal be drawn from Darjeeling through the Dinajpur district (88°45 ft.

East longitude), to Patnitala (Nurpur) at the North end of the Rajshahi district, then run due South along the Atrai river, and from Vaidyapur along the Siv-nadi branch of the Atrai, through the Manda Swamp, southwards by the Kumari Beel to the river Baranai and then along the river Baranai to its confluence with the river Mushakhan and then along the river Mushakhan to its confluence with the river Boral and then along the river Boral to meet the river Padma (near Chorghat); and this will include the town of Rajshahi (situated in the Hindu majority thanah of Boalia) in West Bengal. The Malda district will naturally come into West Bengal.

In the Rajshahi portion as sliced off above, the Hindus are 46 per cent of the population; but when along with that the Malda district is joined to Western Bengal, the Hindus will form a majority in the combined area.

ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE MALDA DISTRICT

The claim for including the Malda district in West Bengal rests on the inescapable facts of geography. It is situated in the extreme west of the frontier of Bengal, hemmed in between Bihar (a predominantly Hindu province) on its west, and the big bulk of the Hindu majority area of western Dinajpur and many Hindu pockets of Rajshahi on its east. Above all, the railway line from Godagari on the Ganges (Padma river) northwards to Bihar and Darjeeling, is the natural route for unbroken land connection between the northern and southern portions of that Bengal which has joined the Union Centre of India. Pakistani Bengal has no reason to grudge the loss of that portion of the Godagari line which passes through Rajshahi and Malda, as it has the main B. A. Railway line and the vast network of railways in Eastern Bengal, as a more than adequate compensation in communication facilities. If the short Godagari line is fragmented between rival States, there would be endless trouble and unimaginable expenditure by reason of interruption at custom-barriers, and police control, due to diverse administrative machinery. That can not be a business proposition.

Happily, the Malda district has compact Muslim areas only in its extreme north-west corner, its south-west fringe and its south-eastern portion which juts into the Rajshahi district. All of these, except the last, are bounded by Hindu areas. In the whole district the Muslims number 56 per cent and the Hindus 44 per cent (fractions omitted).

There is no real injustice to Malda going over to the Indian Union, as it was joined to the Hindu province of Bihar till 1905. From the point of view of religion, too, the Muslim memorials here are mostly dead, while there are many centres of Vaishnav pilgrimage in it which are living fountains of faith to millions of Hindus every year even now.

In the minimum scheme submitted by the Congress only a narrow strip of land in the Malda district (at places merely ten or twelve miles wide) connects the southern portion of Union Bengal (i.e., the country south of the Padma river) with the northern portion of the same demi-Province (namely, Western Dinajpur and further north to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling). Thus

both the railways in Bengal running north to south (namely, the Sara Bridge to Parbatipur and the Godagari lines) will fall into Pakistan. At least one of these two lines (necessarily, the Godagari line passing through west Rajshahi and south Malda, with the future possibility of a bridge at Godagari) must remain in the Union Bengal area.

If we have to maintain the port of Calcutta, with the Bhagirathi fast silting up, there should be a barrage over the Padma (as suggested by Sir William Wilcocks) below the Mathabhanga offtake—some 20 miles downstream (and east) of Rajshahi town. Thus only can a requisite amount of the enormous Ganges flood during the monsoons, be made to flow through the dried and drying channels of the western parts of the Presidency Division, and ultimately through the Bhagirathi. A barrage at a site higher up the Mathabhanga is not physically possible on account of hydrographic difficulties.

These proposed irrigation works will save south Bengal from malaria and depopulation, and by improving agriculture and public health in an unimaginable degree, they will benefit all the Hindu and Muslim inhabitants of the vast area of south-west Bengal.

The port of Calcutta depends for its life on the hinterland north of the Ganges (here called the Padma), no less than on the southern areas like Nadia, Jessore, &c.

APPENDIX

Institutions of Rajshahi town (i.e. P. S. Boalia)

(i) The Varendra Research Society and Museum founded by the munificence of late Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatia.

(ii) A Sanskrit College founded and maintained by Puthia Raj (Hindu Zeminder)—the only Sanskrit College in North Bengal.

(iii) An Agricultural Institute—the only one in North Bengal founded by the munificent grant of Kumar Basanta Kumar Roy of Dighapatia and the Agricultural Farm to which it is attached obtained 300 bighas of Agricultural lands as gift from the (Hindu) Raja of Dighapatia.

(iv) An Industrial School—the only one in North Bengal (outside Rangpur and Pabna) which turns out Surveyors (*Amins*) and Overseers.

(v) A Deaf and Dumb School with none of its kind in North Bengal.

(vi) Several educational institutions named after their founders (who are all Hindus): e.g., Bholanath Biswaswar Hindu Academy, Loke Nath H. E. School, Pramatha Nath Girls H. E. School, Sabitri Sikshalaya.

(vii) The Rajshahi Collegiate School—built by the Puthia Raj

(viii) The Rajshahi College—founded and endowed by the Hindu Zemindars of Rajshahi.

(ix) The local Hospital—named after the name of late Raja Pramatha Nath Roy of Dighapatia and the Town Hall after the name of the late Raja Pramada Nath Roy of Dighapatia.

(x) The town is full of ancient Hindu temples held in great veneration by the Hindu public.

Submitted by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.M. Bidhushekhara Shastri, Dr. Meghnad Saha and representatives of the Rajshahi and Maldah Districts.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA

By "OBSERVER"

THE third session of the Constituent Assembly is bound to become a landmark in the history of India. Among other things, the session was remarkable for the consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights and for the acceptance of many of the recommendations contained therein.

Fundamental Rights, in the ultimate analysis, signify nothing but the basic principles on which the relations of the members of a community are determined in all walks of their lives. In other words they constitute the ideological foundation of the legal relations of men in society and State. They are the goal men seek to reach in their lives. They are the atmosphere which permits the full development of the human spirit. They prescribe the type of political and social machinery which men must have to be happy and contented in their lives. It is for this reason that the scheme of rights maintained in any society or State reveals the nature and character of that society or State. The framing and formulating the scheme of fundamental rights is, therefore, the most important task that anybody can undertake, for to frame them is to determine the destiny of the nation and the individual for centuries to come. The Indian Constituent Assembly in its third session was engaged on this epoch-making task.

The scheme of fundamental rights that it has so far approved constitutes in our opinion a revolution by itself. It changes or at least proposes to change the legal foundations of the Indian society and government—and the change it proposes to introduce is a far-reaching one indeed. Indian society has so far rested on the view that each individual citizen, as a member of the Divine Community, can find his highest fulfilment only by his complete self-effacement in the religious community or in God, who is the soul of this community.

Every Indian, be he a Hindu or Muslim, or Sikh or Christian, has thus what may be termed, the organic view of life. He has duties fixed to his society—and his fulfilment consists in the honest discharge of these duties. At least, in our opinion this has been the historical outlook of the people of this ancient land. There may have been individuals, here and there, who might have dissented from it. But the ordinary people as also the literate of this land have not put themselves as the centre of all achievement and all efforts. They have toiled and laboured for the sake of the family or the caste. Of course, we in India did not develop that aggressive nationalistic sentiment which certain western communities came to have and which resulted in the Fascist dictatorships in a number of European countries. But what the nation was to Europe that the family and the caste has been to us. Even among non-Hindus the individual did not count for much. The church or the religious community entirely kept the individual subordinate to themselves. The spiritual-cum-social view of life in India was to a considerable degree opposed to the secular-cum-individualist view of Europe. We do

recognise and in certain philosophical speculations some Indian thinkers of the ancient, medieval and modern times did recognise the primacy of the self. But in social theory and practice the view throughout held has been what is usually termed the organic view. Naturally Indian social theory neither recognised the equality of all individuals irrespective of all considerations except their humanity nor did it accept that they had any inalienable and indefeasible rights against the State or Society. On the contrary, the Indian social theory accepted that each individual by virtue of sex, profession, colour, caste or creed had a certain status in society and State and by virtue of this status alone could he claim to have some privileges in that Society and State. Indian society was unequalitarian and to a certain degree at least, illiberal in its character. Opinions may, however, differ about the nature of Indian Society, but we believe all will accept that the Government in India, in the ultimate analysis, was authoritarian and exploitative in character. We need not consider the nature of government in ancient or in medieval India. But the British rule in India was beyond all doubt authoritarian in its basis and actions. The British rulers did not recognise the rights of Indians to share in government or any of its operations. The authority of Parliament of England was supreme and unquestionable. The laws that Indians had to obey were made by their alien masters and were conceived in the interests of such masters. Of course, the British rulers permitted Indians to act on their own initiative within certain limited spheres. But whatever freedom the Indians enjoyed was on sufferance of the British masters. It could be abrogated and modified at the sweet discretion of these white rulers. Not only was the Government illiberal but it also did not recognise the equality of citizens. The Government accepted sex, colour, caste and creed as grounds of distinction and discrimination between different subjects of His Majesty. The administrative services were not open to women. The army was not open as a rule, to non-martial races. Thus the Government recognised both inequality and autocracy as principles of political organisation and action.

The Assembly by its Charter of Fundamental Rights seeks to abolish the illiberal and unequalitarian society and State. It could not but do so. The social and political structure in India has cracked beyond repair. The rise of modern large-scale industry, the development of the speedy means of transport and locomotion, the familiarity of Indians with the rational ideas of modern science, have all combined to create a new outlook in the Indian people. The old structure in the economic, political and cultural spheres has broken down and fails to solve the problems of the masses or the classes. Society and State both fail to give that feeling of refuge and safety to their members which is the basis of loyalty of the latter to the former. Man, in fear and in panic, has turned against his neighbour. Every man walks in

continual fear of death. The city and the village have both lost their security and their peace. The old order, if not dead, is at least in a state of coma and collapse. If Indians are to live and if they are to remain civilised, it is absolutely necessary that they should have a new State and Society which can deliver the goods to them. It is this paramount need of building a new world for the men and women of India that has led the Constituent Assembly to formulate its list of Fundamental Rights.

The Assembly has accepted the individual as the centre and soul of all social and political relations. It takes for granted that all human organisations exist to secure the welfare of their individual members. These organisations do not have any purposes of their own which is over and above to the purposes of all their individual members. This individualistic view of life is opposed to the organic view on which Indian society had rested so far. The acceptance of the individualistic view, therefore, by itself constitutes a far-reaching and radical change.

The Assembly, by virtue of its individualistic approach, accepts the twin principles of Liberty and Equality as the bases of the new order.

The rights of equality which citizens will have in Free India are defined in clauses 4 to 7. An examination of these clauses reveals that the Assembly has swept away all the different kinds of inequality that exist in India. In the first place the Assembly provides that the future State of India will be completely impartial in its attitude towards all citizens. It will not favour any class, or caste or sex in the matter of the benefits it confers or the opportunities for good life that it secures. This impartiality is guaranteed by Clause 4 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights wherein is stated that "the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex." This Clause, in our opinion, is bound to have the following implications. In the first place, each person in free India would have one vote and one vote only. Any qualification for purposes of franchise would be general in character. In any case it would not rest on any of the conditions stated in the clause given above. Thus free India will not exclude women from possessing the right of vote. Not only that. It would extend the right of vote to women on the same conditions as it gives it to men. In this respect no distinction would be made between woman and man. Not only women will be voters, but under this clause they will be eligible to enter the Legislatures, the ministries, and the other offices in the pay of the country on the same terms as men are able to do. From the viewpoint of the State, there would be no distinction between man and woman. The Indian Assembly has thus effected a revolution in the legal status of Indian womanhood. The remarkable fact about this revolution is that it has been carried through without any opposition from any section. Western women had to wage a long and bitter struggle to get political rights. Even then they were countries in Europe in which political rights were not enjoyed by women till recently. India, in this respect, has gone ahead of even some of the advanced countries of the west. It is, no doubt, true that women will take some time before they are able to enjoy the rights so generously conferred to any appreciable extent. But this does not in the least detract from the greatness of the step taken by the Assembly. We are sure that the

future generations of women will refer to this session as the turning point in their social and political conditions in India. By taking this step, the Assembly has shown to India and to the world that it stands for justice—for the fullest possible opportunity to each human being by virtue of his or her humanity.

The egalitarian and humanitarian outlook of the Assembly is visible not only from its attitude towards women. It is also evident from what it has done for those who have so far been treated as untouchables. There have been many a foreigner who have doubted whether free India will do anything for these down-trodden people. But the Assembly has by clause 6 made the practice of untouchability in any form or manner illegal and punishable as an offence in free India. This decision of the Assembly is bound to rank with such historic events as the Rise of Buddhism or Christianity or the Protest of Luther. Mankind shall remember the day when the Assembly consisting of an immense majority of caste Hindus decided to declare untouchability a crime punishable by law. This decision, as Gandhiji said, registers legally the change that has been coming over in the minds of the Hindus. But it will be a mistake to think that the abolition of untouchability is purely an act of the Hindus as Hindus. We believe that the members of the Assembly were not thinking in terms of Hinduism and Hindu interests when they took this decision. They were acting on the same principle of humanitarianism which was the basis of their decision with regard to women. They wanted Man to have the dignity which his manhood entitled him to have in the India of their hopes and dreams. The legal consequences of this decision would be that all the economic, cultural, political and social disabilities from which 50,000,000 people of India suffered by law or by custom would cease to have any recognition or enforcement by the State. A person born in the castes treated as untouchable would be entitled to have all the rights maintained by the State on the same conditions as apply to the other citizens of the country. Further, any organised social persecution of the untouchables or any attempt to prevent them by force, or intimidation or social boycott from enjoying their rights would be treated as a crime and would be punished by the State. It may be noted that the legal abolition of untouchability would not effect a revolution in their economic or cultural status overnight. But it does mean that the legal and customary handicaps would no more prevent them from competing with other citizens of India on equal terms.

Not only the State itself will be impartial, but the Assembly has provided that to a considerable degree Society will also have to treat the citizens impartially. Sub-clause (2) of Clause (4) provides that there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on any ground of religion, race, caste or sex in regard to (a) access to trading establishments including public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; (b) the use of wells, tanks, roads, and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

This Sub-clause appears to have been drafted with an eye to the disabilities from which the untouchables suffer in the economic and social spheres. But the wordings are wide enough to cover any case of economic or social disability imposed on any person

by Indian society. For example, it will be illegal to have a restaurant or a waiting room on the station reserved for the exclusive use of Europeans only.

In short the Assembly has made such petty social discrimination illegal. It does not mean that all Indians will come to have equal economic privileges or cultural status. There are bound to remain both economic and cultural inequalities. The Assembly does not frown on them. But what the Assembly has done is to provide that such inequalities are not to be treated as legal bars for any person to occupy any position in the State or society provided he or she is otherwise qualified to occupy that position.

The equality that the Assembly has thus provided for is not the type of equality the Communists dream of. It will not be an equality of rewards or even of work. The Assembly probably did not believe that the establishment of such an equality is desirable for common good. It, therefore, contented itself by making the State and to a certain extent society, impartial to all classes and sections of their members. This impartiality would not, however, mean that the weak shall not receive the help of the State. On the contrary, the Assembly has specifically provided that this right of equality will not disable the free Government of India from helping women and children and the minorities by giving them certain additional privileges. This provision was necessary because certain sections of the population, on account of their physical or numerical handicaps, may discover that the rigid enforcement of the Right of Equality is prejudicial to their full development.

The other principle of the new order is individual liberty. The rights of freedom have been defined and guaranteed in Clauses 8 to 17. The Assembly has granted and guaranteed by law all those rights which are essential to enable the individual to act on his own initiative and judgment. In the first place, the Assembly has guaranteed the complete security of life and liberty to all citizens. No citizen can hope to act on his initiative if he feels that by doing so he may suffer in life, limb or liberty at the hands of the State or society. Security of these is the condition precedent for the enjoyment of other rights. The Assembly in Clause 9 has provided that "no person shall be deprived of his life or liberty without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied equality before the law within the territories of the Union." In effect, it would mean that the Executive will not be competent in its discretion to visit any person with a punishment affecting his life or liberty. Any such punishment would be awarded only by a competent court of law for breach of an established law. Further, in our opinion even the Legislature would not ordinarily be competent to make a law vesting summary or arbitrary jurisdiction in the Executive to punish the individuals in respect to life and liberty. We hold this opinion because we find that the Assembly has provided in Clause 2 that "all existing laws, notifications, regulations, customs or usages in force within the territory of the Union inconsistent with the rights guaranteed under this part of the constitution shall stand abrogated to the extent of such inconsistency. *nor shall any such right be taken away or abridged except by an amendment of the constitution*" It is clear from the last portion that the right guaranteed under all the clauses of this Charter can be modified or taken away only by a

specific constitutional amendment to that effect. We believe that the power of constitutional amendment will not vest in the Legislature as such. In any case we hope that the process of constitutional amendment will be so difficult as to preclude a bare majority of the Legislature from effecting it. It will, therefore, be ordinarily impossible for the Legislature to abrogate these rights by authorising the Executive to act in its discretion. Nor will the Legislature be competent to bar the jurisdiction of the courts from cases involving life and liberty of citizens. All arbitrary executive Legislation such as was passed during the war by the Governor-General would be void to the extent it authorises the executive to arbitrarily keep persons under detention or to take away their life. The Assembly has very wisely avoided putting property also under the protection of the clause 'Due process of Law.' In matters of property the State has to exercise a certain arbitrary power partly for purposes of taxation and partly to prevent the use of property for anti-social purposes or under anti-social conditions. The Assembly has, however, seen to it that no man suffers loss of property by an act of arbitrary confiscation on the part of the executive or the Legislature. In Clause 19, it has provided that

"No property movable or immovable, of any person or corporation including any interest in any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken or acquired for public use *unless the law provides for the payment of compensation for the property taken or acquired and specifies the principle on which, and the manner in which the compensation is to be determined.*"

This Clause will preclude the Legislature from authorising the Executive to take away or acquire property without payment of compensation. Further, it will preclude the government from arbitrarily fixing the compensation so low as to make the acquisition of property equivalent to an act of forfeiture or expropriation. All arbitrary taking of property of the individual is thus made legally impossible. This is what the individual citizen can legitimately expect in respect to his property. Thus the individual will have no fear of loss or injury to his life, limbs, liberty or property if he acts according to his judgment in future India. The Assembly has thus insured the liberty of the individual from the arbitrary encroachment of the government.

In the second place, the Assembly has guaranteed the following rights of freedom i.e., (i) Freedom of Speech and Expression, (ii) Freedom of peaceable assembly without arms, (iii) The freedom to form associations or unions, (iv) The right of every citizen to move freely throughout the Union, (v) The right of every citizen to reside and settle in any part of the Union, (vi) The right of every citizen to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to exercise or carry on any occupation, trade, business or profession (see Clause 8). The Assembly has thus guaranteed the several civic freedoms which philosophers and politicians have considered essential for the welfare and contentment of the individuals and for the efficiency and liberalism of the government. The economic freedom guaranteed shows that the Assembly did not accept communism as the basis of the future Indian society. But this economic freedom would be compatible with a planned socialist democratic state in India. It would, therefore, be wrong to think that the

Assembly has provided for a *laissez-faire* society. On the contrary, the Assembly has made a provision that both property and trade may be effectively controlled by the future governing authorities in the Union or the Units in the public interest including the protection of the minority groups and tribes. Under this provision it would be within the competence of the Union or Units' Legislatures to pass such restrictive Laws as Factory Laws or others. The Assembly has thus taken care to prevent property from becoming a tiger preying upon the poor citizens.

All these rights of freedom have been made by the Assembly subject to three kinds of limitations. In the first place, they may be enjoyed subject to public order only. Now the necessity of such a provision can be seen by what is being done in the name of civil liberties in certain provinces of India by a certain section of the population. Public order, we believe, can mean nothing but the peaceful enjoyment of all the rights granted and guaranteed to the individual by the State. Such a provision prevents the disturbance of the peaceful enjoyment of rights by the individuals as a result of the actions of those who do not know how to enjoy their rights in a peaceful or rational manner. In other words, such a provision harmonises the liberty of the part with the liberty of the whole, the liberty of the moment with the liberty of a lifetime.

The other limitation is that these rights can be enjoyed subject to morality. This again means that no citizen can be permitted to enjoy these rights in a manner or to an extent that causes loss and injury to the moral life of other individuals. The third and final limitation is that these rights will be suspended "in a grave emergency declared to be such by the Government of the Union or the Unit concerned whereby the *Security of the Union or the Unit, as the case may be, is threatened.*" It may appear that this provision may enable the executive to arbitrarily abrogate the liberties guaranteed in Clause 8. But we believe that the provision would not give an arbitrary power to the Executive or even to the Legislature to abrogate individual freedoms guaranteed in this clause. We hold this view because we find that the Charter provides in Clause 22 that "the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights provided for in this part is guaranteed." This Clause read with Clause 2 would give the Supreme Court the power to determine whether the suspension of the rights made by the Executive or by the Legislature on the plea of emergency is valid or not. The Supreme Court would be in a position to decide whether the emergency is grave enough to demand such suspension or not. We recognise that in Sub-clause (3) of Clause 22, it is provided that "in cases of rebellion or invasion or other grave emergency declared to be such by the Government of the Union or of the Unit concerned," the right to

enforce these remedies may be suspended if public safety requires it. In other words, the Legislature may bar the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in such grave emergency. But here again it may be observed that the words "when public safety may require it" are such as to give the Supreme Court the power to decide whether such a law barring its jurisdiction was valid or not. It will have this power by virtue of Clause 2 also. For, it will always have the power to see whether the taking away of the right guaranteed under the Charter in any particular emergency is a fraud upon Clause 2 or not.

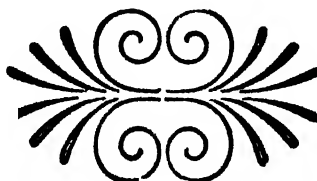
There is one thing more in this connection to which we draw the attention of the reader. It is that the security of life and liberty provided in Clause 9 cannot be taken away even in such a grave emergency. Consequently we hold the opinion that the individual will have the protection of the constitution and the courts for his individual liberty. If this view be correct, we believe that no citizen of free India will grudge to surrender the freedoms granted in Clause 8 for the sake of saving his State from destruction. Such a limitation exists in all free countries of the world and no one should object to such a limitation in free India.

The Assembly has provided special protection to children. In Clause 12, it is provided that no child below 14 years shall be engaged to work in any factory, mine or any other hazardous employment. Further, it has prohibited human slavery and traffic in human beings. It has also made forced labour illegal. Thus it has protected the individual from unjust economic oppression at the hands of their powerful neighbours.

In the sphere of religion also the Assembly has granted freedom subject of course to the necessary limitation, of public order, morality and health. The last one is a necessary limitation to prevent an individual from committing suicide in the name of religious belief.

We can, therefore, say that in the personal, the social, the economic and the religious spheres the Assembly has granted that freedom which is essential to enable the individual to live a complete life. The limitations imposed are essential and wholesome. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Assembly has laid the foundations of the new order with wisdom and courage. It has translated into law what Mahatma Gandhi has been preaching so far. It has given a habitation to the eternal spirit of India—the spirit which insisted that life should be based on the principles of justice, morality and truth. The Assembly has taken the wisdom of the West and the aspirations of the East, and woven them into a unity.

It has constructed the Temple of Freedom which the people of India, so far marching in the valley of suffering and sorrow, failure and frustration, will reach in the near future.



INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

V

ANTI-SMUGGLING INDIAN CONFERENCE OF 1927

It has been held that the establishment of the Permanent Central Board, only a question of time, was an important factor in impressing on the British administration the necessity of taking timely steps to disarm international criticism, already distasteful to it, as well as to convince international opinion that it was ready to co-operate with the League of Nations in its praiseworthy efforts to suppress the illicit traffic in opium.

Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy, summoned a Conference in May, 1927, between the representatives of the India Government and of the various Indian States financially interested in the opium traffic. The following extract from the opening speech made by him reveals very clearly the delicate situation in which the British administration found itself :

"In the States taken as a whole there are, as you know, enormous stocks of opium for which there is at present no legitimate outlet. There is also extensive cultivation of the poppy which is retarding the absorption of these stocks. So long as there is this immense stock and this considerable area under poppy in their midst, the Government of India will be severely handicapped in effectively discharging their international obligations in regard to the smuggling of opium. What answer can they give to the Commission of the League of Nations, or to the Central Board to be set up under the 24th Article of the Geneva Opium Convention, when they draw attention to the formidable accumulations of opium held by private persons in the States, and to the potential danger which they constitute, from the international point of view? For the statistics of seizures show clearly enough that a stream of smuggled opium is flowing from the States towards the sea-ports."

Towards the end of his speech, Lord Irwin made certain suggestions to combat the situation which, as developed later on by Sir Basil Blackett, his Finance Minister,

"would involve the ultimate discontinuance of poppy cultivation in the States and the supply of opium for their consumption in accordance with their requirements by the Government of India at cost price."

It was decided that a Committee should be appointed to investigate the whole situation with the following objects in view :

"(1) The possibility of replacing poppy culture by other crops, with reference to the effect of such substitution upon the prosperity of the State and its subjects ;

"(2) To ascertain the extent to which opium is concerned, the occasions on which and the purposes for which it is consumed, the manner in which it is prepared for consumption and its physiological effects upon the consumer ;

"(3) To ascertain the amount of stocks of opium existing in the States and the best means of disposing of them ;

"(4) How to combat smuggling ;

"(5) How best to bring State opium policy into line with British India opium policy, by such

methods as the discontinuance of cultivation in the States, the purchase of opium by the States from the Ghazipur factory at cost price, and gradual enhancement of the selling price of opium in the States, so as ultimately to equalize it with that prevailing in the adjoining British districts."

The Committee consisting of three members included a British officer with special knowledge of the opium question who acted as the President, a British agricultural expert, and a representative of the States participating in the Conference. It started work in November, 1927 submitting its report towards the end of the official year 1927-28. It was not published either then or afterwards. The reason for this as well as for not taking any action on it as explained by the India Government was that it was awaiting the report of the Butler Committee on the relation of the Indian States to the Central Government. When the Butler Report came out, it scarcely made any reference to opium.

A conclusion the objective student would be tempted to draw is that the whole question was practically shelved though it had its immediate usefulness in leading the public to believe that it represented an effort to limit the drug evil so far at least as the west was concerned, by trying to check the smuggling of opium from India.

INADEQUACY OF THE IMPORT CERTIFICATE SYSTEM

It has already been stated that the Import Certificate system recommended by the League of Nations for discouraging illicit traffic in opium and, indirectly, for gradually putting an end to opium-smoking had been adopted in India with effect from January, 1923, more than a year and a half after its recommendation by the Advisory Committee. At the end of the official year 1924-25, it was found that 6,957 chests of opium had been exported of which about 3,000 chests were, in the language of *India in 1924-25*, "brought by traders for export to foreign countries" the rest being sold direct to the Government of opium-consuming countries. It is, however, added that "no export is permitted without a certificate from the Government of the country concerned."

It was not long before it was realised that the Import Certificate system had to be tightened up if it was to operate as a deterrent of smuggling. For one thing, illicit traffic in opium was not difficult because, under it, all that the Government of the opium-producing country was bound to do was to supply the quantity of raw opium mentioned in the Import Certificate. In practically all the opium consuming countries, there was no statistical information in regard to the number of addicts because they had failed to adopt the system of registering and rationing them as recommended by the League of Nations the result being that even when their Governments were desirous of limiting their imports of opium to their actual needs, they did not have reliable data on which to base their estimates which therefore had to be more or less pure guess-work. This explains why, at

least now and again, raw opium in excess of actual requirements was imported by them. This amount was always available for illegal traffic in the drug. In addition, certain Governments were found to be rather lax in granting import certificates to individual traders and concerns. The less scrupulous among these utilised them for carrying on contraband traffic.

Probably the most unsavoury case was that of the Portuguese colony of Macao, only forty miles from the British colony of Hongkong, the administration of which, at the time referred to below, deliberately countenanced illegal trade in opium. Macao obtained its opium directly from India as also from Hongkong for local consumption as well as for re-export.

At that time Macao was permitted to import altogether 500 chests, 260 for local consumption and 240 for re-export to "countries permitting import" under an agreement between Great Britain and Portugal. There was, however, a proviso for more than 240 chests for re-export on condition that proof was adduced that the trade was lawful. This was taken advantage of and the extra amount obtained under this proviso was utilised for smuggling into China, Mexico and the United States in all of which opium smoking was illegal and where contraband opium obtained from Macao was seized by the Custom officials more than once.

As regards the contraband trade in opium in America, with its headquarters at Macao, attention may be drawn to the following extract from the report presented to the United States Congress by Bishop Charles H. Brent, Dr. Hamilton Wright and Mr. Henry J. Finger :

"The great mass of Macanese opium is brought to San Francisco and immediately trans-shipped by sea to western Mexican ports, from whence it, added to the direct Mexican import, is mostly smuggled into the United States across the Mexican border."

It is regrettable that the present writer has been unable to secure official information in regard to the smuggling of this opium to other parts of the world mainly because of difficulty in securing the relevant publications. But such information as is available from non-official sources and which, on the whole, may be regarded as reliable, goes to show the existence of a large contraband traffic in the drug with its ramifications extending to most parts of the civilised world as also that Macao was not the only sinner in this direction. This is specially true of the Straits Settlements, Indo-China and Siam to which Indian opium continued to be supplied in gradually diminishing quantities up to 1934-35.

ADOPTION OF THE IMPORT-EXPORT CERTIFICATE SYSTEM

This existence of this illicit traffic had been noted as also its extent and it was felt that the matter required the immediate attention of the League of Nations. Accordingly, we find that on the 15th August, 1924, the Opium Advisory Committee suggested certain measures for the consideration of the Second International Opium Conference. These were :

"(1) That a separate license from the Government shall be required for each consignment imported or exported ;

"(2) That an export license shall only be issued by the Government of the exporting country on the production of a certificate from the Government of the importing country that the importation of the consignment is approved ;

"(3) That a copy of the export license shall either accompany the consignment or be sent by the Government of the exporting country to the Government of the importing country, and that when the importation has been effected this copy shall be returned, with an endorsement to the effect that the importation has been effected, to the Government of the exporting country."

The third was meant to act as a preventive against diversion of the consignment *en route* for illicit purposes.

The Advisory Committee also stated :

"Large consignments of raw opium without any restriction are being exported to the Far East under false declarations of destination for the purposes of the illicit traffic, and are being smuggled into China and elsewhere. It is accordingly proposed that Governments should exercise a control over the conveyance of opium or the other materials and drugs in ships sailing under their flag."

After carefully considering the above suggestions, the Second International Opium Conference accepted them substantially incorporating them in Articles 12-18 of the Geneva Convention of 1925, signed and ratified on the 19th February, 1925 by eight countries including India.

The British administration in India commenced giving effect to the above-mentioned articles of the Geneva Convention of 1925, the first step taken being the stoppage of the auction sale of opium in Calcutta with effect from April 1926. The Import-Export certificate system came into operation from the commencement of the official year 1927-28. From the same year, it was also decided that Indian opium would not be exported to any non-Asiatic country other than the United Kingdom where it would be sent for medicinal purposes only under the Import-Export certificate system. With effect from the 12th February, 1927, the trans-shipment at any port in British India of any of the drugs including raw opium covered by the Hague Opium Convention was prohibited "unless covered by an export authorisation or diversion certificate issued by (the Government of) the exporting country."

THE OPIUM SMUGGLING POSITION IN PERSIA

On the 30th September, 1921, the Assembly of the League of Nations called upon all Governments which were parties to the Hague Convention to adopt the Import Certificate System. The request was repeated at its next meeting held about a year later, on the 19th September, 1922.

Persia which had received an invitation sent its delegate to the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations held on the 27th September, 1923. Confronted with facts and figures proving the indirect part played by his country in the smuggling trade in opium, this gentleman wriggled out of the very awkward position in which he found himself by stating that

"His country was happy to note that . . . the opium question had entered upon a practical stage. The peasants of the East would have to substitute

some other form of profitable cultivation for the cultivation of the poppy."

This non-committal reply made no change in the attitude of the Persian Government. It paid no attention to the repeated requests made to all opium-producing countries, including it, to take effective measures to discourage opium-smuggling for it continued to adhere to its policy of selling opium for exportation to all who were prepared to buy it at the rates fixed by it. These generally utilised the drug thus secured for the contraband trade.

A fresh appeal along the same lines was made by the Council of the League of Nations on the 13th December, 1923 to all those countries from which opium was being smuggled at that time. Persia, however, persisted in its policy. Frequent seizures of contraband Persian opium proved that its objectionable practice was seriously hindering the efforts of the League of Nations to reduce opium-smoking.

Once again, at the invitation of the League of Nations, Persia attended the Second International Opium Conference of 1924, but it did not sign or ratify the Agreement, the Protocol and the Final Act which resulted at its conclusion. It was here that the delegate of Persia recommended that the League should consider the advisability of appointing a Commission to visit different opium-producing countries and to offer its suggestions as regards the best methods for limiting the production of the drug to quantities required for medicinal and scientific purposes only. It has been held that the reason underlying this recommendation was that the affairs of all opium-producing countries should first be scrutinised by an international committee and that Persia would change its policy only when they did so. It will be shown below why and how Persia was the only country visited by such a body. All this happened in February, 1925.

Within less than a month, the Opium Advisory Committee drew the attention of the League of Nations and, through it, of the civilised world at large, to the indifference of Persia to the opium evil through the following resolution :

"II. The Committee desires to call the attention of the Council to the large illicit traffic in opium which is being carried on between the Persian Gulf and the Far East and it suggests :

"(a) That the Persian Government should be urged to put into force without delay an effective system of control over exports of opium from Persian ports, more particularly by the adoption of the system of export authorisation and import certificates in respect of each consignment ;

"(b) That Powers whose flag is carried by ships engaged in trade with the Persian Gulf should be recommended to adopt measures to control the conveyance of opium from the Persian Gulf on such ships and to prevent its diversion into the illicit traffic ;

"(c) That Powers at whose ports vessels conveying opium from the Persian Gulf call should be recommended to put in force at once the measure contained in Chapter V of the Convention concluded by the Second International Opium Conference for the control of trans-shipment of consignments of opium and dangerous drugs."

The next stage was reached when, in September, 1925, that is to say about six months after the meeting of the Advisory Committee, the Assembly of the League of Nations took up the consideration of the

appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to visit certain opium-producing countries from which opium was being smuggled. Persia had acquired an unenviable reputation in this regard in addition to which its delegate had supported the proposal for the convening of an economic conference at the meeting of the Opium Advisory Committee of 1923, suggesting at that time that it had hitherto failed to restrict opium production and sale for economic reasons only.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ENQUIRY INTO OPIUM PRODUCTION IN PERSIA

Though, as stated previously, Persia had neither signed nor ratified the Geneva Convention of 1925, it was difficult for it to withhold co-operation with the League of Nations when it offered to solve the difficulty which, according to its official spokesman, had hitherto prevented it from falling into line with the rest of the civilised world.

It was under the above circumstances that the Assembly of the League of Nations passed the following resolution :

"I. The Assembly,

"Having considered the resolution contained in the Final Act of the Second International Opium Conference with regard to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to visit certain opium-producing countries,

"Recommends that such a Commission should be sent to Persia to study :

"(a) The existing situation with regard to the cultivation of the poppy ;

"(b) The replacement of a proportion of this cultivation by other crops."

The members of the Commission of Enquiry into the production of opium in Persia were duly appointed and consisted of Mr. Frederic A. Delano (U.S.A.), Chairman ; Dr. Eudiano Cavara (Italy), Professor of Botany, University of Naples ; and M. Victor Cayla (France), Agricultural Engineer. They visited Persia and in due course submitted their report.

From the point of view of the present discussion, probably the most significant of their suggestions was the one for "gradually reducing the production of opium to medical needs." And, what is more, this recommendation was accepted by the Government of Persia, the Prime Minister of which in a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Commission stated as follows :

"The Persian Government will take immediate measures to reduce the production of opium to medicinal requirements and will prosecute these measures as rapidly as circumstances permit.

"The Government is likewise determined to put a stop to the smoking of opium as rapidly as possible."

The expectation that there would be an appreciable reduction in opium-smuggling from Persia was not, however, fulfilled for, with subsequent changes in the Cabinet, the old policy of drift re-appeared. One reason for this probably was the failure of this country to ratify though, unlike Turkey, it had signed, the Hague Opium Convention.

TURKEY'S ATTITUDE TO THE OPIUM-SMUGGLING PROBLEM

When all these events were happening there were, in addition to Persia, three countries where opium

production was going on a scale much in excess of their medicinal and scientific needs. These were China, India and Turkey. The last of these had all along held itself aloof from all conferences aiming at solving the opium problem. Repeated solicitations for its co-operation in the matter were rebuffed. Thus in September, 1923, the Assembly of the League of Nations drew the attention of the Turkish Government to the fact that it had failed to carry out that particular provision of the Treaty of Lausanne to which it was a party which made it obligatory for it to adhere to the Hague Opium Convention of 1912. About three years later, in June, 1926, the Advisory Committee

requested the Turkish Government to adhere to it because "a control over the export of opium from Turkey," so far as it was aware, was not being exercised by it. Once again, Turkey was approached, this time by the Assembly of the League of Nations, the same year. But again, there was no response, a fact referred to in a resolution passed by this body on the 16th of September, 1927. These were the circumstances responsible for the utter fruitlessness of all efforts made by the League of Nations to secure the co-operation of Turkey in its attempt to solve the opium problem.

(To be continued)

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THE DANGERS AHEAD

By D. M. SEN, B.A. (Cantab.), B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

AFTER a long drawn-out battle, the Hindus have been forced to accept the theory that Muslims belong to a different nation. For over two decades now, the Muslims have played the part of an irritable and touchy old granny, desirous of only being left alone. They did not want "Hindu" domination, so they decided that large chunks of territory must be dominated by them and a clean State, Pakistan, must be formed to keep the Hindus in check.

While this pernicious doctrine was being propagated with all the venom and wrath of the kind of which only the League was capable, the battle for freedom was being fought by valiant patriots like Nehru and Gaudhi and Bose and a host of the unknown soldiers of the Congress. After years of struggle, the Congress has at last won a place of freedom for India among the nations of the world, but the virus of communalism now has attacked the very heart of the country.

India is now going to be divided, the British papers say, into Hindustan and Pakistan. Pakistan will be admittedly a Muslim State, while Hindustan will still be the polyglot state that it ever was. There will be a fanatic Muslim fervour supporting the Muslim State. Will there be an equally fanatic Hindu fervour supporting the so-called Hindu State?

NATURE OF PARTIES

The time has come for clear thinking. Congress, we know, is not a Hindu body, in the sense that its *leitmotif* is not Hindu, despite everything the Muslims and the British may say about the "Hindu" Congress. When the Hindus were massacred in Eastern Bengal, the Congress did not lift its finger. When the Hindus of Bihar were shocked into paying the Muslim back in his own coin, the Congress sent its highest leaders to remonstrate with the Biharis. The Hindus are not allowed even to be shocked by the inhuman acts of savagery perpetrated by the dear old granny who sometimes assumes the shape and the functions of the wildest witch that the annals of witchcraft have recorded.

The only organisation in Hindustan capable of rallying the people, the Congress, is thus a body not mobilised against the Muslims. Indeed, it is not capable of mobilising itself against any innocent

citizen, be he a Hindu or a Muslim. An organisation receives its general character from its leaders. With leaders like Azad, Nehru and Gandhi Congress could not possibly become a movement of irrational fanatics, bent on loot and murder, rape and arson, as are found under the banners of some communal parties in India.

It is important to remember this. A whole movement cannot change its nature overnight. It has its history, its traditions, its links, its ideals, which may seem from the outside changeable without much effort, but in fact a movement is as much chained to its philosophy and history as a man to his mind. That is why the Conservative Party of England cannot become Labour, nor can it help hating the Congress and its leaders as breakers of the British Empire. That is why the Communists cannot become, as a body, supporters of private property. This is not to say, however, that individuals will not change, or that parties will not alter their policies in the least detail. On the contrary, live political parties constantly review their activities to bring themselves up to date and in line with the public sentiment of the moment. But where matters of great moment are concerned, large political parties, with supporters in every part of the country, trained in the traditional policies of the parties, cannot change their whole nature. A non-communal organisation cannot become an aggressively communal body; nor can an aggressive and fanatic body of communalists become overnight placid supporters of peace between communities.

OUR ADVERSARIES POISED

Therein lies our danger. Pakistan will be a Muslim State, prepared to stand its ground, and to advance, on every pretext, against the neighbouring State of Hindustan with a zeal and a determination that only fanatics can muster. Hindustan, on the other hand, will be a state of "non-Muslims," or of "general" constituencies. There will be no fanatical fervour binding Hindustan together. Let not the idealists object at this juncture that fanatical fervour is not a good thing in the long run, that it cannot last, that it leads itself to its own destruction and so on and so forth. My answer will be, with Lord Keynes, "We are all dead in the long run." The damage that is done in the short run by fanaticism must be checked;

otherwise it will be decades before the ill-effects can be remedied. It was short-term fanaticism that divided Ireland and the bitterness that it has left tends to grow, not diminish. It was short-term fanaticism that plunged the world into a second world war, but its aftermath will be long and sad and arduous. And again it may be short-term fanaticism that today has succeeded in cutting us in twain; but the pang of pain and misery that will inevitably result from this division will last for centuries.

In history, fanaticism has not been successfully met by any other force but an equal determination to withstand it. Fanaticism must not be appeased, as we have done in India of late years.

But, in India, we had to deal with two enemies, the enemy without and the enemy within. In our zeal to free the country, we sacrificed half of it. Half a loaf is better than none. As patriots, the Congress and the people of India had no other choice than to submit to all the demands—the touchy and scheming gnat.

But that stage is over now. India is divided into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. As the Muslim area is militantly Muslim, or will be, as I have explained above, because a party cannot suddenly change its whole character, the non-Muslim area must be mobilized to preserve its integrity against possible depredations of predatory fanatic States.

THEIR STRENGTH

The Muslim State of Pakistan will be strong because it will start its life with a victory-air about it. The psychological background is extremely valuable. When armies crash, they mostly crash because a feeling gets around that all is over. Equally, small bands of soldiers will fight on against incredible odds, if they are infused with a sense of victorious inevitability. Hence, the British incalculate the spirit of inevitability. Every Britisher believes that he is the best man under God (even though he has to beg for the dollar). It was for that same reason that Adolf Hitler tried to instil among his followers the doctrine of Herrenvolk, the master-race. The Japanese believed, too, that they were the direct descendants of the Sun-God; hence they were a tough band of soldiers. Karl Marx, well realising this principle, worked his argument for Communism in such a way as to make the victory of the proletariat *inevitable*, sooner or later. It was merely a question of hastening the historical process of dialectical materialism. The Muslims, too, believe in this process of inevitable ultimate victory over the Kafir. *Deen puray Pakistan, Larke-lunge Pakistan*, these slogans have an air of inevitability. The Muslims like that. They are now in a victorious mood, flushed with easy success. They will be prepared to follow as one man their Qaid-e-Azam, their great leader.

When fanaticism meets with easy success, it develops a kind of blind faith in its own strength and infallibility. That is the danger which will constantly be a threat to our peace.

OUR POSITION

What will be the position of Hindustan in the face of such constant threat of irrational fanaticism trying to frighten us out of our wits?

Will Hindustan settle once and for all which is to be the State religion? So long as religion persists,—

and religion will persist in this world, particularly in India,—it is better to have one religion recognised as the supreme and the State religion in a country. The dangers of having two religions, trying both to secure a place of supremacy in the country, are well-known to us. If Hindustan does not stabilise its position with regard to religion, religion will continue to be a disturbing factor. You cannot wish away religion either, however much one may wish to do so. Religion is a force in India. It had better be recognised as such. Let the new State of Hindustan immobilise it, not by ignoring it and thus allowing every fanatic to raise his head on the pretext of religious equality, but by enacting that Hinduism will be supreme in Hindustan. Hindus did not want this state of affairs. Hindus fought tooth and nail against a religious dispensation of things. But our dear brethren, the Muslims of Qaid-e-Azam, have taken a position in the corner. They are forming a sovereign State of their own. And unless miracles happen (and of course do not happen), the Muslims will be in a customary hatred and wrath against the Hindus. What will prevent them to try and emulate the Mughals? What will prevent them from launching against Hindustan, which is Hindu, a jihad and consciously ready to meet so

average State, there is no love lost. Pakistan will, on the conditions of its development, continue to Hindu-tan. Its manner of which it considers its necessary. Mughal Empire, its belief that Hindus were not effete, move all as blind fanaticism led it to a militaristic career on the slightest. Our only defence will be our own right arm.

OUR WEAKNESS

The weakness of Hindustan lies, of course, in the easy gullibility of our intelligentsia. The Muslim fanatics scream that the Hindus worship "stocks and stones and snakes." I have heard a Muslim minister use these very words. The Hindu intelligentsia immediately accepts such perverse criticisms and bows its head in shame. We learn about the "sin" of Hinduism from the sayings of English Toy banks or Muslim brood. We are told that Hinduism is and be proud. But our faith that bears witness to no one and to nothing in the world, except the evil-doer and the evil. Let us read the Gita now, and hold our heads in pride on high. Let us be prepared to meet the evil, irrespective of any consequences. Let us be missionaries in a great cause. We are the torch-bearers of a faith that, above all, teaches human beings to be civilized in the truest sense of the word. The instinct of murder, violence and near-cannibalism is eradicated from our hearts by the gentle teachings of the great sages of ancient Hinduism. Our tolerance, however, must have its free play. It must not be destroyed itself. How far fair means must always be used to attain fair ends is a philosophic problem. It is an intensely practical problem, however, that we, as a race, must live, in order to be able to carry our message to less tolerant people. We must not be gullible; we must be proud of our heritage; we must be thrilled to be the torch-bearers of the highest moral civilisation that the world has ever seen. Our greatest weakness, our desire to uproot ourselves from our inherited past, must now be forsaken.

Our second weakness is not to face facts. We hardly attach due importance to the dangers of a fanatical Islamic state, despite all the evidence of the very recent past and the earlier Islamic invasions. Most educated people of Hindustan will refuse to believe that Pakistan really means business, just as they refused to believe that Jinnah meant business. In any case, whether there is any inherent danger in having an intolerant, proselytizing band of fanatics as neighbours, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, is a good dictum to follow.

Our third weakness is while the Muslim States are lining up behind Pakistan, the Hindu States are declaring independence, as though if Hindustan were submerged by Muslim fanaticism, the Hindu States could for long continue as Sovereign States.

Our fourth weakness is appointing Muslims in key positions. This is, of course, a form of appeasement. How many Muslim States have appointed Hindus as their Prime Ministers? Yet, so many Hindu States appoint Muslims as Prime Ministers. In Mysore, it was a so-called advanced and reasonable Muslim who introduced separate communal electorates, and thus sowed the seeds of dissension. In Hyderabad, Sir Mirza Ismail could not continue, because though a Muslim, he was not repressive enough. I can say on good authority that things in Hyderabad will be much worse before they can get better. Muslims are thus prepared to fight every inch. Whether potentates or peasants, they are prepared to hold their own against the rightful demands of Hindus, whether in a majority (as in Hyderabad, Assam and India generally) or in a minority (as in the Punjab, Sind and Bengal). Hindus, on the other hand, are ever ready to appease, or to weaken each other's defensive forts. Pandit Nehru has done a great deal to upset the rule of the Maharaja of Kashmir. He was perfectly justified in his actions. But it cannot be doubted that he would be perfectly justified, indeed doubly justified, to try and break up the Nizam's obstinate tyranny.

DEFINE HINDU STATE

Now that the Hindus of India have been forced to assume a sectarian communal character, it will be farcical to follow the same principles of cosmopolitanism which have for so long motivated all our social and political actions.

We could win, for instance, all the University scholarships, all the competitive posts, if these were decided by pure competition of merit. Yet, with a view to helping our backward brethren who have now scurried to the banner of uncompromising antagonism against us who helped them, on high principles of social and general advancement, we so far reserved University posts, Government jobs, seats in educational establishments for Muslims.

This principle should now be abandoned altogether. The Muslims have, in any case, now thought fit to set up their own sovereign state, which we hope will be their own happy homeland. There is, therefore, no need to allow for backward people. Our State should be a fair and competitive State. We should not deprive our own faithful, loyal and capable citizens from any post or any facility in order to help those who are backward and who owe allegiance to a foreign state and a foreign state-party.

Courage will be needed for Hindus to assert themselves. But, at this great historic moment, Hindus must be ruthlessly courageous.

Since the Muslims have preferred to live in a clearly defined Muslim State, the natural corollary must be that Hindustan should be a clearly defined Hindu State.

If we do not take this clear-cut path of settling the nature of our State once and for all, Muslims in Hindustan will raise their heads again. They will claim separate electorates, reservation of seats, abandonment of the progressive principle of competition and the adoption of the degenerating and disintegrating principle of irrational selection on grounds of religion or family connection or patronage. Our State will again find itself bogged and choked. Ability will not find its reward; intransigence will, as it has done for so long. The condition of his birth will rule the individual's life; his efforts to better himself will receive no encouragement, if he happens to be born as a "Caste" Hindu, or in some such unfortunate category.

Now is the time to say good-bye to all this. We are taking epoch-making decisions about the frontiers of our country. But in doing so, we have a chance of putting our house in order. The steps that should be taken immediately are as follows:

(1) Declare Hindustan as a State where only ability will be considered, and religion will have no place in State-affairs.

(2) Hinduism, however, will be the State religion, in the sense that Protestantism is the State-religion of England. This does not mean that there will be persecution of other religions. Hinduism does not know persecution of any religion in its long and glorious history. But it does mean that Hinduism will be the chief and supreme religion in the State. Any State functions which call for religious ceremonies or blessings, should have these functions according to Hindu rites. Let those who do not agree with this remove themselves to Pakistan or any other land of their choice.

This point is important. Unless and until we are adamant about this and openly define our stand on this perennial source of trouble, religion we will invite trouble. The Congress tried to ignore this source of conflict and lost. We should now put an end to further possible complications by declaring once and for all that *no religion but Hinduism will have preferential treatment in Hindustan*. We will, however, abide by our principle of rewarding merit, unlike our fanatic brethren of neighbouring States.

(3) Abolish communal electorates.

(4) Abolish all communal appointments, preferential treatments of this or that group. Preferential treatments of groups tend to isolate and consolidate groups, by giving weight and importance to group interests as against the interests of the individual and the general body of citizens.

(5) Declare the rights of the individual and abolish all claims now advanced by groups against individual liberty. When a Muslim is appointed to a post for his religion in preference to an abler Hindu fellow-citizen, the State does the Hindu wrong. The State wrongs him as a Hindu and wrongs him as an individual.

The conditions of birth should not dominate the individual's career. This should be the first principle of our new Hindu State.

To sum up, we should enthrone the principle of competition. And we should now take steps to forestal

the possibility of further propaganda and agitation on religious grounds by declaring in the clearest terms that the vast majority of Hindustan wish their State to bear a Hindu character. We do not wish it to be the play-thing of every religious promoter.

RE-DEFINE HINDUISM

To end, it seems to the author necessary to emphasize the true meaning and content of Hinduism. To be sure, this has been done by many eminent teachers, writers, philosophers and poets since before 1857. But no formulation has been attempted, except by the break-away group of Brahmo Samaj. We now need a total re-formulation of Hinduism, much as our lawyers are codifying Hindu law and altering and modifying concepts of marriage, family, the position of women in matters of inheritance, etc., Brahmo-Samaj failed because it could not move the whole of Hindu society of that period, which was bigoted and short-sighted. It was also composed of intellectuals only, who were not keen to meet the average Indian on his own ground of poverty and squalor.

The time has now reached for re-defining Hinduism in terms noble and compelling enough to move the hearts of millions of the faithful and humble Hindu men and women. Men like Radhakrishnan and Gandhi will have the necessary authority. They have the knowledge of traditional Hinduism; they command the respect of their co-religionists. It is incumbent upon men of their calibre to drag India out of the rut into which it has fallen through centuries of mental inertness and conservatism. The present age is an age of great conceptions. We are accomplishing noble things. Where we fail, our adversaries succeed in putting into effect grandiose plans. Pakistan takes

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shape almost out of the blue, as it were. This is the age of quick movement. Centuries of inertia must be abandoned at short notice, or the cramp will set in and it will be too late to remedy the ill-effects. For, Hindustan to be a vital organism, Hinduism must sustain and dominate its ethos and in turn Hinduism must be vitalized to be the great force that it must inevitably be, once the deadweight of foolish tradition is thrown overboard.

Let us forsake untouchability. Let us obliterate the last traces of the caste system. Let Brahmin and Sudra be just Hindus. Let us have our pride in our own achievements in society and not in our caste. Let our marriage be free among all sections of the people. Let our girls be *swayamvara*. Let them choose their own partners in life. Our girls have already begun working in offices as equals to men. Let the process be speeded up a thousandfold. Our working population will be doubled by the introduction of women in industry. Let there be, above all, a true brotherhood of Hindus. Meet all grievances and let reason and prosperity prevail.

Our new State must be supported by a new society. If the State be wise, it must usher in the new society by its own efforts. Let it legislate with a view to bring into being a great, new, egalitarian Hindu society, in conformity with the noble spirit of Hinduism, just as it is legislating for establishing a new code of Hindu law.*

Oxford,
June 12, 1947

This article de-
scribes a situation as it
is. Editor, M. R.

one of the angles from which the
does not necessarily represent our

THE SOVEREIGNTY OVER BERAR AND THE QUESTION OF THE RETROCESSION OF BERAR TO THE NIZAM

By R. K. THOMBRE, B.A., LL.B.

THE concept of the present Berar Sovereignty is the product of the historical growth of the relations between the British Government and the successive Nizams during the last century as evidenced by the different Treaties and Agreements between these two High Contracting Parties and has perhaps no parallel juristic counterpart in any part of the world and as the date of transfer of power from the British to the indigenous Governments is drawing nearer, the questions that are agitating the minds of the politically minded Beraris are as to who is Sovereign in Berar—the British or the Nizam—and to whom will really the power be transferred when the time arrives to do so. It is even suggested that this rich alluvial land comprising of nearly 17,700 sq. miles of area and inhabited by more than 36 lacs of culturally, economically and politically advanced people, may form a bone of contention causing serious complications between the future Indian Union and the Pakistan Government. It will not be surprising if the first trial of strength between the two Unions takes place on this

Berar issue and a decision taken on the question whether it is the will of the people that is ultimately Sovereign or anything else.

When you find two persons discussing the Sovereignty over Berar and citing the text of the treaties to support their arguments, you generally find that the contending persons are using the term 'Sovereignty' to connote totally different connotations and in political discussion this causes an amount of confusion.

Firstly, it has to be borne in mind that the word 'Sovereignty' is a very complex term in jurisprudence and could be used to denote conditions ranging from the nominal and the most attenuated form of symbolic power to the full and supreme authority exercised by the State on its subjects.

In order to determine the nature of the Sovereignty which prevails in Berar and also to determine the authority which wields it, we may have to briefly enter into the study of the treaty rights that accrue from the different treaties that were executed between

the British Government and successive Nizams during the last century.

It may be recalled that Berar went under the complete suzerainty of the Nizams about the year 1803 by the Treaty of Degaon read with the Treaty of Hyderabad of 1804 between the East India Company and the then Nizam. Then followed a period in Hyderabad history which could be termed as the most effete administration that could be had in the history of India and even the Nizam himself, as the historians says, 'was' "merely a State Pensioner in his own Dominions" and "held in thralldom and in insignificance and held in totally devoid of power."

It is at this time that the Subsidiary Force System was introduced by the British Government in the States and in addition to this, in view of the special circumstances of the weak administration in the Hyderabad State, a Hyderabad Contingent Force was inaugurated at the cost of the Nizam and it was to pay the cost of maintenance of this Force, that the treaties between the British and Nizam's Governments took place and the political destinies of the people of Berar underwent a change from time to time.

The first treaty regarding Berar for this purpose was in 1853 by which the Nizam agreed 'to assign' the districts of Berar to the "Exclusive Management" of the British Resident for the time being at Hyderabad.

It must be remembered that even at this time the Britishers were considered to be enjoying supreme power and the Nizam was only a protected potentate and the sovereignty that the Nizam enjoyed was so weak that (Vide Article 2 of the Treaty) one of the main duties of the Subsidiary Force was "protecting the person of His Highness, his heirs and successors and reducing to obedience all rebels and excitors of disturbance in His Highness's Dominions" and that of the Contingent Force was that "if a rebellion or disturbance shall be excited or if a just claim and authority of His Highness shall be resisted the said Contingent shall be employed to reduce the offenders to submission." These conditions in the treaty show that except with the help of the Subsidiary Force and the Hyderabad contingent, the Nizam could hardly hope to maintain his sovereignty even over his own dominions and as far as the districts of Berar were concerned they were assigned to the exclusive management of the Britishers. This further means that the internal sovereignty as far as full sphere of administration was concerned completely passed in the British hands. That there was no time-limit involved in the enjoyment of this complete internal sovereignty by the Britishers will be further evident from the fact that the Secretary of State in his despatch on March 28, so far back as 1878 unequivocally stated that :

"But when the Ministers (Nizam's) attempt to extend this important limitation in the scope of assignment by adding to it a limitation in time as well, they are inserting into a treaty a stipulation of which its actual text does not bear the slightest trace. There is no word in it indicating any term, after the expiration of which the assignment is to cease or vesting in one of the signatories the power of terminating it at will. The entire absence of any such words in the judgement of His Majesty's Government, is decisive of this controversy."

The next Treaty of importance to Berar was that of 1902. By this Treaty, Berar was leased "in perpetuity" for a fixed and perpetual rent of Rs. 25 lacs per annum. But as far as the question of real internal sovereignty was concerned, the Article 2 of the Treaty stated that the British Government "*while retaining the full and exclusive jurisdiction and authority, shall be at liberty to administer the district in such manner that they may deem desirable.*" Even Lord Curzon in his Note on 1902 visit to Hyderabad says :

"There is no flaw in their (British) title to the assigned districts, there is no limit fixed either to the period of assignment or to the administrative powers which were thereby conferred."

This means that all attributes of real sovereignty passed to the British while only the empty word 'Sovereign' remained with the Nizam. As a result of this Treaty, Berar was amalgamated with the C. P. for the purposes of administration. This arrangement continued till the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed and as the British exercise full and exclusive jurisdiction and authority in the province, all the British Acts that were applicable to Berar were so made applicable to it by Foreign Jurisdiction order in Council, which also meant that the real sovereignty, as could be ascertained from administration, was that of the British Crown, and there was no vestige of any actual authority or jurisdiction of the Nizam.

In actual practice also since the Treaty of 1853 till now, the Nizam never exercised any internal sovereignty in the administration of Berar and complete sovereignty of the British reigned supreme.

It is, however, true that in some of the former and the future Treaties, it was clearly stated that the sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar is "re-affirmed." But if we examine the juristic conception of the sovereignty we will find that it has two broad attributes. Firstly, the Sovereign authority has got power to make laws and, secondly, the Courts in the area recognise such laws made by that Sovereign Body. It will be found from the administration in vogue during the above period that the Nizam had no such legislative power nor the Courts in Berar could ever recognise such laws if promulgated by him. So the statement in the Treaties that the sovereignty of the Nizam had been "re-affirmed" was only honorific or an empty honour. So the position comes to this that Berar for all practical purposes, was "annexed" by the Britishers and had all attributes of a British Province, though the word "annexed" was never used.

When we come to the year 1935 when the Government of India Act was passed and the proposal of the Federation of the Indian Provinces was mooted and put down in the Government of India Act, it was found necessary that in order that Berar may be enabled to cede itself to the Federation, a fresh Agreement was found necessary to be made with the Nizam by the British Government and the fresh agreement was accordingly executed. The result of this agreement was that Berar was no longer to be treated as on lease in perpetuity but that it was to be treated as a full British Province as any other British Province, and that the Acts of the British Government were to be automatically applied to Berar. This agreement also once for all secured the consent of the Nizam for Berar to cede itself to the Federation. The covering

letter of the Governor-General to the Nizam clearly stated that *

"His Majesty thinks it right to state that he enters into Agreement upon the clear understanding that if by reason of any circumstance in the future it should unfortunately come to an end *His Majesty may in default of or pending a new Agreement make such arrangements for the Administration of Berar notwithstanding any thing to the contrary in the Treaties of 1853 and 1860, as He may deem desirable and may exercise full and exclusive jurisdiction and authority therein.*"

This will also show that the real sovereignty in the province still resided in the British hands. The merging of the province of Berar in the British province of the C.P. and the consent of the Nizam's to cede itself to the Federation are also the circumstances which could be counted as of importance in the political discussion today for the future status of Berar. Having given his consent for merging, no new circumstances have arisen to withdraw it. Joining the coming Indian Union will be an act on the part of Berar analogous to the joining of Federation to which the Nizam has already consented. The present political aspirations of the Beraris cannot be said to be "essentially different" from those to which the Nizam has already given his consent and there appears no reason why a fresh consent by Nizam should be necessary for treating Berar as a British Province afresh and also for Berar to join the coming Indian Union.

It is however true, that in the Agreement of 1931 by the British Government with the Nizam, the British Government, for reasons best known to themselves, permitted the Nizam to enjoy some more symbols of sovereignty over Berar like the flying of the Nizam's flag along with the British one, whenever the latter is flown. These also, in view of the above discussion of the true attributes of the sovereignty, were mere empty and honorific concessions. It has also to be remembered, while considering these agreements, that they were agreements between a supreme power like the all powerful British Government and a protected potentate under its suzerainty. This circumstance alone should prove that the perquisites of sovereignty that were secured by the Nizam were mere empty symbols. In fact, when the first two Treaties were executed the then Nizam had no misgivings about this position, as in 1902 in his observations to the Resident's proposal with reference to Berar he stated :

"What is the practical meaning of sovereignty in the event of lease being perpetual and the landlord or the sovereign having no voice in the management nor even a right to share in future improvement much less a right to reversion."

So any talk about Berar being under the sovereignty of Nizam is juristically, administratively or from any point of view, meaningless.

It may be stated here that from the reforms in 1920 the people of Berar make, through the Provincial Legislature, their own Laws as in any other British province and they are recognised by the Courts in the province and as such the *will* of the people of Berar, even according to the prevailing practice, could be said to be *Sovereign*.

The recognition of the "claim" of the Nizam to "Sovereignty" over Berar, in the year of grace 1947 in the sense that the political destinies of 40 lakhs of

the politically advanced people, who inhabit this ancient land, will be entrusted to him and that the whole population will be transferred to him as chattels, will go down to history as one of the greatest deals in the slave trade in the human history to be made by the British Government and it does not seem likely that the British Government will ever agree to do so.

The question of the retrocession of Berar to the Nizam in any form will be found to be as dead as dodo if we examine the history of the effort. In fact there were as many as six efforts during the first seven years that followed the Treaty of 1853 and there were more than half a dozen efforts since then also and at every succeeding Treaty but every time the Nizam received a rebuff from the British Government.

One of the main considerations that guided the British in rejecting the Nizam's plea for the retrocession of Berar even since the beginning was that

"A thickly peopled territory (*i.e.*, Berar) could not be transferred from one system to another without a disturbance in the most important circumstances of life being felt by every class of population. The matter in controversy here (retrocession of Berar) is not dignity or revenue or any matter of personal enjoyment. It is the control over the lives and properties of two millions of men. In dealing with interests of this magnitude, His Majesty's Government must necessarily be guided by considerations of a more imperative character than the sentiments, however friendly, which they entertain towards another Government."
---(Secretary of State's despatch to Government of India dated, 28-3-1878).

In 1902 also Lord Curzon in his letter to the Secretary of State said that

"The efforts of Parties to contract were directed (as one of the considerations) to guaranteeing the population of Berar a continuance of the conditions and standards under which they have attained to a high measure of prosperity."

We may also quote from Lord Curzon's Note about the Nizam's interview with him :

"The Nizam desired to know whether under the new arrangement (1902 Agreement) he would be at liberty to ask at any future time for the restoration of Berar. I (Lord Curzon) replied, 'It would not be open for Your Highness to make any such request.' His Highness then asked whether under present conditions there was any chance of Berar being restored to him. Lord Curzon said that there was nothing in the Treaties that contemplated or gave Hyderabad any claim to restoration. He could hold out no hope to His Highness that any Government in the future would be prepared to offer him terms in which no previous Government had acquiesced. His Highness then said that as he understood there was no chance of Berar being restored to him, if the present arrangements were refused he had no hesitation in accepting the proposal. He had only so far refused it because he had not realised that there was no possibility of Berar being restored to him in the future."

The contents of this Note were later confirmed by the Nizam by a letter.

So even though the issue was settled once for all, the present Prime Minister of the Nizam, considers that he will be serving his master better by taking up this old question and flogging a dead horse.

In order to give a decent look to his proposal the

Nizam even in 1923 in his letter to the Governor-General, said :

"I am willing to concede to them (the Beraris) on restoration of the Province, a larger co-operation in the Administration than at present enjoyed anywhere in British India. With this end in view, I declare, that, should I succeed in the redemption of my province, I will insert, in the Instrument of Restoration or any other State Paper that may be drawn up, definite clauses of the conferment on Beraris of a constitution for a Responsible Government with absolute popular control, under a constitutional Governor appointed by me as my representative, of their internal affairs and complete autonomy in Administration, except in matters relating to British Government and my Army Department."

The proposal was rightly rejected both by the British Government and the people of Berar as the Beraris thought it a better proposition to be directly under the British as a "British Province" enjoying all the privileges of successive reforms in British India instead of enjoying "responsible Government" under a lesser potentate, who himself enjoyed privileges at the sufferance of the higher suzerain power—the British. The Prime Minister of Hyderabad in his recent tour of Berar has sounded the opinion of the people of Berar on this old proposal with this retrograde addition that even the Prime Minister of Berar will be appointed by the Nizam. The organization of the All-Parties Berar Conference in April last and the unanimous expression of opinion by it that the people of Berar do not recognise even the technical and formal sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar, was the immediate reaction to it.

It is just likely that the situation that has been created by the Cabinet Mission plan has again raised hopes in the heart of the Nizam on this dead issue. As every question can have two sides, the other side of this question also may be put forth. The Cabinet Statement of May 16, stated in paragraph 14 that

"Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government."

In the amplifying Statement the Press Liaisoning Officer to the Cabinet Mission stated :

"This means that the rights of the States which flow from the relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one hand and the British Crown on the other will thus be brought to an end."

These and similar statements probably go to encourage the Nizam to revive the old demand regarding Berar.

But we cannot forget that the British Government is committed to the position of treating Berar as a "British Province" to which as to all other British Indian citizens their Statement of May 16, 1946, was addressed and some solid rights were created in their favour as a British Province, which Berar completely was. The Statement of March 15, 1946, by Mr. Attlee stated, "What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide." The Cabinet Statement stated that they "have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide future Constitution of

India" and they set up the Constituent Assembly to which they invited the Berar representatives to frame the Constitution of the British Province of which they are a part. Had the British Government believed that Berar was not part of the British India, they would not have done so.

But even assuming but not admitting for a moment that the Nizam's technical or formal and nominal sovereignty over Berar exists (even though for all practical purposes it is a British Province and the British Crown is the real Sovereign there), still it is assured in the Cabinet Statement that

"They (the States) have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India." The amplifying Statement issued also stated "the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the *immediate attainment by India of her full stature*. The Princes' consent to any changes that might emerge *would not unreasonably be withheld*."

"The void will have to be filled by the States entering into Federal relationship with the successor Government."

"The British Government will lend such assistance as may be necessary."

So, if the Nizam could be said to have any nominal "Sovereignty" over Berar, the people of Berar cannot be bound to him by chains of external compulsion against their wish. Their desire to be free is already expressed by the All-Parties Berar Conference. If the British Government is committed to the grant of independence of the choice of the people to this British Province and if there is some Constitutional law or difficulty in the case of Berar to grant it to this Province then the only possible way is to persuade the Nizam to grant a Charter of Independence to the people of Berar and incorporate it in some State paper that may be found necessary or in the Treaty with the Indian Union where the Beraris want to join. If the Nizam is genuine about his intention that he is willing to concede to the Beraris a Constitution with absolute popular control and complete autonomy and has no intention of reviving the Divine Right of Kings and making any personal gains for his house but only wants to have the satisfaction that the people of Berar should have independence from him instead of the British, perhaps the Beraris may agree.

The British Government has already stated :

"If she (India) elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so."

The people of Berar want to enjoy fruits of independence, as in any other British Provinces in the future. They are already on the way to it by the above Statement and are in the midst of an attempt to frame their own Constitution based on full and complete independence in the Constituent Assembly. If the Nizam wants to make a graceful use of his nominal Sovereignty according to current modern conceptions and put it to proper use, let him issue a Charter of Independence to the Berar people. They want Independence and Constitution based thereon. Whether the Charter comes from the British Government as it has done or from the Nizam it may not matter. The Beraris are secure in the thought that as Berar is a "British Province" today and as the British Government has asked them as such to elect for independence

and as they have expressed unequivocally for freedom, the British Government and all other democratic Forces in the country and in the world are behind them and will see that the choice of freedom made by the people will be enforced.

Frankly however the Beraris have no faith in the Declarations of the Nizam, as in the other parts of his Dominions, he has hardly taken steps to transfer his sovereignty to the people and to introduce really a democratic form of Government. In the same way his scheme refers to having "Governor" and "Prime Minister" in Berar. In a future Constitution "Governors" and "Prime Ministers" of the Nizam's conception may be anachronisms and may have no place in Constitutions. In fact, there may be no Governors at all in future provincial republics.

There is one more point to which a reference may be made. There has been for some years a demand amongst the Beraris that Berar should be a separate Administrative Unit. Such a demand at the present delicate time may not exactly be beneficial to the interests of Berar and it may, on the contrary, serve the ends of the Nizam. An Independent Unit of four districts may not be able to support a modern administration. Any movement to separate Berar from the British province of Central Provinces will at this moment prove injurious to the interests of Berar. There is, however, no harm in separating it from Mahakoshal and forming the Province of Mahavidarbha by joining together all the Marathi-speaking tracts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

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INDIAN HISTORY AND DISCOVERY OF NEW DATA

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

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HISTORICAL research in India is still below par—not so much from the point of view of quality which is undoubtedly high in the case of Indian historians, as from the point of view of data so far unearthed and exploited. This is, of course, due to the fact that the quantity to be covered is as huge as the great Indian peninsula. The total available material for a reconstruction of India's past history is widely scattered all over the country from Kashmir in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. A fair part of it might still be lying buried in the bowels of the earth itself. Some progress has certainly been made, but the work which has still to be done is immense, though by no means an impossible one.

So far as archives are concerned, the task of discovering new material is complicated by the fact that of the records concerning India those in the English language and in the custody of the British Indian Government constitute only a small fraction of the whole, and that fraction touches only a late period, approximately from the coming of the Europeans in India. But even so far as the modern period is concerned, extensive parts of the country which did not come fully under British rule, or came under it rather late are more or less uncovered by the official records. Immense quantities of records in such cases are still in private possession or in the jealous custody of the Indian States. As for the periods previous to the advent of British rule, all the records which are in Indian or other Asiatic languages are likewise scattered and in private or princely possession. A vast mass of records relating to India can only be had in countries outside India. All this makes the task of the historian extremely difficult and expensive.

While archives form the most precious of our historical data, it is necessary to remember that non-official records of which only a small part has so far been discovered may be no less vital than the official sources themselves. Private journals, diaries, correspondence, accounts and other seemingly unimportant family papers may yield valuable information on obscure points, and fill up the blanks in the records

in Government possession. It is a pity that our country cannot boast of a vast mass of such raw materials, but the historians have not yet fully utilised even a part of what is still available in the possession of private individuals, families, states and religious institutions. It is high time that such materials should be brought to light and adequately utilised. However arduous the task, it must be undertaken both as a patriotic duty and as a service to the cause of historical research.

We are all aware of the manifold difficulties that a historian has to face in finding access to the rich treasures lying hidden in private archives. Superstition, sentiment and a feeling of veneration which we cannot easily disregard combine to prevent private owners from laying open to the gaze of the inquisitive historian what in their eyes constitute a sacred treasure. Yet we have to find access to these treasures by tact and persuasion, and in conjunction with or with the assistance of learned societies like the Indian History Congress and the Indian Historical Records Commission. The co-operation of all Provincial Governments, States, Universities and historical bodies should be effectively utilised in discovering and preserving the non-official materials of history.

While a good deal of valuable spade-work in this direction has already been done by the Indian Historical Records Commission and its Regional Survey Committees, very little has been attempted in the Indian States, some of which possess a wealth of materials unknown in British India. The Indian princes have got to be persuaded to realise that their private archives are in fact national assets, and, as such, they should not remain the sole monopoly of their descendants alone. Similarly, we have to appeal to the scions of historic families and to the custodians of religious institutions to throw open their private archives and vest them in the nation so as to make them available for purposes of historical investigations.

After archives, archaeology is the next important factor on which a scientific rewriting of Indian history will have to depend. In fact, archaeology is an in-

valuable aid to the correct interpretation of history. While the other countries' archaeology deals more or less with pre-history, in India its contribution to the study of ancient and even medieval periods is almost equally important. As an invaluable ally of history, archaeology can throw light on obscure points of history, and provide the legendary antiquity with a solid bedrock of fact, if there is any. The great ancient Indian ruler, Asoka, would still have remained a legendary figure but for the successful decipherment of the ancient script of the Asokan inscriptions by Prinsep. Similarly, when we are in a position to decipher the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro, we shall have a surer basis for judging the quality and extent of the Indus Valley Civilisation.

The archaeologist's spade has already unravelled a number of problems of our country's history, but the sites which still remain to be excavated are numerous, and until they are fully explored we cannot rebuild the entire history of our past. We are in need today of a large army of trained archaeologists who will unfold the forgotten treasures lying buried under the debris of our ancient cities and deserted sites. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has done invaluable work in discovering new data, but much more has yet to be done before we can reconstruct the story of ancient and medieval India.

In every part of India there are scores of sites and mounds representing old centres of various periods, and exploratory work in such places is bound to yield a variety of antiques like coins, inscriptions, grants, pottery, terra cotta, jewellery, etc., which will prove to be valuable aids to historical knowledge. Only by scientific excavation of the ancient sites can the gaps of India's past history be filled and an authentic sequence of historical and cultural strata be established both for the prehistoric and for the ancient and medieval periods. It is thus alone that we can hope to come across valuable raw materials regarding periods on which the literary records may be extremely meagre or altogether non-existent.

The services that epigraphy and numismatics have yet to render to the political and cultural history of India need no elaboration. Studies already made are of great value to the historian, but the mass of inscriptions and coins that are still found widespread over the whole country is immense. Similarly, art treasures like paintings, sculptures, and architectural monuments are another invaluable source of historical knowledge which has not yet been fully utilised. Anthropology and Ethnography, Mythology, Comparative Religion and Philology are the other vital sources of information which can illumine the dark pages of our history. If we are in a position to discover data on the above lines, only then we can bridge the gaps which still remain in Indian history—for example, the one that follows the Indus Valley Civilisation of the 3rd and 4th millennia B. C.

Literature is another source from which valuable historical data can be gleaned with profit. Though the number of historical works in Indian literatures is comparatively small, important historical data can be deduced even from purely religious or literary texts. Though valuable information has already been obtained from such diverse literary sources, it is no exaggeration to state that much can yet be gleaned if a band of scholars devote their attention to a

study of ancient and medieval literatures of all areas in and adjacent to India.

So far as the history of medieval, and particularly, modern periods are concerned, the material still unused and lying scattered in such sources as revenue papers, settlement records, grants and *farmans*, *akhbars*, newsletters, periodicals, *bakhars*, newspapers and pamphlets is immense. No comprehensive history can be written without the help of such diverse sources. Family genealogies and *shakavalis* have also to be utilised for purposes of finding new data. There are such genealogies in the possession of historic families, and if a systematic search for these is made, valuable details can be gleaned from this source.

That the work of discovery has been taken up in right earnest by learned bodies is a fact which it is a pleasure to acknowledge. Mention must be made of the work already done by the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bharat Itihasa Sansodhok Mandal, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Research Societies of Bihar, Orissa, Andhra and Karnatak, the Historical Societies of U.P., the Punjab, Sindh, Maharastra and Calcutta, the Kamrupa Anusandhan Samiti, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Varendra Research Society, the Greater India Society, the Mahabodhi Society, the Indian Society of Oriental Art, the Indian Research Institute, the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, the Venkateshwar Oriental Institute, the Numismatic Society, the Bharat Itihasa Parishad, the Indian History Congress, the Historical Records Commission of the Government of India and similar bodies. We know of many brilliant and memorable examples of private enterprise in the discovery of historical materials. To the labours of scholars like S. R. Jadunath Sarkar, Rajwade, Sardesai, Dr. S. N. S. N. and Parasnis we owe the discovery of vast collections of records. The Oriental Public Library at Patna, famous for its collections of historical sources owes its inception to the remarkable zeal of one man, Khan Bahadur Khudabaksh, who has been aptly designated as the Indian 'Bodley.'

What strikes a student of Indian history about the work of such societies or individuals is the fact that their investigations have been sometimes persistent, often remittent, and not infrequently intermittent. There has also been a lack of proper co-ordination and planning. There has also been some overlapping in certain cases. But, what has so far been done in respect of those records or materials which are available only outside India is in the nature of a mere beginning. A mass of still unused materials is preserved in the India Office, the British Museum, the Public Records Office, London, in the archives at Lisbon, the Hague, and Paris, and also in the possession of those families whose predecessors played some important part in the history of India. A co-ordinated search for records in foreign countries coupled with a well-planned scheme for the acquisition of rotograph or microfilm copies will go to open up a rich source of Indian history which has been only superficially tapped so far.

The handicaps facing the historian in India are, therefore, very great. He has to unearth materials that are widely scattered, and then has to preserve them from the ravages of climate and time. But, though the difficulties are manifold, they are not insuperable for those who study history as a science or those who have to rewrite Indian history on really sound lines.

THE GREAT FREEZE-UP OF THE CENTURY

Great Britain (January-March, 1947)

By Dr. S. M. DAS, D.Sc., F.R.S.

WHEN you go to Russia you take a great fur-coat; when you go to Lapland you buy an Eskimo suit; when you go to Africa you pack a cotton suit and *solaptee*; but when you come to England you must take

25°F. At the same time blizzards, dislocated bus services in Cumberland and Durham. But this was only a foretaste; just the *hors d'oeuvres*.

After two weeks of vacillating snow and gales, all Britain froze up on the 24th of January, when icy winds swept across North England and heavy snow fell all along the South. The lowest temperature was still moderate—a mere 23°F or nine degrees of frost. The next night it was thirteen degrees of frost in many parts of the country. Kent, West Malling, Felixtow, Southampton, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight had about a foot of snow on that night. The worst had already come—so many thought.

But February opened with a record that was already showing what was still in store. On February 2, the harbour at Killybegs, County Donegal, froze for the first time in 35 years. It must be remembered that although lakes, rivers, ponds, and pools often freeze up in Great Britain during the winter, the sea does not freeze. This



"Snow-bound" Newcastle

all these, and more. For, its climate is as capricious as its people. Even so, the hardy Britisher was scarcely prepared for the great freeze-up of 1947. We from India were still less so.

After an unusually wet and cold summer everybody expected a mild winter. But it has been the worst winter of the century. Snow, frost, gale and blizzard have separately, and at times all together, beat all records for Great Britain and Ireland. The sea kept off the Nazi invaders successfully, but it failed to keep out the polar bear.

The first test of what was coming appeared in the first week of January, 1947, when snow, frost and gales provided a weather mix-up in most parts of Britain. Icy gales held up coal ships in Northumberland; two thousand people in Shetlands were without bread for a time; parts of the lake district were cut off from supplies of food and fuel; fishing was at a standstill; and Warwickshire village of Honiley was the coldest spot in England, with a temperature of



Tree buried in snow, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

is due to the lower freezing point of the saline water which remains unaffected even at six degrees of frost, while fresh water freezes below 32°F. Besides the large mass of the sea, the tides and waves

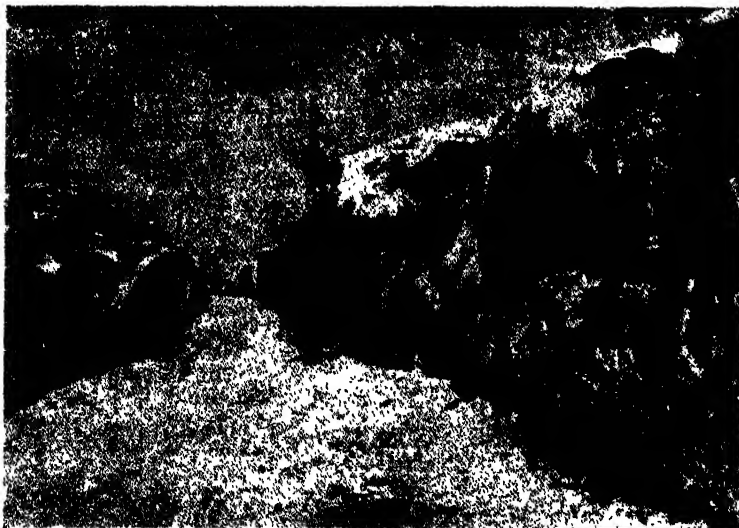
prevent the sea from freezing even when the adjacent land is covered with ice. But here we had a salt-water harbour already frozen for the first time in 35 years.

That was only February 2nd. A false thaw appeared about this time and Scotland, Wales, London and the South were having a hectic time dealing with thousands of frozen burst pipes and water mains. The first marooned village to be rescued was the Exmoor village of Simonsbath, where German prisoners of war

gers, including women and children, remained huddled in the cold bus for over 12 hours. Snow-ploughs called to help could make no impression on the huge snow-drift in which the coach was embedded.

The blizzard soon spread to the north-west of England, where the town of Buxton in Derbyshire was completely cut off and many villages isolated. A train trying to get out of Buxton got snow-bound only a mile from Buxton and the passengers had to walk back home through deep drifts. Hundreds of offices and shop-workers were stranded at Buxton, while cars were buried and lorries and buses abandoned by their drives on the roads.

Everything was in chaos for the next few days. Most of the collieries were thrown idle due to wagon hold-up by the snow. Snow-drifts 15 to 20 feet high were a common sight along all the roads leading out of Northumberland and Durham in the north-east of England. Almost all trains from King's Cross, London to Leeds, Newcastle and Aberdeen, were at a standstill. In many of the high-lying farms sheep were buried in huge snow-drifts, and farmers had arduous hours trying to dig them out. By February 6, the plight of thousands of villages grew worse, as more and more of them got isolated and no food could get through to them.

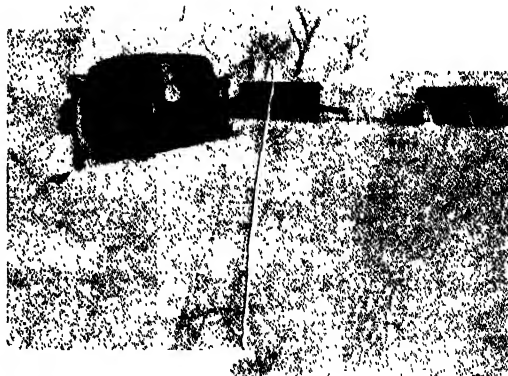


There is an iceberg effect about this drift—15 feet deep in parts—on Farley Moor near Matlock

helped by British soldiers fought through a 16-foot snow-drift to bring in a relief column with food, and to find that the villagers were down in their last loaf of bread. After being isolated by the snow-barrier for more than 8 days, they first saw new faces.

February 3rd had arrived and the clock was set for blizzards the like of which has not been seen for over 100 years in many parts of the country. The blizzard started in the north-east of England (where the writer first faced it) on the night of February 3, and howled on for over 48 hours non-stop, reaching a gale force of 50 miles an hour and piling up snow all over the north-east. Road communications were cut and Durham, Lancashire and Yorkshire were isolated. More than 15 villages in the Peak district were completely cut off by 15-foot snow-drifts. Telephone communications were cut by broken-down telephone cables. Many districts were without light as well.

Newcastle (the headquarters of the writer) was one of the worst hit districts in the North. Snow-ploughs, bull-dozers, salting vans, and an army of 'snow-sweepers' doing their best for the whole day could not restore communications to all parts of the town and many workers failed to reach their place of work. No ships left the Tyne, for, there was blinding snow in a 50-m.p.h. gale that reduced visibility to zero. Durham, which is 18 miles from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, employed more than 200 snow-ploughs to clear the blocked roads. Many trains leaving North remained snow-bound all night, and passengers stayed marooned and shivering till the morning. A bus pulling out of York got stuck in the snow soon after. The 32 passen-



An attempt to open the road to Otterburn: a snow-plough goes into action

The only solution was to parachute supplies to these villages by planes. It looked simple enough. But flying under such atrocious conditions was not exactly a joy-ride. Time after time the scouting planes tried to take off, but in vain. Finally, a Halifax bomber got through to Staffordshire. It did get through; but it never came back. Eight died in the crash at Grindon Moor when the bomber crashed in sight of the cross placed on the snow to locate the villagers whom they had attempted to succour after being cut off for ten days. The supplies lay on the snow-charred loaves, sugar bags split open, and tinned milk reduced to

cinders. All the occupants of the bomber were dead and the plane was a pile of burnt wreckage.

Of the many human incidents during the week was the rescue of a new-born baby and the mother by neighbours and ambulance men in a life-and-death struggle in the Himethog mountains in Denbighshire. More than a hundred men tried to cut a road through the snow, which was as high as the telephone wires,

and look back at the damage done, the cost incurred and matters to be put right. During the worst of the snow-storms, it has been estimated that 4,000 men were employed for snow-clearing in each country and that it cost from £5,000 to £10,000 a day to keep the roads clear when they could be cleared at all. It must be realised that during the worst storms traffic in towns was never completely dislocated, and buses,

trams, cabs and horse-drawn vehicles were doing their rounds intermittently everyday. New-castle was perhaps the best organised town in the snow-bound country in this respect. Thousands of tons of salt and cinders were spread on all its streets and snow cleared to make traffic possible. But it was another matter with trains. Many of them lay buried in different parts of the country for several days. Perhaps, the record is held by a goods train which was completely buried at Mallerstang near Kirby Stephen for 15 days and could be moved only after gangs had loaded 80 trucks with snow off the lines! Of the L.N.E.R. routes fourteen were at a standstill.

What about the South? London had by now experienced the longest continuous frost of the century—more than a month of sub-zero temperatures had been



The heavy weight of snow on the roof of Scarborough Railway Station brought down part of the structure

to reach the village. But the ambulance could not get nearer than four miles from the farm. In the teeth of a blizzard they carried the mother and the baby on a stretcher over snow-drifts and fields to the waiting ambulance. The stretcher was by now covered by a 12-inch layer of snow, while moisture froze on the men's eyebrows, hair, and faces. But in contrast to the plane tragedy this had the happy sequel of 'both doing well.'

Throughout these operations, it must be stated, the Poles (and there are 1,80,000 of them in this country) and the German P.O.W.'s did a magnificent job in rescue and clearing operations. In many places the snow had frozen to ice and more snow fallen on top. No snow-plough was of any use on these roads. The ice had to be broken by bulldozer, pick and axe before the snow could be removed. It is only by this human means that many of the villages ultimately got the much-needed supplies after being cut off for more than two weeks. Rescue parties, dressed in Arctic garb, marched in single file in the long treks through the snow to some of the starving villages.

Things abated a little by February 13, when we saw the sun for the first time in many weeks, and no more snow fell. Everybody could now take a breath



The blazing wreckage of the Halifax bomber which crashed on Grindon Moor, Staffordshire

recorded. The Midlands, Devon, Cotswolds, Norfolk and Suffolk were all buried in deep snow and ice. Road conditions were atrocious, and telephone and telegraph wires snapped like twigs under the weight of ice formed on them. The entire coastal sea along Kent was frozen, and all shipping practically at a standstill. The worst feature, however, was the acute shortage of coal. The puny reserve of 7,000,000 tons was exhausted and no coal reached the south due to transport conditions. No coal, no electricity,

no heating and no lighting was the order of the day. Factories and workshops were hard hit by the Government order of no electricity during a major part of this period. In a frantic effort to save the nation from dire calamity, the Labour Government had made drastic cuts in lighting, current consumption and use of coal and gas. Shivering families sat huddled without any heating arrangements at all. Offices, trade establishments, hotels and restaurants, factories and works—everywhere people carried on in candle-light. How



This pole, at Mellor near Blackburn, was broken by the weight of ice on the wires. Telegrams were delayed

could factories run without electricity? Well, the British may be muddlers—but they never say die. Some wheels were kept moving by man-power. Every type of contraption from cycle-wheels to manual pedals were set up to make the wheels of the factory go around. Girls, boys, women and men pedalled their way to production. They knew that without production there is no export, and without exports Britain cannot get the imports of food and raw materials which are its life-blood. And so, in spite of the spate of attacks on Government for having allowed the nation to reach the verge of a crisis—they carried on. Typists typed by candle-light and Lords and Peers had to submit to the same cold and darkness as the humble factory worker.

Yes, London was cold indeed. Transport on land had already been dislocated; and then no ships could leave the north with the vital coal that it needed. Many ships which were already out at sea were driven by the blizzards on to rocks on the coasts, since visibility was usually zero. The photograph taken by the writer of a wrecked Greek ship at Cullercoats, Northumberland, should give a good idea of what happened. Not only was shipping held by blinding snow-storms and icy gales, but for the first time in living memory the North Sea froze up in places and great ice-fields were drifting gradually towards the English coasts. To have frozen harbours was bad enough, but to have icebergs near England was history. Never before have such great ice-fields existed near the English coasts. As the ice-fields neared the coast, they broke up into giant floes, some of which were six to seven feet above sea-level. This really means icebergs, the size of 40 feet or more, as only one-seventh of the ice remains above water.

Another feature of the frozen seas was the low temperatures obtained right down to the bottom of the sea—which rarely happens except in the Arctic and the Antarctic circles. The research vessel *Sir Lancelot* returning to Lowestoft fishery station on the 19th of February, reported a temperature of two degrees below zero almost to the sea-bottom. The effect of this on young fish and eggs can be imagined. This great destruction of 1947 is bound to make itself felt on the fish-yield of 1950 and 1951, when this year class would normally have formed a major part of the fisheries then. Normally you may have ice on the sea, but the deeper layers seldom reach below freezing point and thus harbour the fish and the demersal eggs. A big reduction in fish population of the North Sea three or four years from now, is therefore inevitable.

What about temperatures on land? A specimen minimum temperature list for one day (February 24, 1947) is given below, and compares well with those of Hudson Bay outpost in the Arctic and Graham's Land in the Antarctic. The degrees of frost indicate the degrees Fahrenheit below the freezing point (32°F).

Luton	42 degrees of frost
Bitteswell, Leicester	41 " " "
Thame (Oxon)	35 " " "
Chorley Wood (Herts)	35 " " "
Tonbridge	29 " " "
Sheffield	26 " " "
Chester	26 " " "
Leeds	22 " " "
Newcastle and Durham	17 " " "
Kensington	14 " " "



Clearing the road at Buxton by a snow-plough

New conditions bring new experiments. L.M.S. engineers experimented with a machine on jet propulsion lines for snow-clearance. The device was first tried out in the Derby area to clear the railways. The jet engines, one or two as the need may be, were mounted on trucks or tanks and the jets worked forward instead of backward as in planes. It was found extremely efficient in removing snow from the lines by the 1,000 m.p.h. blast each jet creates. But this also created so much heat that there was a danger to signalling and other permanent railway equipment. It had, therefore, to be used extremely cautiously and only in safe zones of the lines. Otherwise, the experi-

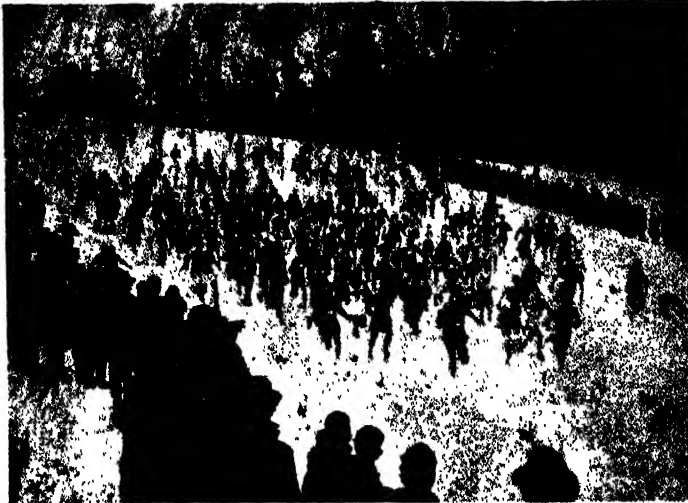
ment was a success and cleared many a block on the railways.

But the coldest winter in living memory had its lighter and brighter sides. Phrases reminding one of the Arctic became current. It was quite a joke asking one policeman the way to Hudson Bay outpost, and

mon sight in every street, alley and siding, and tidy tots could be seen tearing down an incline with a war-cry matched only by that of Red Indians. Finally, sliding was a common experiment to prove the law of gravity over and over again. Prim *prima-donnas*, downed in furs and snow-boots, slid down at every turn

of the glassy iced pavements and rested awhile on their bottoms before resuming their dignified bearing. Many learnt for the first time that they had a coccyx or tail! All these sports do make one warm; but some were not warm enough. To heat the cold they started the National Cross-country Championships in the snow and the ice.

The lighter side of train journeys was the oft-repeated "perhaps" and "I do not know" by the usually "know-all" railway officials—as all long-distance trains were either late or got snow-bound and never reached their destinations. The arrival indicators at the stations bore signs as "Glasgow train 720 mins. late" and "Liverpool train 670 mins. late." Seriously and without irony railway officials talked of not what time the train left,



The start of the senior championship at Apsley, Hertfordshire

another the location of the nearest 'igloo' during a blizzard; while Eskimo clothing was universally appreciated. When bottles of beer froze, they were not thawed out, but merely 'exposed' by peeling the glass skin of the beer! You would not then drink beer but only suck it like 'ices.' Then, one wonders if Schiaparelli could have designed a greater variety of feminine head-dress that came to be used during the cold wave. Every stage from the Eskimo cap and Russian balaklava to the turban and head-shawl of the East, could be discerned.

Skiing, skating, tobogganning and sliding, all got into their own. The Scottish, the Lake District and the Northumberland skiing clubs had magnificent skiing conditions unrivalled by any in Switzerland. They held cup-competitions and meets and did a great deal to revive the sport in England. Skating was indulged in by young and old alike. The frozen harbours, rivers, lakes, ponds and pools, all formed centres of skating activity and merriment. The Serpentine in London and the Frozen Thames became the site of activities reminding one of the Gay Nineties. It might be a coincidence that Daphne Walker (British) was runner-up in the World Skating Championship held in the continent, but the success was directly taken up by skating enthusiasts all over England. Tobogganning was a com-



Waiting for the start of a race arranged by the Lake District Ski Club on the slopes of Helvellyn

mon sight in every street, alley and siding, and tidy tots could be seen tearing down an incline with a war-cry matched only by that of Red Indians. Finally, sliding was a common experiment to prove the law of gravity over and over again. Prim *prima-donnas*, downed in furs and snow-boots, slid down at every turn

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General Thaw failed us as ignominiously as many Generals have so often done in the last War. Thaw started alright at the South of England, but taking a look at the mass of ice and snow it had to melt over Great Britain, he quietly turned tail and fled to the Continent. Yes, instead of the promised General Thaw, by March 8, we realised we were in for still worse snow and ice. The few hours' sunshine in the first week of March could make no impression on the masses of ice and snow which lay in drifts up to 30 feet deep all over the country. A belt of snow had slowly but surely spread again across the midlands cutting road communications between Northern and Southern England. Oxford was virtually cut off from London. Hotels, all over Midlands, were filled with stranded travellers who had left their buses and cars buried in the snow. Northampton was completely cut off from the North.

On Wednesday, the 12th of March, came the worst blizzard of the season in the North. With a gale force, the snow came blindingly down for over 24 hours. The snow, driven horizontally by the gale, played havoc with transport, men and materials. It caused the worst transport hold-up of the winter in Newcastle, Durham, Gateshead and a number of other North towns. Eighteen trams got marooned in Newcastle alone. The transport department's entire stock of salt was used up in trying to dislodge the stuck-up transport. Passengers from London could not get through to Edinburgh and had to wait in L.N.E.R. sidings for the best part of the day. The Newcastle-Scotland and Newcastle-Carlisle roads were completely blocked. Many offices and shops closed early to allow workers to reach home, as many had to walk to the suburbs of the town. It took two days for the bulldozers and snow-ploughs to restore normal communications inside towns.

A list of blocked lines on the 14th of March would be of interest:

Newcastle-Newbiggin	Consett-Birtley
Newcastle-Southshields	Consett-Durham
Newcastle-Middlesbrough	Sunderland-Shields
Chevington-Amble	North Yorks-Cleveland
Hepscott-Morpeth	Darlington-Fawcett
Alnwick-Coldstream	Middlesbrough-Brofton
Tweedmouth-Coldstream	Scarborough-Whithy
Ferryhill-West Hartlepool	Rowley-Wasker
Newcastle-Carlisle	

By March 15, conditions in the North were chaotic. Almost all the roads from England to Scotland were impassable, while England itself was split up into a northern and southern part without intercommunications. This was enhanced by the beginning of the unprecedented devastating floods in the south which came in the wake of the thaw. Traffic conditions are said to be worse than anything experienced during the past 100 years. Damage was not restricted to roads and railways alone. Many houses collapsed under the weight of snow and ice covering them. The main roof of the Scarborough Railway Station was brought down. The worst hit were villages in Wales, the Midlands, North of England, and Scotland. Typical of the hardships of the villagers, besides the human dramas enacted, comes the story of three villages, Huntsworth, Townsfield and Ramshaw in North Durham. The 100 people residing in these villages were cut off, by banks of snow 18 feet high, from the rest

of the country for an unbroken period of six weeks. There was no bread in the villages for nine days, no meat for fourteen days, and little coal or paraffin for cooking or lighting, no medicines and no mail. But the wonder is they have all come out of it alive! Has not man conquered the North Pole and the South Pole after all?

Today, on the 22nd of March, 1947, the thaw has at last set in earnest in the North. For the first time in two months, the thermometer has shown a minimum above freezing point. For two months Arctic weather has been on us. For two months snow, ice, frost and blizzard have never left us. For two months there has been chaos in Great Britain—socially, economically, politically and morally.



Volunteers, wearing warm headgear and Arctic clothing, ready to start off on the long trek through the snow from Sinderhope with food parcels to isolated Allenheads

Social life has been practically at a standstill during these two months. Who would like to be out of doors in the *tundra*-like country facing blizzards at 50 miles per hour? People got double-pneumonia; they may have got triple, if one existed. Our activities were therefore sadly confined from home to places of work and back. That was enough of an ordeal for one day. Suppose you went out of your gate on the street pavement and made for the bus stand. First, you would have to walk on a narrow sheet of ice above five feet of snow. This ice-path has been made by pedestrians, for, when snow is compressed, it turned to ice at sub-zero temperatures. You balance yourself as if on a tight rope. Why? Because, if you step out of the narrow glassy path, you step into soft snow and may pass through it until only your head was above the snow. But, say, finally you have managed to reach the bus stand, you may have to wait 10 mins., 20 mins., or even half an hour for your bus to arrive. And standing for half an hour in an arctic blizzard with snow turning into icicles on your eyelashes and brows is not a very pleasant experience. And as you have already done this twice, to and back from work, you say 'no more of this nonsense' and stay at home.

Economically, the past two months' arctic conditions have brought England to the verge of collapse. No coal, no power, no light, no gas, no factory work, no manufactures to export, and thus no import of the vital food and stuff on which England lives. It has been the worst industrial crisis since the industrial

revolution. The economic crisis would not have affected the country as much as it has, if normal weather conditions prevailed. The British may have, in spite of their proverbial bungling, pulled through easily. But the picture now appears dark if not hopeless. With wheat, cereals, corn, bread, meat, butter, fats, sugar, fruits and nuts, all rationed, the plight becomes more perilous as shortages appear in meat, fish, potatoes and even vegetables. How the cold wave has hit the economy of the country may be surmised when it is divulged that £15,000,000 less exports left the country in February than in January 1947. Thousands of sheep all over the country have been killed by crows and foxes! Starved crows roved the countryside in flocks in search of stranded sheep in the snow and pecked off their eyes and tongues! Many a farmer has been ruined by this unusual pest. The total financial loss to sheep-farmers will amount to several million pounds. Add to this the loss of cattle due to shortage of fodder and you have an inevitable serious effect on supplies of meat during the rest of the year. Then as a result of the bitter winter, cereals were sown in some 500,000 acres fewer than expected, and perhaps one-fourth of these crops seems to have been seriously damaged or lost. Cultivation and sowing can usually progress again in February and early March. Nothing of the kind has been possible this year. To cultivate and sow 6,000,000 acres of tillable land in Great Britain, between now and the end of April, appears an impossibility. This record of delay in sowing is bound to tell on the economy of the country. Add to this the immense drain on capital for snow-clearance alone. It has been estimated that between January 20 and March 20, each large town in England has spent about £100,000 on merely keeping the local roads open. Much more has been spent on cross-country communications.

Politically, the results have been most far-reaching. Never in recent years have there been such uproarious scenes as the House of Commons has lately witnessed. The acute shortage of coal and power, certainly severely aggravated by the unexpected great freeze-up, gave the Conservative Party their lives' chance to make a case against the Labour Government. And they did not mince words either. Shinwell appears to have become a household abuse and Strachey an impotent muddler. It is surprising how the Labour Government has survived the onslaught of the opposition, in spite of Churchill making the best out of this windfall weather, and moving a vote of no-confidence. History will record January-March, 1947, as the worst God-forsaken testing period that the Labour Government ever had or shall have to endure. The biggest Government defeat in Lords (by 119 votes to 30) since it took office has already taken place. In the international aspect Britain has been compelled to withdraw more and more of soldiers from all quarters abroad, and increase man-power at home. The proposed withdrawal from Greece on the last day of March, 1947, as well the stoppage of further monetary help to

Greece, Turkey and other countries has already resulted in an American bid for Continental supremacy.

Morally, one expects intense colds to freeze up morals to a non-moral condition. Not so in Great Britain. The number of murders, robberies, burglaries and thefts have increased alarmingly. There have been 50,000 divorces during the last quarter and another 50,000 are awaiting the event eagerly. The number of unofficial strikes, without consulting the T. U. C. have been phenomenal; private enterprise is raving at nationalisation; manpower has failed production by absenteeism. All these and more have been enacted. The overall picture has been well-depicted by Moon in his famous cartoon.



A Valentine tank, fitted with two aeroplane jet engines, clearing the road to a coalfield in Leicestershire

The general impression of the great freeze-up in Great Britain appears to the writer to be one of general unpreparedness for such a contingency. The British were as ill-prepared for the freeze-up as they were to fight the Nazis in 1940. No large-scale means and methods to deal with such immense masses of snow and ice existed. Canada, which certainly had a worse winter than Great Britain, had neither paralysis of transport, nor stoppage of production. The Canadian giant snow-blowers operated by 240 h.p. Diesel engines are unknown in Britain; hydraulic street ploughs are negligible in numbers; while the rotary railway snow-plough to keep trains moving should have been able to keep railways clear through the worst of the winter—if one was available. Britain still uses primitive methods of snow-clearing, which may work well during normal winters, but are of little use against masses of snow 15 to 20 feet deep. These operations are expensive even in Canada; but they are not one-tenth as expensive as letting the country be paralysed by snow-falls or freeze-ups. In so far Britain has learnt yet another of the many lessons she has still to learn.



ART-CRAFTS OF THE PUNJAB

By 'MUSAVIR'

There is probably no cleverer artisan in India than the Punjabi who with the most primitive of tools turns out wonderfully artistic and beautiful articles of every description. Perhaps even today the Punjab is famous as one of the biggest centres of art-crafts in India. It is already a highly developed industrial and commercial centre and its trade and industry attracts everyone.

The Indian potters had a knack of combining colours laid under the glaze with a tint imparted with the glaze itself. Thus a turquoise glaze will be found superimposed upon a dark blue decoration, or a green arabesque will be overlaid with a pale brown glaze.

The art of pottery started some thousands of years ago. In the Punjab, the pottery has been an institution for ages past. Every village has its own potter and in



A Minakari worker

Though many other articles of use and adornment are manufactured in the Punjab, the Turquoise Pottery, Minakari, Pile Carpets and Camel Leather Industry are the most popular crafts.

TURQUOISE POTTERY

The Turquoise Pottery is quite famous now. In its early stages this kind of pottery was simply deco-

Turquoise pottery

almost every home one finds earthenware made of clay. The fine turquoise pottery of the Punjab is not only used locally but also exported to several foreign countries.

MINAKARI

Although the Minakari is found all over the world it is manufactured on a large scale in the Punjab. We have seen a good many different designs



A Punjabi artist at work



A potter at work. Artistic pottery is one of the oldest crafts of the Punjab

rated with incised lines, but when the glaze was adopted and the ware began to assume a more ornamental character, colours were introduced and later improved upon.

and patterns skilfully made by the wonderful hands of Punjabi craftsmen. This wonderful handicraft is multiplied to the highest peak of the industry career. When others came to know this art of Minakari, they

soon began to learn it and after doing so, came in close competition and reduced it to normal.

Minakari (art of enamelling) is the most famous and expensive of all the industries of India. It should be described as an art of colouring on metal surface, such as gold and silver-made articles. This art was brought from Kabul and in the ancient times it was used on the armour, swords and shields, for decoration.

PILE CARPETS

The Punjab is often spoken of as having an indigenous carpet industry, or at all events one which dates prior to the introduction of the Persian craft. The household industry of the Punjab, as characterised by names of tools, designs, and methods of weaving, are clearly of Persian origin.

There are three types of fabrics: the durries, rugs of cotton pile, and the rugs of woollen pile. The weavers are Muslims, who claim to have come from Persia. They dye their own materials. The principal colours are green, blue and red.

The materials used for rugs come from goats, sheep and camels. To a more limited extent silk and cotton are being used. Of more frequent use is the camel hair which grows close to the skin beneath the long hair. This in older animals is coarse and dark, but that taken from young ones is finer and lighter.

CAMEL LEATHER INDUSTRY

From time immemorial the Punjab has also been famous for its camel leather industry, especially because of the work done on these articles. These

leather articles as compared with the glass are neither damaged by rain-water nor breakable. A camel leather article wears for long if necessary care is provided.



Making wooden combs

These camel leather lamp-shades and vases are found in many places but are manufactured on a large scale in the Punjab. The traditional art done on these articles is called *Nakashi*.

The height of the vases is about six feet, and these are specially meant for the places of Nawabs and Maharajas. From the time this art has a vogue, specimens of these have been put in exhibitions and museums all over the world.

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PANDIT SUKHLAL SANGHAVI

An Appreciation

MAHAMOHOPADHYA BIDHUSEKHARA SASTRI

PANDIT SHRI SUKHLALJI SANGHAVI is one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars in India, of whom everyone should feel proud not only in this country but also abroad. He was born in 1880 A.D. at Limbli near Wadhwan (Kathiawad). His education began, as usual, in a school in which he read only Gujarati up to the 7th class. Unfortunately, however, owing to a virulent type of small-pox he lost his eyes being completely blind at the age of sixteen. But nobody then could have the remotest idea that this boy was destined to become a great Sanskrit savant in our country. Indeed, though he was deprived of his *Mamsu-Chakshus* 'fleshy eye', he was destined to be a *Prajna-Chakshus* 'having the eyes of wisdom' of the highest class. In fact, his real education began after his unfortunate blindness, when he had to depend completely on his reader. From the very beginning he had a genuine love for Sanskrit and Philosophy. From Kathiawad he came to Benares. There he studied Nyaya under the late Mm. Pandit Vamacharana Bhattacharya whom I am proud to call a *satirtha* (fellow-student) of mine under the late Mm. Pandit Kailasachandra Bhattacharya. For his study he had to travel also to Mithila where he read under several teachers, the most prominent of whom was Mm. Pandit Balakrishna Mishra. Here a short event in his life happened which

for its interestingness may be recounted. His pecuniary condition was not good, and it is well-known how a Sanskrit student lives in the house of his teacher. He had a sweater on his body which his poor Sanskrit teacher saw and praised. Pandit Sukhlalji offered it to him next day without thinking as to how he could pass the severe winter of Mithila. And what he did? He passed the cold nights spreading over him a few bundles of straw covering them with a worn-out rug. In his student life he did not take more than Rupees 2 or 3 a month for his board. Such was his vow. From Mithila he came back to Benares, and here for some years he studied different branches of Sanskrit philosophy and literature for which he devoted all his time day and night, and thus acquired a comprehensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature as a whole, mastering most difficult works in it.

By religion he is a Jaina, and naturally he studied Jaina, Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures embracing all their different branches. On Jainism there is none who can be considered his rival.

From Benares he came back to Gujarat. But before coming there he had passed some time in Agra being engaged in editing, with Hindi translation and annotation as well as his own valuable introductions, some highly interesting religious and philosophical

books, such as *Pancha-Pratikramana*, the first four *Karma-Granthas*, *Yogadarsana* and *Yogavimsika*. In Gujarat, he was appointed a Professor of Indian Philosophy in the Puratattvamandira of the Gujarat Vidyapitha or the National University established by Mahatma Gandhi. The specially notable work he was engaged in there was the edition of the big work covering not less than 900 pages with various valuable and useful indices and appendices of Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Sanmatitarka* of Siddhasena Divakara, the first author of Logic in Jainism. Here it should be mentioned that Pandit Sukhlalji in this great work was assisted by Pandit Bechardas Doshi of Gujarat, a renowned Sanskrit and Prakrit scholar and author. This work is in five volumes and not less than ten years he devoted in editing this. As already stated he is a blind man, and it is surprising to note that he undertook the work and finished it very creditably with his learned and precious notes showing his profound scholarship in every line. It will be interesting to note as to how a blind man as he was could edit such a book just as one reasonably be expected from a modern scholar conversant with scientific method of editing. He sits in his study surrounded by a number of his pupils or co-workers each with a manuscript in hand and he asks each of them to read out the variants one after another, he himself thinking over them deeply in order to choose the best reading that can be put in the body, other readings being relegated to the foot-notes. In editing the book he has done the most valuable and at the same time difficult work. In this work he had to work and labour day and night and so he was obliged to take perfect rest for some time.

As a *Naisthika Brahmacarin* (a 'life-long celibate' as he is) his necessities of life are naturally very few and he does not care to earn much, being satisfied as an ideal scholar with whatever he earns. From his honorarium or remuneration he maintains one or two assistants to help him in his work.

From Gujarat he came to Benares Hindu University in 1933, being appointed there as the Professor of Jain Philosophy and retired voluntarily from service in 1944. During this time he wrote and edited a number of valuable works in Sanskrit, Hindi and Gujarati. His commentary and translation work both in Gujarati and Hindi of the *Tattvarthasutra*, which is widely studied in Jainism, by Umasvati who is considered to have been the first Sanskrit writer in Jainism, are most important for those who desire to understand the real significance of the text in clear and lucid language elucidating all the knotty points in the work. The introductions to his editions of the *Inanabindu* and *Pramanamimamsa* are real contributions to Sanskrit logical works. His elaborate commentary in Gujarati on the *Sanmatitarka* already referred to can be written only by a man of his calibre.

His edition of *Tattvopaglavasinha* of Jayarasi Bhatta in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series deserves to be specially mentioned as it is the systematic work from the Charvaka point of view refuting all the different Indian philosophical systems. The *Hetubindu* is one of the most valuable works on Buddhist logic by Dharmakirti and there is a commentary on it by Arcata. There are Tibetan translations of these two works. The Sanskrit of this *tika* is being edited by Panditji in the G. O. S. and this edition will contain also the sub-tika of Durveka Misra on it. The manus-

cript of the sub-tika was secured from some photographs taken by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana in Tibet, which are preserved in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Pandit Sukhlalji is respected in learned society not only as a profound Sanskrit scholar but also as a man of character. He is free from all sorts of dogmatism or sectarianism. His thoughts are not bound by any narrowness as he always is used to view things in historical perspective following strictly pure reason and rationalism. It is for this that he is respected much more among the non-Jainas than by his orthodox co-religionists. For his liberal views he is sometimes called by them as a heretic even in abusive words. But as a true scholar he is not moved by it.



Pandit Sukhlal Sanghavi

For instance, one of his latest monographs entitled *Nirgrantha-Sampradaya* in Hindi may be referred to. It deals with the customs and practices of Jain monks giving comparative views as found in ancient Buddhist and Brahmanical works. Among other things he has discussed here, the practice of meat-eating among the Jain monks. Being himself a Jain certainly it is no mean courage to assert that the Jain monks once used to take meat in exceptional cases. It may be mentioned *en passant* that in this respect the only parallel to Panditji is Muni Jinavijayaji, a prominent figure in Gujarat and Bombay in connection with the organisation of educational institutions. And if my information is correct, ere long we are going to have a full-fledged University after the hallowed memory of the great Maharana Pratap Sinha in Udaipur which is his birth-place. I am glad to

note in this connection that the original scheme of this noble and invaluable work emanated from our celebrated countryman Shri Kanaiyalal Munshi of Bombay through Jinavijaysaji who was a son of a well-to-do Rajput Sardar and left his native land of Udaipur at the young age of nine or ten and travelled widely in the country observing the vows of a Jaina monk strictly, having been influenced by a Jaina monk. If my information that he goes back there in order to organise the proposed University turns to be true it can be said that he is returning to Udaipur as if to make the atonement of his injustice to his mother whom he so cruelly left against her wish.

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I can in no way conclude this brief appreciation without mentioning one thing which I consider to be the most outstanding trait of his character. He does not pay so much heed even to his studies as to the thoughts of the all-round well-being of his pupils. He is not satisfied with the superficial knowledge of his students but always insists on their acquiring thoroughness of the subject, himself helping them as far as possible in every way, even arranging for pecuniary help. Pandit Sukhlalji is not a *Sadhu* formally renouncing the world, but truly speaking he is a real *Sadhu*. He has no home to live in. Yet he does not feel any inconvenience as he is a welcome guest wherever he goes.

A LITERARY PARTNERSHIP

By KATHARINE MOORE

THE friendship between Addison and Steele resulted in one of the most successful partnerships in literature. Each did their best work in collaboration, for each was the complement of the other. Addison, reserved, cautious and fastidious, was inspired by Steele's warmth and vitality, while Steele's restless improvidence was checked by his veneration for his friend and mentor.

They met first at school, one arriving, a penniless orphan from Dublin, dependent on charity, the other from the respectable security of an English Denmery. They shared their youth together at Charterhouse School and Oxford University, and then their paths diverged for a time. Addison went abroad to study diplomacy and Steele (as he says of himself) "mounted a war horse with a great sword in my hand and planted myself behind King William III against Louis XIV."

At the opening of the 18th century, party feeling in England was violent and bitter. Addison and Steele were life-long Whigs (Parliamentary Progressive), but Addison's career was cautious and successful. When the Whigs were in power, he wrote a poem on the battle of Blenheim and was made Secretary of State. Steele, on the other hand, often jeopardized his interest by rashness. "I am in a thousand troubles for poor Dick," writes Addison, "and wish that his zeal for the public may not be ruinous to himself."

THE TATLER

Their first bid for literary fame was on the stage. It was unsuccessful. Addison wrote a poor musical comedy and Steele three plays "damned for their piety." Later, however, Addison made a popular hit with a tragedy, *Cato*. It is now forgotten. But meanwhile Steele had found his true medium, and in 1709, there appeared the first number of *The Tatler* by "Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq."

The Tatler appeared three times a week at the cost of one penny, and was an immense success. We, who are snowed under by popular periodicals, find it hard to imagine the sensation caused by a paper dealing, for the first time, with entertainment as well as news. But *The Tatler*, aimed at reforming as well as pleasing, and was especially concerned with the fashionable vices of gambling and duelling. John Gay of *Beppo's Opera* fame writes that "Bickerstaff

ventured to tell the Town that they were a parcel of fops, fools and coquettes, but in such a manner as even pleased them and made them more than half inclined to believe that he spoke the truth."



The portrait of Joseph Addison
By Kneller

The design of *The Tatler* was wholly Steele's. He borrowed only the pseudonym "Bickerstaff," which Swift had already made popular. But soon after it started Addison offered his help. "which," says Steele, "it would have been barbarous to have denied to one with whom he has lived in an intimacy from childhood, considering the great ease with which he is able to dispatch the most entertaining pieces of this nature, and through him it was raised to a greater thing than I intended it."

This is generous but just. The inspiration in the partnership came from Steele, the polish from Addison. The emotion also was supplied by Steele. He could not finish Paper 114, which deals with the death of sweet Jenny, and overcome with grief he handed it to Addison who supplied a cold conclusion.

JOINT WORK

Even their method of composition was sharply contrasted. Steele wrote anyhow and anywhere, always in a hurry—at the coffee house, in his bed. Addison polished and perfected in seclusion and at leisure. As a result Addison's prose is nearly always superior to Steele's. Yet it is Steele who sometimes hits off an unforgettable phrase—"to love her is a liberal education."



The portrait of Richard Steele
By Kneller

In 1711, Steele got into trouble politically, and *The Tatler* came to an abrupt end. Its mourning was hardly done, however, before the non-political *Spectator* took its place. This was more close a collaboration. Early in their friendship Steele had wished to publish a joint work to be called "The Monument" in memory of their friendship. The *Spectator* is that Monument.

For two years the friends produced a daily paper, amusing, lively and wise. It is concerned with the observations of the *Spectator* upon life in general, and a group of individuals in particular. Of these by far the most important is the fictitious country squire, Sir Roger de Coverley. Sir Roger is one of the great characters in English literature. Again Steele conceived him, but Addison adopted him. The best Sir Roger Papers are from the latter's pen, and he grew so fond of him that in the end he chose to kill him rather than let him be misappropriated by another.

It is not clear why the *Spectator* ceased. Probably, it was because Steele wished to return to politics, which he immediately did in the *Guardian*, but this soon got the author into difficulties. But in 1714, Queen Anne died, the Whigs came again into power and Addison and Steele were at the zenith of their fame. The two were often to be seen at Whites' or the Kit Kat Club where Addison

"... gave his little Senate laws
And sat attentive to his own applause."

But perhaps Pope who wrote this was right, and fame went to Addison's head; perhaps he grew tired of Steele's incessant monetary difficulties; perhaps his marriage in 1716 to the Dowager Countess of Warwick, a cold and unhappy affair, created a barrier. Whatever the reason, the friends began to see less of each other, and in 1719, Steele's ill-starred political activities resulted in an absolute breach. They attacked one another in the Press, and before the quarrel could be made up Addison died, characteristically sending for his stepson from his death-bed "to see how a Christian can die."

STEELE'S HOME LIFE

Steele's subsequent references to his friend are full of the old love. "There never was a more strict friendship," he writes, "nor had we any difference but what proceeded from our different way of pursuing the same end."

Two years before Steele had lost his wife—his "dear, little, peevish, beautiful, wise governess." His marriage had been a tempestuous one. She was quarrelsome and exacting, he thriftless and hot-tempered. Yet he loved his Prue dearly, and she was seldom out of his thoughts. He wrote to her constantly from camp and coffee house: "Where there is a dirty crowd of busy faces all around me talking politics and managing stocks, while all my ambition and all my wealth is love." With all its drawbacks, Steele's home life with his Prue and his "romps" of children were preferable to Addison's.

After Addison's death, Steele still had 10 years more of life, but he had buried his heart with his wife and friend and wrote little more of real merit.

The lasting contribution of Steele and Addison to literature is to be found in the inimitable scenes of English life and character set out in clear, vigorous English prose in the pages of *The Tatler* and the *Spectator*, but it must not be forgotten that these writers also accomplished a revolution in morals.

After the strife and uncertainty of the seventeenth century, England was entering upon a new era of prosperity and growth. Englishmen had to learn behaviour worthy of the age. Good manners became of the utmost importance, and their essence was self-control. The two friends set themselves to teach their fellow countrymen, not by the whips of satire but by coaxing them into good behaviour.

What Dr. Johnson said of Addison is equally applicable to Steele: "He has taught innocence not to be ashamed, separated mirth from indecency and wit from licentiousness, and taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gaiety to the aid of goodness."

CHAKYAR-KOOTHU

By RICHARD CHINNATHAMBI

AMONG the less-known pastimes of rural Malabar is the Chakyar-koothu. In orthodox temples, such as the Hemambika-kavu in Agathethara near Palghat town, Chakyar-koothu is sometimes arranged for performance during important festivals. Within the temple precincts, in the Koothambalam, a permanent pavilion where theatrical performances are conducted or in a temporary canopy erected of bamboo thatch (see illustration) the Chakyar instals himself dressed in an over-pleated mundu or waist-cloth doubled over his knees. He wears cheap and showy bracelets and wristlets and a headgear. With caste-marks all over his bare

He is an adept at the job, the embellishments of which were handed down to him through generations. He exhibits considerable skill in his witty sallies on the assembled group individually and collectively. As the Koothu was performed only within temples the Chakyar enjoyed all the privileges of the 'padre' in the pulpit of the Christian churches. No one could talk back, laugh immoderately at the jokes nor even take offence in any way. If one did, the performance would be immediately stopped and there would be such a hullabaloo about sacrilege. The author of this article was not intrepid enough to confront a probable



A performance of Chakyar Koothu

torso he presents a quaint figure. The face is not elaborately painted as in the characters of the 'Katha-kali,' the dance drama of Kerala. There is no breast-plate or shoulder plaque. Tiny bells are worn around the ankles which jingle intriguingly with his movements. Standing in this garb within the pavilion the Chakyar recites Sanskrit slokas from the Prabhandas and then explains them to the congregation in colloquial Malayalam with comments of his own. The Koothu is, in fact, a 'Katha-prasangam.' The Chakyar is accompanied by a Nambiar on the 'Mizhavu,' a kind of drum made by stretching a membrane over the mouth of a huge metal pot with a narrow neck. The drum is smacked with the bare hand by the Nambiar and he is accompanied by a Nangiar (young girl) with a pair of cymbals.

The popularity of the Koothu consists mainly in the humorous commentaries interspersed by the Chakyar in the course of his exposition of the slokas.

broadside of vituperation by attracting the Chakyar's notice in an attempt to take a close-up snap. The Chakyars are a caste by themselves, a caste of players and singers. Reference is made in canto 28 of "Silappadikaram" to a dramatic performance by a Chakyar troupe in the durbar of Senguttavan. The Chakyar put on boards, in the Koothambalam, scenes from the Sanskrit plays of Bhasa and other dramatists. These were known as 'kootiyattam,' now-a-days seldom performed. Both men and women took part in the 'kootiyattam' whereas males alone were permitted in the Chakyar-koothu.

A Chakyar once told me that his ancestors were Brahmins who had fallen from a state of grace. When Shoothan was killed by Balabathan there was none to carry

on the recitals of the Koothu in temples and so Chakyars had to be called in by the temple authorities. Brahmins do not intermarry with Chakyars nor intermarry. But Chakyars do so with Kshatriyas. There are about a dozen Chakyars living now on the borders of Cochin State.

As in the 'kootiyattam' chapters 14 to 26 of the Bharata-natyam are adhered to in the practice of the Koothu. Shoothan's followers merely recited slokas in Koothambalams and set the fashion for Katha-prasangams. The Chakyars are dwindling down in their numbers and their Koothu is a dying art. It is a classical form and preserves in itself the origins of not only the 'Thullal' but also of 'Krishnan-attam' and 'Raman-attam' (Katha-kali). Chakyar-koothu is as seldom performed as the 'Krishnan-attam' in Malabar. They are both features of exclusively orthodox temples and no greater inducement is found among devotees to visit these shrines than these classical expressions of indigenous art revived during festivals.

U. S. FARMERS BECOME AIR-MINDED

Farmers, ranchers and other rural dwellers in the United States are beginning to use light, personal airplanes more and more for both business and pleasure. Such universal appeal has prompted aviation experts to predict that some 500,000 airplanes will be sold in

Facility of getting farm produce to the market has been increased a hundred-fold by the air routes. Farmers flying fresh eggs, vegetables and perishable fruits to distributing centers make a matter of hours the round trip which ordinarily would take a day by

surface travel. Such miracles of time-saving also is applied to replacing machine parts, especially when big threshing combines break down during the harvest season. These emergency flights to distant supply centers are often matched by flights of mercy, when people taken seriously ill are flown to urban hospitals.

Recent experiments in the United States with small airplanes have proved them valuable assets in large-scale planting. In these tests seeds were scattered from low-flying planes. Large areas can be sown, in this manner, with a minimum of effort and cost. These crops can include all kinds of range grass, as well as wheat, oats, rice and alfalfa. Rice seeds are soaked almost to the point of germination before being dropped from the plane over the flooded fields.



A rapid means of transporting feed to pastured animals is by air. Farmers are sending out corn by airplane

rural communities alone throughout the United States within the next five years.

As a time-saver, the light aircraft has won for itself an invaluable place in the lives of many communities and farms within a comparatively short time. They have become identified with the work-a-day world on ranches and even daily marketing is sometimes done by plane in the vast spaces of the American West, where distances between communities are considerable.

Already enthusiasm among the flying farmers has led to the creation of two organizations. In Oklahoma, growers have formed the Oklahoma Flying Farmers Association, and 400 land-tillers in Ohio have followed suit, declaring their organization affiliated with the National Flying Farmers.

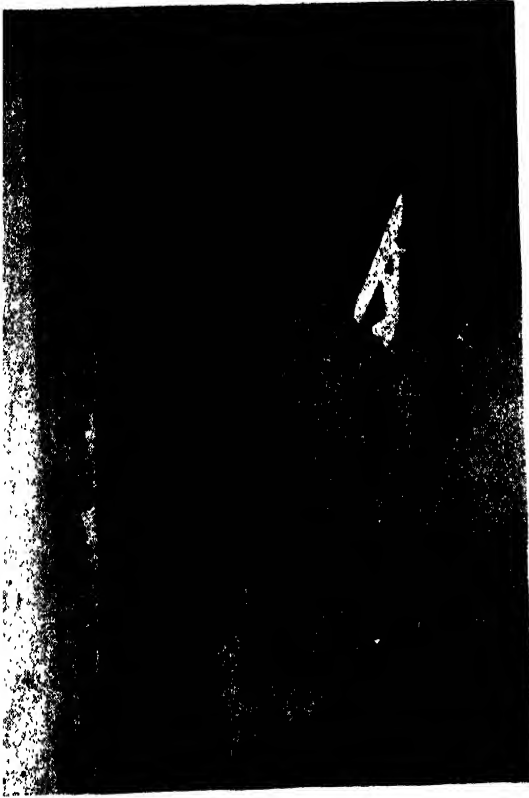
Because of the varied applications to which light planes lend themselves on farms and ranches, their use is increasing in rural areas. Many of the large fruit and produce growers in the West depend almost exclusively on aircraft for inspecting their crops, or treating them with insecticides to destroy pests. At the same time, they can survey conditions of irrigation ditches, windmills and other vital farm and orchard installations.



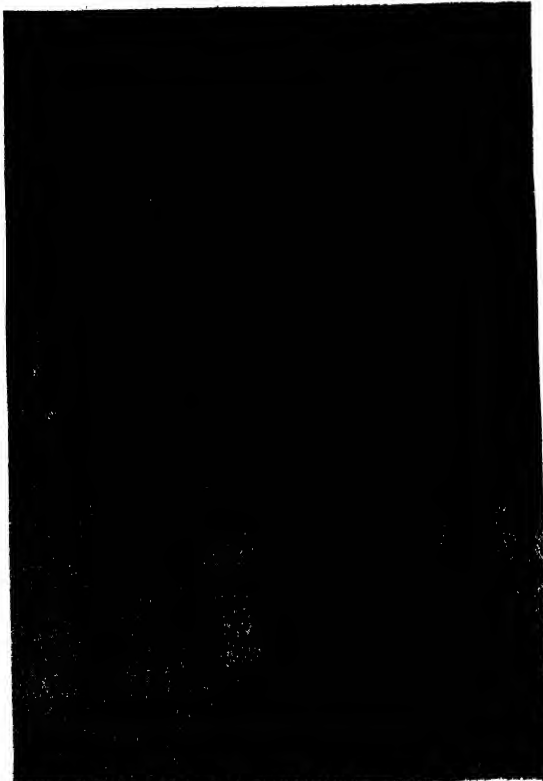
A flying rancher lands from his airplane to check the condition of his fence lines

The seeds sink quickly and achieve proper distribution. More than 80 per cent of California's 130,000 of rice are being planted from the air. Planes are used after crops come to the surface to scare away ducks and geese that might feed on the young plants.

Similar success has been reported in the seeding of grass on thousands of acres of grazing lands in the United States. Once, when land was grazed to depletion or burned out, it was considered almost a total loss,



An extremely important use for light planes in the cattle country is searching for strays



Dusting or spraying of chemicals by air as an important check on the inroads of insects has proved highly effective to agriculture

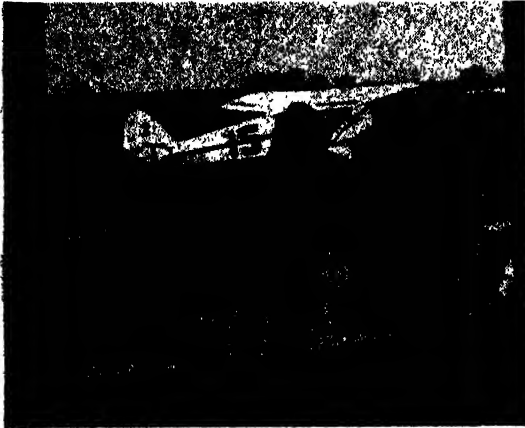


A couple of ranchers have landed in their airplane at a ranch airport hundreds of miles away from their home to visit their neighbors

especially in rugged country where the use of ground machinery was impractical. Today, however, large areas can be seeded by air within a matter of hours and timed to be finished before a scheduled rain.

Protecting crops from pests is an important farm operation. The loss of a few days when insects appear may mean disaster. A plane, covering from 300 to 500 acres a day, spraying a modern insecticide, can destroy the menace almost overnight. Pilots who perform such field tasks are highly skilled flyers, constantly flying at low levels of 100 feet or less.

hunted down by aircraft. In the past the elimination of this deadly attacker of livestock meant spending days of patient, rigorous tracking with little success. Now, however, shooting coyotes from planes has become a favorite and profitable sport for ranchers. When a coyote is sighted, the aircraft swoops down. The animal immediately tries to run in the shadow of the plane and becomes easy prey to the buckshot of the rancher sitting behind or beside the pilot. A state bounty is paid for each coyote killed, and the skin can be sold at a fair profit.

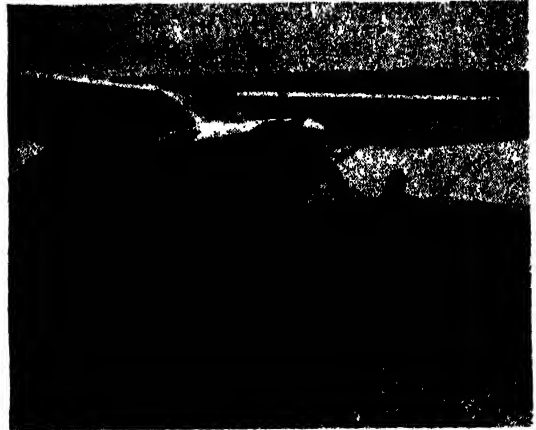


A vitally needed gear wheel is brought from the city to a farm as a replacement part

One of the earliest uses of the airplane for pest control was in the cotton lands of the American South, where for generations the boll weevil has created economic difficulties. Its effectiveness in this instance has led to aerial spraying of citrus groves, fruit orchards and truck-farm areas. Aircraft spraying of poisonous dust has proved more effective than any other method of applying it, since the propeller gives a swirling motion to the powder so that it reaches down to the under side of the plant leaves, where most of the insects feed.

Ranchers have found aircraft as invaluable as farmers in conducting the activities of their extensive aerages. Cattle-raisers find they can ride their fence lines in an hour, when before it took a day. Checks on water supply can be easily made and stray cattle as well as large herds on the range can be rounded up. One sheep-breeder in the state of Washington supervises his herds from the air, flying as much as 150 miles from his home ranch with a cargo of 200 pounds of supplies. He resorts to the grass-covered mountain ridges for landing space.

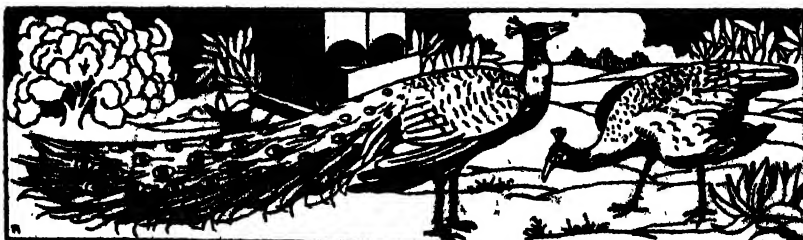
One of the plagues of western farmers and ranchers in the United States, the coyote, is being deftly



Light aircraft is employed for recreation as well as for business. This fisherman uses his plane to haunt a favourite stream for catching fish

Another pursuit of the westerner—rounding up wild horses—once a hazardous and sometimes futile operation, has likewise become a well-organized, profitable enterprise through the use of aircraft. Where formerly only two or three groups of horses could be rounded up by ranch hands on horseback, aerial tactics make it possible to herd six or more packs from widespread areas across the plains. Through this innovation, horse ranchers have boosted their monthly round-up from 200 to 650 horses and colts. One horse-breeder has rounded up 3,500 heads by plane in the past five years.

This same advantage of wide observation on the plains is being put to work in forest areas to protect one of the most important American crops, timber, from the hazards of fire. In the past, it took several days for a fire-fighting crew to work its way through dense forest lands after fire was discovered. By then the blaze might be wholly out of control. Today it is not uncommon for fire-fighters to be parachuted into the area immediately. Some experts predict the time is nearing when fire-extinguishing chemicals will be sprayed from an airplane.—USIS.



JAMES AUDUBON—NATURALIST AND ARTIST

(APRIL 26, 1785—JANUARY 27, 1851)

By MALCOLM VAUGHAN

Study of the wild birds of America is indissolubly linked to the name of James Audubon, artist and naturalist. More than a hundred years ago, he undertook as his life work painting in water color the hundreds of bird species to be found in North America. To accomplish this tremendous task, Audubon travelled ceaselessly about the almost roadless country, on foot for the most part. The result of his

(now Haiti) and spent his teens in France—he settled in America when he was 21, married here and always spoke of the United States as his adopted country. Few have seen more of it, of its diversified races, climates and its marvellous stores of animal and plant life. Few were more potent in bringing the nation to a consciousness of its unique individuality and power.

That Audubon was by nature an artist and an ornithologist is apparent from all the records. In early childhood he took to the drawing of birds as spontaneously as most children take to play. As a boy in the French seaport of Nantes, he prowled the outlying fields and woods in search of birds to observe. He had a bird-cote in the backyard; he had a collection of stuffed birds in the house and from the start his interest in the feathered creatures was two-fold: he wanted to study them and he wanted to picture them. His artistic leaning was so strong that his father sent him to a local teacher and even sent him up to Paris for a few months of lessons in the Louvre classroom of the most celebrated artist of the day, Jean Jacques David.

In 1803, at the age of 18, he arrived in the United States to inspect a farm his father owned near Philadelphia; after a short trip to France, he settled in America for good. An ambitious youth, he began by opening a general store at Louisville, Ky., then a "frontier" town. But his financial ventures always ended alike, in failure, and he gave them up definitely in 1806, when he trekked across the Alleghenies and came upon the astonishing plenitude of birds at that time to be found in the Ohio River Valley.

He began to picture birds according to life. This was trail-blazing, since hitherto naturalists had only copied down the stuffed specimens silhouetted on an artificial perch. Audubon began to put his birds in action, giving them an appearance of animation by describing them in vivid attitudes, "seizing their prey, feeding their young or fighting their enemies." Such method opened new fields to ornithologists. Drama is a universal language; it speaks to all humanity and Audubon knew it. Audubon struggled to support his wife and children. For years he moved from one place to another—up and down Kentucky, Ohio and the south-central States—in search of a livelihood. But his passion for birds distracted his thoughts from practical affairs. At the least opportunity he was off to the woods. He would roam the countryside for days and weeks and come back with nothing more saleable than a handful of sketches he had made of birds no one ever had recorded before.

Released at last from acute financial pressure through the devotion of his wife, who took a job as a school teacher, Audubon's dreams soared. He expanded the scope of his undertaking by enlarging the field of his observations to include Louisiana and the teeming bayous of the southern coast. Then he set out cross-country for New York, walking much of the way and



Wild Turkey by James Audubon

labors was *The Birds of America*, four great folio volumes containing 435 copper-plate engravings made from Audubon's water colors. Through these volumes, the world learned of the richness of America's fauna and the variety of its landscape. It is a measure of Audubon's contribution that organizations in the United States devoted to the study and preservation of wild life are known as "Audubon societies."

Audubon's pictures tell a story of American environment and incentive, for although Audubon was a Frenchman by birth—he was born in Santo Domingo

returning to New Orleans by circling northward to Niagara Falls and the Great Lakes and descending through the country west of the Mississippi. The result of this journey was a rich increase in the number of water color pictures of unknown birds he added to his possession.

Ever since arriving in America he had drawn and painted his birds life-size, calculating their dimensions and proportions with mathematical nicety. He brought in a background of shrubbery and trees and, at times, a full landscape habitat. These accessories add a great deal to the charm of his pictures and actually constitute a considerable iconography of American flora.

In 1826, he set out for England to see if he could get them engraved full size by advance subscriptions from interested parties. This venture proved an exhausting task but eventually, after eleven years of

effort, during which the engravings were issued piecemeal while he returned again and again to America—to Iowa, to Labrador, to Texas, to Florida and practically the entire seaboard from Maine to the Rio Grande, in search of new birds to picture—the tremendous endeavour was completed at last.

As to the scientific worth of Audubon's pictures, it was evident a century ago that they had "set a new standard for the illustration of works on natural history." The finest of his portraits—such as the great blue heron, the flamingo, the purple grackle and the blackback gull—are unsurpassed in their combination of art and accuracy. Generally speaking, they represent breadth of vision, unflinching tenacity, triumph over adversity, a golden simplicity and beautiful workmanlike efficiency.—*From the American Collector, February, 1946.*

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BELWA WHERE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS HAVE BEEN EXCAVATED

By MONORANJAN GUPTA, B.Sc.

It was about ten years ago that Basir Sarkar of Bhalsala presented to me the beautiful small black stone image of a goddess, unearthed in his own village. Last November he wrote to me :

"In Belwa, the village adjacent to mine, our Khade Sontal, when widening his hearth (*chulli*) in his own yard has found two copper plates. They have beautiful engravings at the top and both sides of them have unknown writings inscribed on them. If you require them, please inform."

I advised him to bring them immediately to my place, but the communal disturbance in Calcutta discouraged him and he took them to Dinajpur to my cousin S. Jagadish Chandra Gupta on December 9 1946. S. J. Gupta in his turn brought them to Calcutta on the 1st of January, 1947.

Belwa is about 16 miles east of Hill Station, B. A. Railway, and is within the Ghoraghat Police Station in the district of Dinajpur. The two copper-plate inscriptions, when they reached Calcutta, were covered with very hard crusts of earthy matter and presented great difficulties in the matter of cleaning. Finding that the metal of the plates was too hard to be injured by ordinary sharp instruments made of steel, brushes of fine brass wire were used with considerable success.

Both the copper-plates are of the same size, 13 inches in width, 14.6 inches in length and the royal insignia, rivetted on the top in the shape of a spear blade, measures 7.2 inches in length and 5.2 inches in width. The insignias appear to have been cast in dies and the metal is bronze. The plates are made of copper. One plate is heavier than the other, the heavier plate weighing 13½ lbs. and this bears the name of Mahipala the First, which occurs in many folk-songs of Bengal. The other plate has the name of Vighrahapala the Third inscribed on it. The royal insignia has a conch-shell at the top and various decorations below in loops which enclose a Buddhist cart wheel of life, two holy deer and the name of the King who has offered the gift inscribed on it. A rough drawing of that insignia is given here.

Why the copper-plates were found at Belwa is a salient question and S. J. Jagadish Chandra Gupta paid the village a visit in order to solve the question. He took Basir Mandal with him and the following is his report, dated the 2nd February, 1947 :

"The settlement map of Belwa is sent to you . . . I crossed plots . . . and reached the lake



The royal insignia on the top of the copper-plate bearing the name of Mahipala

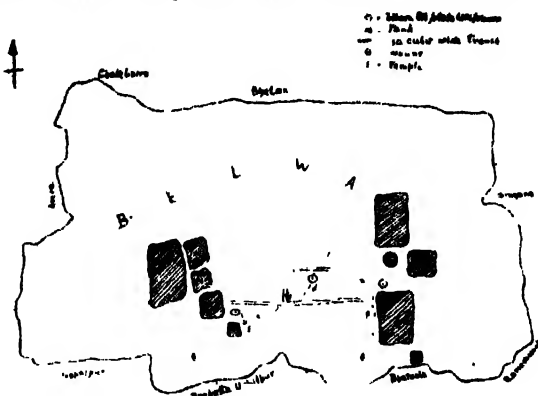
called Chhay-ghati. Its area is about half of a mile . . . I found old bricks here and there . . . near it is a high pedestal, which was the abode of a Muslim holy man, still cherished. The bricks are about 10 ins. x 10 ins. and about 1 in. thick. I

proceeded over plots . . . and reached the home of Khade Sontal . . . It appears that his digging instrument struck the Tamra-sasanas which were placed one upon another after he has gone only 20 to 25 inches below the ground level. Round his house, surrounding an area of about one bigha of land, I found remains of an old wall about 3 ft. wide. It is also of similar type of bricks. I then proceeded south-west over plots . . . I had to cross a canal which looked like a trench about 45 ft. wide. Thence I got into a plot . . . which is a big mound of bricks. I crossed over . . . to cross another trench of above nature to the house of Dhole Chowdhury. This is also a mound of old bricks. Here I found a damaged temple by the side of another big lake."

Belwa, as it appears from the settlement map, is a very big village, about 4 miles in area and Sj. Gupta has inspected only a small portion of the village. Belwa may possess more relics of interest. The diagram showing the plot inspected has been drawn by my young artist friend Kamal Kumar Bose. The diagram shows that it is a village with several very big lakes and we are informed by Basir that many parts of it are jungles. Basir Mandal has also informed us that "Raghunathpur, an adjacent village" in the north, has a rampart-like ring surrounding about 200 bighas of land. The rampart has brick-works at places

which often attract treasure-hunters." And Belwa possesses even now relics of such lakes and temples.

What do the copper-plate inscriptions say and what relation they have with Belwa? The Mahipala



Inscription relates to the grant of land, temple and lakes to a Brahmin, Jibahar Debsarma. The Vighrahpala III Inscription is connected with the grant of land to Jayananda Debsarma, an inhabitant of Belwa.*

We are trying to know more of Belwa and shall be glad to help anyone interested in these matters who wants to go there for investigation.

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COMPENSATION FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SERVICES

II

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal) Ph.D. (Lond.)

In our previous article on the subject,* we discussed the question in a general way on the basis of some speculations in the press about the trend of negotiations then going on between the Interim Government and His Majesty's Government which now turn out to be substantially correct. The actual terms of the plan of compensation of those members of the Secretary of State's services, whose services would terminate on the transfer of power, were simultaneously announced in New Delhi by the Viceroy and in London by the Secretary of State in the House of Lords and Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons on the 30th of April last and released for publication in the form of a White Paper.

It should be pointed out at the outset that the plan applies to all members of the Civilian Services in India, appointed by the Secretary of State, including the Agricultural, Educational, Forestry and Veterinary but not to appointments made by authorities other than the Secretary of State and also to certain Defence Services. This was made clear by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons in reply to a question by Mr. R. A. Butler. Another very important point was also clarified on the same occasion. Mr. Butler wanted to know whether there was any guarantee that the liability accepted by the Interim Government for certain pensions and proportionate pensions would be

binding on the Government or Governments to which power was transferred in the event of the latter not being the same as the present Interim Government or succeeding Governments. Mr. Attlee replied that it would be provided for along with making general arrangements for transfer of power, presumably by the treaty to be concluded between the British Government and India, divided or undivided. He added:

"The point of making a statement now is that we have an assurance made on behalf of the present Government of India so far as they can speak for forces in India and it is essential that His Majesty's Government should make quite plain the obligations we have accepted."

Now to come to the actual terms of the decision agreed upon by the two Governments of Britain and India about granting compensation to officers of the Secretary of State's services, Indian and British, under certain conditions, for the loss of their career and prospects consequent on the impending transfer of power to Indian hands. In justifying the decision for compensation in course of his statement in the House of Lords, Lord Listowel, the Secretary of State, pointed out that the principle of compensation was implicit in the constitutional arrangements affecting the services made under the Acts of 1919 and 1935. Under the provisions of the Act of 1935, Parliament undertook that officers whose careers and prospects were prejudiced by constitutional changes should

*Vide The Modern Review, June, 1947.

receive such compensation as the Secretary of State deemed just and equitable. He further stated that when in 1945, recruitment for the I.C.S. and the I.P.S. was resumed with provision for compensation, if for constitutional reasons service was terminated prematurely, the then Secretary of State undertook at the request of the Government of India that officers already in service would, if their services were similarly terminated, be granted terms not less favourable than those applicable to the new recruits. His contention was that both the Governments of Britain and India were already committed to the principle of compensation. Further, the Government of India had indicated to the British Government their eagerness to avoid the loss of experienced officers and to that intent they were prepared to give to such members of the Secretary of State's services as would continue to serve under the Government of India, the existing terms as to scales of pay, leave, etc., and to advise the Provincial Governments also to give similar assurance to such officers. Acceptance of the principle of compensation was calculated to offer an additional inducement, besides the continuance of their present scales of pay, pension, etc., to the existing members of the services to decide to continue in the new regime.

The main features of the plan of compensation are stated below with our comments thereon :

1. The Government of India have undertaken to pay compensation for the loss of career only to those Indian officers who

- (i) are not asked to continue to serve under the Government in India after the transfer of power ; or
- (ii) can satisfy the Governor-General that their actions in course of duty during service prior to the transfer of power have damaged their prospects or that appointments offered to them are such as cannot be regarded as satisfactory in the altered circumstances ; or
- (iii) can show to the satisfaction of the Governor-General that they have a legitimate cause for anxiety about their future in the province where they are now serving and that no suitable transfer can be arranged.

The term "Indian officers" in the above clause raises some doubts about the position of the European members of these services who express their willingness to continue on the existing terms and conditions of service. The Government of India in offering such terms to members of services who wish to continue are not represented in the previous part of the Statement as making any reservation in favour of Indians alone. But in the above clause they seem to undertake the obligation of compensation only for Indian officers under certain conditions. The point needs further clarification. Next, the second and third conditions under which compensation is envisaged are in our view not quite justifiable. So far as condition (ii) is concerned, we do not think that officers who have such fears as stated, deserve any compensation. For instance, those who are found guilty for atrocities in connection with the August (1942) Movement hardly deserve any consideration at the hands of any civilised government not to speak of the National Government of the Indian Union. But, if they have simply done acts, however unpopular, in the lawful discharge of their official

duties as servants of a foreign, irresponsible bureaucracy, I do not think that they have anything to fear about their future prospects from popular governments, who are not expected to be so petulant as not to be able to make due allowance for the pressure of circumstances under which they acted. The Governor-General being the presiding officer of the previous regime in which the acts were done, is not the proper authority to judge impartially whether an officer deserves compensation. He is bound to take a partisan view and lenient attitude. The matter should in all propriety have been left to the decision of some judicial authority. Then there would perhaps be no end of claims for compensation if it has to be entertained simply because an officer regards the appointment offered to him as not satisfactory. Very few would be satisfied with appointments offered to them. The same criticism applies also to condition (iii). The Governor-General should not be made the final authority to judge whether their anxiety about their future in the province of their service is legitimate or not or the transfer arranged is really suitable or not.

2. As regards those members of the services who continue to serve under the Government in India after the transfer of power they are to be assured their present terms as to scales of pay, leave, pensionary rights and safeguards in matters of discipline by means of the treaty dealing with the transfer of power.

3. The British Government make a distinction between the European and Indian members of the services, so far as the claim to compensation is concerned, because as the Secretary of State explained that after the transfer of power European members would lose the protection of the Parliament of their own country which they had been so long enjoying. Whereas the Indian members who would be serving their own country on existing terms will be assured by their own Government every protection of their terms and conditions. Further, their prospects are likely to be improved. The case for compensation is, therefore, in their view stronger in the case of European members than of the Indian. The British Government has accordingly accepted the obligation to see that all European officers and those Indian officers in the three special categories should receive compensation for loss of their careers and prospects consequent on transfer of power.

It would appear from above that in regard to Indian officers in the three special categories both the Governments stand committed to compensation under the specified conditions. With regard to European officers, the British Government has explicitly undertaken the obligation to compensate them for the loss of their careers and prospects. But it has been left for future decision on the basis of further negotiation whether the Indian or the British exchequer is to foot the bill. With regard to Indian officers it would seem that the Government of India by committing themselves to the obligation has undertaken to find the necessary money from the Indian exchequer. With regard to the British members, however as we have already stated in the previous article, in all fairness and equity the financial burden, so far as the lumpsum compensation is concerned, should be borne by the British exchequer, as their services were requisitioned and controlled not by the Indian people but by the British Parliament and the Secretary of State.

4. The British Government urge the British members of the services to avail themselves, wherever possible,* of the opportunities for further Government service under the Crown and those who accept appointment to another service under H. M. Government on permanent pensionable basis would not be entitled to compensation but would receive instead a resettlement grant of £500. The British Government also undertake that the retiring members of the services will be secured in their rights to the leave due to them at the time of retirement. We shall return to this point presently.

5. In their anxiety to assist the Indian administration over the difficulties entailed by the transfer of power and to avert a sudden loss of experienced officers and so to encourage those British officers who are invited by the Indian Government to continue in service, the British Government undertake that their obligation would cover the claim to ultimate compensation of such officers, should they desire after a time to exercise their right to retire. The amount of the compensation in such cases would be determined in accordance with the tables by the date on which active service ceases and service both before and after June, 1948, will be taken into account. Compensation would be payable in addition to such retiring or proportionate pension as admissible under the rules.

There is some justification in offering the rather generous terms as above to such European officers whose services are urgently needed by the new National Government of India and are, therefore, invited by them to continue in service. Unless they are accorded the right to retire at any time after the transfer of power with the compensation that their retiring comrades would get power they cannot perhaps be induced to continue. It is hoped that the number of such officers would not be large. In the new regime India should, as far as practicable, man her services with her own nationals. But if we require the services of some Britishers at the initial stage we should be prepared to offer them quite liberal terms. The only point that may be made and it applies as much to them as to those who retire with the transfer of power—is that the rate of compensation should be scaled down somewhat in view of the fact that compensation would be paid over and above the handsome pension which they would earn proportionate to the period of service put in and also in consideration of the poverty of Indian tax-payers.

6. The scale of compensation recommended for the I.C.S. and other members of the Secretary of State's services are in substance as follows :

I.C.S.—Eligibility for compensation begins with five years' service and the amount of compensation is £2,500. Thereafter there is an increase of £500 per year until the apex is reached at £8,000 for those with sixteen years' service. Thereafter it declines by £500 per year of service until those with 32 years' service get no compensation. The same scales are to apply to military and police officers of the Indian Political Service with the difference that instead of years of service, the age of the person is the criterion. Instead of five years' service, a man must be 28 years of age to be entitled to the compensation of £2,500 and those over 53 years get none.

Secretary of State's Services other than those mentioned above.—Those who are 24 years of age will be entitled to £375 as compensation and the

amount increases thereafter by £375 per year reaching a maximum of £6,000 for those aged 39 and then declines by the same amount per year until those over 53 years get no compensation.

As we have stated before we are on principle opposed to the payment of a lumpsum compensation besides the proportionate pension, which should be regarded as adequate compensation. In these days of dearth of men all round it is not likely that any of the officers who now retire would go without employment, particularly with their qualifications and administrative experience. If they find some other employment, the sum-total of their pension, their new salary taken along with the amount of compensation would in all probability exceed their emoluments had they continued in Indian service and in that case there is hardly any justification for the compensation. Moreover, it would be unfair as no compensation is to be paid to those who straightway find some other appointment under H. M. Government on a permanent pensionable basis except a resettlement grant. In order to equalise the conditions between the latter and those who are able to secure employment elsewhere within a few years it should be provided that in the event of their finding employment they should refund the balance of the amount of compensation after deduction of a resettlement grant which should be rateably increased in proportion to the number of years they remain unemployed.

Assuming, however, that the payment of a lumpsum compensation is justified the sliding scale basis accepted for its award is fair and equitable. The idea behind the sliding scale arrangement also seems reasonable. The idea is that the difficulty of an officer to resettle in some other occupation or service and his financial obligations increase with every year of service until they reach the peak at about the sixteenth year of his service, after which the case for compensation becomes less and less urgent. Hence, the provision for maximum compensation for the sixteen-year-old officers and a consistent decline in the rate as the officer approaches retirement. The only modification we should suggest is a little lowering of the scale and raising of the age or service limit qualifying for the compensation and its termination also a little earlier.

7. As regards officers appointed to a permanent pensionable post in a Civil Service under His Majesty's Government, the following provisions have been made :

(a) They will be entitled to leave salary due in respect of service in India in addition to the pay of his new appointment ;

(b) They will receive from the Indian revenues with effect from the completion of their leave, in addition to their pay in the new appointment, the ordinary and proportionate pension which they might have earned in respect of their service in India ;

(c) They will not be entitled to any lumpsum compensation under the scales published ;

(d) They would receive in lieu of compensation a lumpsum payment of £500 payable on their arrival in the United Kingdom ;

(e) Family pension will be governed by rules 13-15 of the premature retirement rules in the case of officers who retire under those rules and otherwise under ordinary rules ;

(f) Provident Fund accounts will be settled under the provision of the ordinary rules.

As regards their re-employment under His Majesty's Government, the following provisions have been made :

(g) *Salary* : Officers selected for the Home or Foreign services will in most cases, i.e., unless below appropriate age be appointed in grade of principal (or equivalent) in the Home Civil Service or in equivalent grading in the Foreign Service. The point in salary scale of the grade at which they will enter, will be adjusted to their qualifications and they will be eligible for promotion under the rules of the service concerned, etc.

(h) *Pension* : In addition to any pension earned by Indian service a second pension (or gratuity) will be earned by service in the new appointment. In general, an officer does not qualify for pension by less than ten years' service, in case of recruitment before completion of that period he may qualify for gratuity in lieu.

(i) Detailed information with regard to the conditions governing salary and pensions will be furnished before an officer is called upon to decide whether to accept an offer of appointment made to him.

The terms to be offered to the officers by His Majesty's Government, in case of absorption in some service at Home do not concern us directly, but we have stated them above just to show that they are as generous as might be expected. We have nothing to say against the terms as stated above to be granted to such officers by the Government of India, such as leave salary due to their credit, pension and proportionate pension, family pension, provident fund, etc. But we are doubtful whether besides all these and in view of the generous terms of their re-employment there is any justification for giving them the lumpsum resettlement grant of £500. Far from suffering any loss these officers rather stand to gain by the transfer of their service to their own Home Government, earning of a double pension and so on. In these circumstances, it is only fair that the Indian exchequer should be given relief from this additional burden.

8. As regards pension or proportionate pension under existing rules, the Government of India have accepted full liability for these earned by service under the Secretary of State whether by civilians or by members of the Defence Services, presumably both British and Indian. This provision is only just and fair and no reasonable exception can be taken to the proposal.

9. The payment of compensation where undertaken either by the British or the Indian Government will be made as a rule to officers who terminate their services after the date of transfer of power, but exception is made in cases where some officers have to retire before that date in pursuance of a plan of release spread over a period in the interest of a smooth transfer. The Governor-General is empowered to pass orders for compensation after necessary consultation with the authorities concerned if he is satisfied that in the public interest any civilian officers should be released with title to compensation in advance of the final date. A similar provision is made for European officers or other rank in the fighting services if certified by the Commander-in-Chief as having after July 1, 1947, been compulsorily retired as a result of

accelerated reduction of the British element in anticipation of the transfer of power.

Even a cursory examination of the above provisions shows that they are the product of a compromise between two different approaches to the problem,—the British Government looking at it mainly from the standpoint of the interests of the members of the services and the Interim Government looking at it principally from that of the interest of the Indian people in general and Indian taxpayers in particular. The position of the British Government seems to be that the Secretary of State's services have rendered valuable services to India in the old regime and if due to the change of regime they feel nervous about their prospects and do not voluntarily continue under the new regime India owes it to them to give due compensation for the loss of their career and prospects involved in the premature termination of their services. On the Indian side, the claim to compensation has not been completely repudiated but the form in which it is claimed is not accepted. The Government of India think that the pension proportionate to the period of their service is adequate compensation for such officers in view of the fact that they have offered them the option to continue their services on existing terms of service. If they decide not to continue, they themselves are to thank for the premature termination of their services and the Government of India are under no moral obligation to pay them additional compensation. Moreover, as we have already stated before, the people of India had nothing to do with their appointment or formulating the terms and conditions of their service embodied in the covenants. As such they cannot be held responsible for shouldering the burdens undertaken by a different authority, viz., the Secretary of State for India. If it be contended that the National Government of India has an obligation by them in consideration of the services rendered by the members of these services to the people of India it may be said that barring honourable exceptions the nature of the services rendered is open to question and on the whole they have proved to be a close corporation without any living bond with the people and a convenient instrument of British imperialism serving the needs and interests of the latter much more than the people whom they were supposed to serve. Instead of helping the freedom movement of the Indian people, having a vested interest they left no stone unturned to hold it back as long as they could. If India has at last earned her freedom it is not because of these services but in spite of them. Nor has India any particular reasons to be grateful to these services for their contribution to the uplift of the masses in the economic, educational or health and sanitation spheres. The appalling poverty, illiteracy and mortality rate of Indian masses after about two hundred years of British rule is a standing indictment of these services who have constituted the 'steel-frame' of the British administrative machinery in India. Taking all these things into consideration the conclusion is irresistible that the terms offered to the members of the Secretary of State's services who decide to continue as also the obligations undertaken by the Government of India in respect of those who want to retire prematurely whether immediately or after some time are more than generous.

ASOKA'S EXAMPLE AND BRAHMAN ANIMOSITY

By PROF. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.)

THE shaping influence of the great example of ethical idealism in the whole of human conduct, action and institution, which was left behind by Asoka for the guidance of posterity, has not as yet been fully ascertained and properly assessed; the issue has rather been confounded by certain other issues raised on a few presumptive evidences bearing no scrutiny. The late Professor Haraprasad Sastri, for instance, greatly prejudiced the issue by maintaining that Asoka, as he expressed himself in his M. R. E., made it a mission of his life to prove the Brahmins to be false gods (*misā*) who had passed erstwhile as true gods (*amisa deva*). Fortunately, the Muski copy of the Edict came to light with the variant *misibhuta*, meaning 'commingled' or 'intempered' and on the strength of this Sylvain Levi was able to destroy once for all the textual ground of Sastri's opinion.¹ The same variant, which happily occurs also in the Gavimath and Palkigundu versions, goes only to indicate that the popular religious consciousness of India underwent a process of change like that of China, recognizing that men and the gods who lived at first apart became intermingled afterwards. Sastri's view is held no longer tenable on the above ground, but its ghost remains to trouble us in the form of his apparently cogent argument based on the Brahmanist reaction started by the Sungas against Buddhism, and, for the matter of that, against the Mauryas, and four arguments are generally put forward in support of Sastri's thesis, none of which, when critically examined, is found to be of any intrinsic worth.

We are told, first of all, that Katyayana, the Vartikakara of Panini, took *Devanampriya*, the oft-recurring epithet of Asoka, to mean 'a fool', 'an unworthy fellow,' out of his Brahmanical spite for the Buddhist emperor: *Devanampriya iti cha Mukhe*. But no case of spite can be made out of this. While commenting on Panini's aphorism (VI.3.21), prescribing that an *aluk* compound, where the sixth case is an instance, is expressive of hostility—*Sasthyaakroce*, Katyayana simply points out that even in the case of such an honorific as *devanampriya*, the word is occasionally used to mean a 'fool.' Here one may compare, for instance, *mahabrahmanah*, a good word employed sometimes in an ironical sense. Katyayana simply stated a fact without meaning spite for anybody. To take him in any other sense will be to lose sight of the force of the conjunctive particle, *iti cha*, implying "and even this sometimes." In the time of Megasthenes the *Brahmanes* of India were popularly venerated as "dear unto the gods". In the Buddha's time some of his immediate disciples ranked foremost amongst those who were 'beloved of the gods' (*devatanampriyo*). In the *Harsacharita*, *devanampriya* is employed as a general honorific (*pūja-vachana*) precisely like *devanampriya* and its feminine form in the

Ardhamagadhi Jaina Canon. Above all, in the estimation of Patanjali's *Mahabhāṣya*, *devanampriya* as a honorific or auspicious mode of address stood on a par with *tatva bhavan*, *dirghayus*, and *ayusman*. If so, where was the occasion for Katyayana's spite for Asoka alone?

The second argument, that Asoka has been represented in the *Great Epic* (I.67.12-14) as the human incarnation of a great demon, is guilty of an unpardonable anachronism. The name of Asoka, even if it be correctly spelt, is included in the list of the contemporary monarchs who went somehow or other against the joint mission of Krishna Vasudeva and the Pandavas. This Asoka is not Asoka, the King of Magadha and emperor of Jambudvīpa, he being described as Asvapati, King of Asvaka. Further: the name of the demon Asva rather suggests Asvaka as the fitting name for his incarnation.

*Yastu-Asva iti vikhyatah Srimann asin mahasurah
Asoko nama rajabhun mahariryo 'parajitah,
tasmad avarajo' yas tu rajan Asvapatih smritah.*

The third argument, that king Asoka who is so much extolled in Buddhist traditions is nothing but a passing shadow in the dynastic lists of the *Puranas*, is equally weak. Assuming for the moment that Asoka had not deserved much importance at the hands of the Brahman chroniclers on account of his Buddhist faith and liberal state-policy, what to say in the case of Samudragupta who suffered the same fate? One may legitimately ask here: Does Asoka himself find any place in the Pali Canon of the Buddhists, although many of its texts were compiled in post-Asokan times? The Buddhist missionaries who are said to have been despatched in Asoka's time were presumably the people who were keenly interested in preserving the tradition of Asoka and who paved the way for the narration of the edifying stories about his greatness and piety. These stories formed the basis of the legendary narratives of Asoka in the *Chronicles* of Ceylon and the *Dirghavadana*, in both of which the theological motive behind the idolisation of Asoka was the lionisation of the Buddhist *Sthaviras*. Once the ball was set rolling, the art of legend-making proceeded on all fours, and the farther we are from the time of Asoka, the greater becomes the inventive power. So as to the legends of Chandragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Asoka. The association of Chandragupta with Vishnugupta Chanakya is not traceable in any Pali or Sanskrit texts that might be decided earlier than the fourth century A.D. The tradition recorded in the Pali *Mūlindapanha*, compiled somewhere in the second century of the Christian era, offers us just a vivid description of a terrific battle fought out by Bhadrāsala, the General of Chandragupta; but there is not a word about Chanakya. We have from Megasthenes a contemporary account of *Sandrakottos* and his government, which, too, is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to his political adviser. The name of Chandragupta Maurya looms large in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman I (A.D. 150) in connection with the excavation

1. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edition, pp. 294, refutes such other points in Sastri's argument as: Asoka's anti-Brahmanist action through his Edict against animal sacrifice, appointment of the Dharma-mahamatras, and promulgation of the judicial principle of equality of punishment and equality of procedure.

2. *Avarajo*—*aparajo*, meaning 'later born' or 'reborn'.

of the Sudarsana Lake by his *rashtriya*, the Vaisya Pushyagupta. The Vishnugupta Chanakya episodes began to gain ground in the tradition of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. The Jains, too, did not remain inactive. They went on inventing their own stories to make us believe that Chandragupta was a staunch lay-supporter of their religious order. These came at last to form the traditional basis of Visakhadatta's historical drama *Mudrarakshasa*. But Bindusara who is represented in the Pali tradition as a devotee of the Brahmins (*Brāhmanabhāta*) passed as a cipher in all Brahmanical accounts. I do not see how it is possible to make out a case for the Brahmanical spite for Asoka out of such an anomalous position.

The argument, that the Brahmanist estimation of the Buddha is disrespectful, fares no better. Indulgence in calling names, pronouncement of curses, expression of ire, raising storm in a tea-cup, angry-mood, vehement condemnation, and the like is the weak point noticed by the Buddha in the nature and behaviour of certain Brahminists who were well-versed in Vedānta and who passed as the professors of the doctrine of Brahman. This regrettable trait of their character struck him when he was on the very threshold of his career, and it found its significant expression in one of his early utterances.⁸ Although both the Sramanas and the Brahmins were runaways from household life, the latter retained an alliance with the household Brahmins forming the priestly class and having a strong hold over the populace as teachers of the Vedas and various secular sciences and arts, and as law-givers, royal chaplains and ministers. Thus the Sramanas as a class would have been nowhere but for their superior personality, mysticism, idealism, knowledge, virtue, and strength of character. If they were lacking in these qualities, the only alternative left to them, if they wanted to exercise their influence over the masses, was to compete with the Brahman vested interests in the art of ministration to popular needs. It is easily conceivable, therefore, that the fear of the loss of prestige, profession and position was directly or indirectly at the root of the sectarian jealousy which existed between the Brahmins and Sramanas as also among themselves.

The Pali Nikāyas preserve for us three glaring instances of Brahmanist discourtesy. In one of them, a household Brahmin naively remarked at the approach of the Buddha to his residence when he was about to perform a Vedic sacrifice: "Here comes the recluse, the shaveling, the outcaste Vriśala!" In the second, the self-conceited and unmannerly Brahmin youth Ambasathā derided all the Sramanas as being "recluses, shavelings, serfs, blacks, and Sudras sprung from the feet of Brahman."⁹ And in the third, the Brahmin wanderer Magandhiya (Markandeya) openly charged the Buddha as "a killer of the foetus," "a killer of the Brahmin" (*bhūnahū, bhūnahū, bhūnanān*).¹⁰ But all that they meant was that the recluses in general and those led by the Buddha in particular either publicly discarded or were not supporters of the *Varnāśramadharma*, meaning the Brahmanistic scheme of life founded on the social system of four castes and the educational system of four stages of effort.

If these things happened in the Buddha's life-time, what is the wonder that similar things should have happened afterwards? It need not worry us in the least if the *Arthashastra* of Vishnugupta Kautilya prescribes an imposition of fine in case the Buddhists, the Ajivikas, and such like outcaste runaways were invited to a funeral feast,¹¹ or if a Brahmanist interpolator of the Ramayana adds a verse to cry down the Buddha as a thievish atheist and disparager of the Vedas,¹² or even if the Brahman myth-makers tried to prejudice the people of India against the Buddha by representing him as an incarnation of Vishnu with the mission of misleading the demons.¹³ The question is what historical truth can we build upon these flimsy data? Reading between the lines, I find that in crying down the Buddha, his disparagers were paying him their best compliment. And it is not a fact that these outcries could or did prevent the people of India from showing their great respect to the Buddha and other high personages of history. Such was not the inner spirit of Indo-Aryanism, nor was it the real life of the people under it. The Pali *Vinaya* account clearly brings out the fact of the matted-hair Vedic ascetics of the Gaya region really wishing in fear of losing their prestige and position in the eye of the people that the Buddha, their honoured guest, should be away while they would be performing the great sacrifice. But it tells us at the same time that they keenly felt his absence when the ceremony was actually going on. The *Upali Sutta* bears evidence to the fact that the change of masters did not imply in the Indo-Aryan Society the denial of liberality to men of any sect or denomination.¹⁴ Those who have eyes to see will see that a synthetic process of 'give and take' went on in both literature and thought beneath all the supposed or real conflicts of thoughts and clashes of interests. It is not true that a staunch Brahmanist like Manu alone called the non-conformists *pasandas* or heretics. The Buddhists called the outsiders *pasandas*, even they applied a similar designation, *dīthicharita*, to the seceders in their own fold.

The point is not at all clear what the Brahmanist's sectarian or hostile attitude to Buddhism had to do with Asoka. It is argued that the Mauryas have been malignèd as demons (*asuras*) in the *Markandeya Purana* (88.5). In other *Puranas* they are treated as Sudras or Sudra-like (*Sudraprayah*). In the *Mudrarakshasa*, Chandragupta is bluntly addressed by Chanakya as Vriśala. The Mauryas as known to *Patanjali* were selling images of the gods for an income. These are all wide of the mark.¹⁵ If Chandragupta were a mere puppet to the staunch Brahmanist Chanakya, there is no reason why he should have been castigated as a Vriśala. Bindusara proved himself to be a strong supporter of Brahmanism. Asoka does not appear to have interfered with the *Varnāśramadharma*; he duly honoured and actively supported all sects, the Brahmins and the Sramanas of all orders and denominations. The sectarian caprices of certain later Brahmanist writers need not stand in the way

7. *Arthashastra*, III, 20.

8. *Ramayana*, II, 199, 34.

9. *Bhagvate Purana*, I, 3, 24.

10. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 368-9.

11. The Mauryas mentioned in the *Markandeya Purana* (80.5) as one of the four classes of *Asuras* had nothing to do with the Maurya rulers. The same as to the Mauryas of *Patanjali*. They were the descendants of the demon Mura killed by Krishna or Vishnu.

3. *Udana*, I, 4.

4. *Vasala Sutta* in the *Sutta-nipida*.

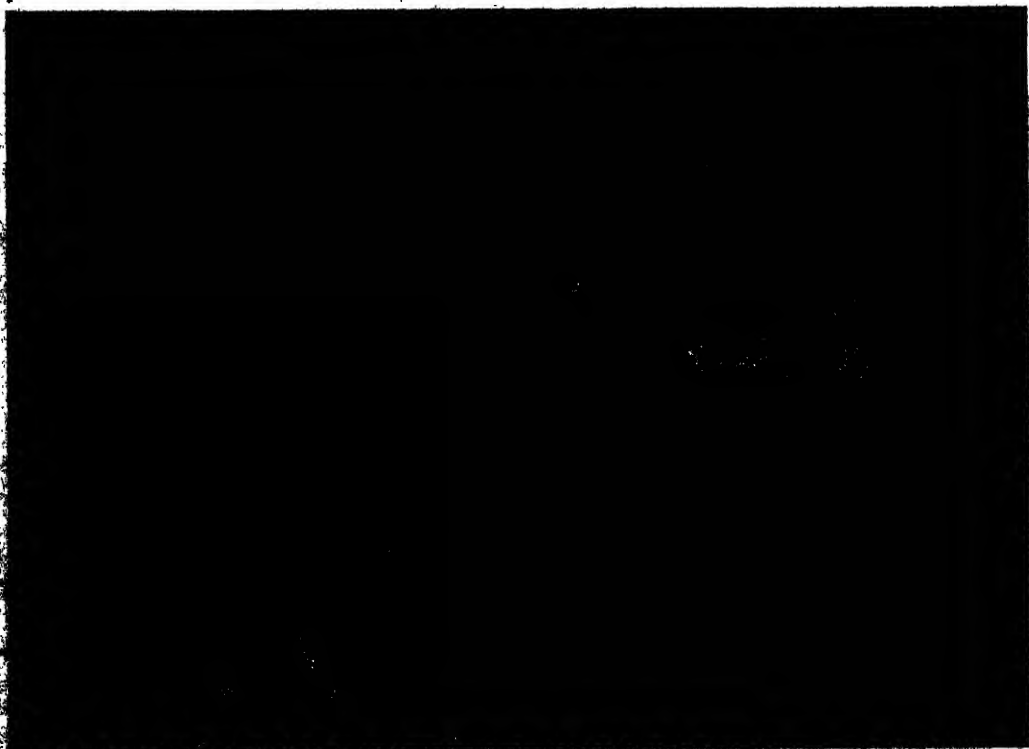
5. *Digha*, I, p. 90.

6. *Majjhima*, II, p. 501.

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This old spinning-wheel is being sold by auction as an antique souvenir

of our appraisal of the shaping influence of Asoka's great example.

The outstanding example left by Asoka is the toleration of faiths broadbased on knowledge, comparative study, the power of understanding and appreciation, the exchange of thoughts and ideas, and the principle of hearty co-operation in the matter of helping the growth of all in the essence or fundamental of things. The profession of Buddhism as his personal religion or private faith did not stand in the way of his meeting, waiting upon, honouring, and actively helping all sects and schools of thought. This active form of tolerance was the outcome of his deepest conviction that the moral and cultural progress of humanity greatly depended on the enlightenment and earnestness of those who were the real educators of men and women. The wandering ascetics and sophists were being allowed even in earlier times to move about freely in the country, from territory to territory, city to city, town to town, and village to village. The hermits were left undisturbed to live their religious life in different hermitages. The masses were at liberty to carry on the worship of their divinities through vows, sacrifices and offerings. In monarchies adequate endowments were made by the State for the maintenance of the Vedic institutions. Though the principle of toleration was thus followed in practice, Asoka was the first to enunciate it in a definite form to serve as a state-policy.

The subsequent history of India goes to show that the toleration of faiths became the guiding principle of the Indo-Aryan society and the traditional policy of the Indian rulers. If Asoka's exhortation was that "none should be unduly extolling one's own sect and deprecating another sect," the *Great Epic* in its final form came to declare that "neither the praise and deprecation of oneself nor the praise and deprecation of others is the way of the cultured." The latter may dictate the policy of non-intervention, of leaving each person or each sect to its own divine business, as the best policy under the comfortable belief that each religion is good if it be followed in its right spirit. Asoka's scheme of active co-operation was not inconsistent with the general Hindu idea of non-interference. One may detect a sectarian note in the Gita containing the philosophic foundation of what is now known as Hinduism. But in reality the teaching imparted through each of them is a confidential one (*guhya*), meaning to initiate an earnest seeker of the truth into the secret of the *yoga* method. Whether this teaching be imparted in the name of any form of Bhagavatism, Vishnu, Siva, or Sakti, it is in substance all the same. The same teaching is conveyed in a similar form in the latter-day Buddhism which, too, became a form of Bhagavatism. It is not correct, therefore, to say with Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "Henceforth Bhagavatism, or as it may now be called by its more popular name, Vaishnavism, formed, with Sivism, the main plank of the orthodox religion in its contest with Buddhism."¹² The fact of the case is that all the religions of India assumed outwardly a Bhagavatic form, while inwardly they cherished the *Guruvada* and professed to be a secret method of *yoga*. Thus the plank for all was the same, and the contest, if there were any, was a many-sided one, and beneath all was

a grand synthesis of ideas and methods; "all jackals cried alike," as Ramakrishna would have put it.

It is true that the Brahmanistic idea of military campaigns consummated by horse-sacrifice or *rajasuryu* durbar gained ground again in the country. Even the mind of the Jaina king Kharavela was pre-occupied with it. But the admission of this as a fact does not mean the denial of the formative influence of Asoka's example of religious toleration. The inscription of Kharavela boldly records that his strong Jaina faith was no bar to his pride as a ruler who honoured all sects and helped the people to repair all Deva-temples (*Sava-pasumadapuzaka, sava-devayutana-samkhara-kuraku*). During the reign of the Sungas and their successors, and in their dominions, the outer stone railing and gateways of the Buddhist Stupa of Bharhut and the earlier stone-railing of Bodhgaya were erected partly or greatly on donations from the queens of their royal houses.¹³ Although king Virapurushadatta was a performer of the horse-sacrifice, the queens and princesses of his royal house prominently figured as female donors of the great Buddhist foundation at Nagarjunikonda. Although the Imperial Guptas were devout Vaishnavas or Saivas, they are known to have donated several Buddhist foundations, including the Mahavihara of Nalanda. In spite of the strong Buddhist faith of the Palas of Eastern India, their queens engaged the Brahmans to read out to them the text of the *Great Epic*. The Buddhist King Asokavalla of Sapadalaksha liberally helped his Saiva subjects to repair their temple. The Jaina *Anuyogadvara Sutra* recommends a system of education, in which due provision is made for the study of the Sanskrit epics. It was in the time of Samudragupta and with his kind permission that his Ceylon contemporary, king Kittisiri-Meghavanna, erected the Mahabodhi Sangharama at Bodhgaya for the monks from Ceylon. The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Tshang has recorded two instances of royal tolerance, each of which is greatly significant in its own way. In one, he has paid his warm compliment to king Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa for his unstinted veneration for all men noted for their erudition and wisdom, irrespective of their caste, creed or community, and in the other he has paid a glowing tribute to Harsha, the liberal-minded Saiva ruler of Kanauj. The annual gathering of the men of all sects and schools of thought under the liberal patronage of Harsha was undoubtedly an earlier step which ultimately led to the triennial Kumbha-mela of modern times.

It may be noted that the principle of toleration equally guided the state-policy of the Pathan ruler Sher Shah, the great Maratha leader Sivaji and Jam-ul-Abidin, the Sultan of Kashmir. Among the Muslim rulers of India, the name of Akbar ranks foremost as the propounder of the principle of universal toleration in the name of *Sulh-i-kul*, inviting the exponents of all religions to meet in his Ibadatkhana for a frank and friendly discussion of the fundamentals of religion. Even he went so far as to think of founding on this very principle a new religion called *Din-Ilahi*, which unfortunately died with him. It is to be regretted that the liberal policy pursued by the previous generation of men is followed by a narrow policy, as exemplified by the Brahmanist's sectarian reaction against the progressive ideas of the earlier age and Aurangzeb's

¹² *Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 228 f.; Cf., Ray Chaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishnav Sect*, pp. 6 f.

¹³ Cf., Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

intolerance as expressed in his policy of *Dar-ul-Islam*. This is not, however, to say that the tradition of tolerance ceased to continue in India. Its continuity may be traced in the eclecticism of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen and Ramakrishna Paramahansa. One may legitimately claim that the whole of the theosophical movement is inspired by the same spirit of toleration which has guided also the course of the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago and similar conferences and conventions held thereafter in India and England. It is pertinent also to note that the Asokan principle of toleration was in the background of the political wisdom in the *Arthashastra* of Vishnu-

gupta Kautilya advising the king in the role of a conqueror to respect the religious and national institutions of the conquered country. The Rosetta Stone Inscription of Ptolemaios may be regarded as the outcome of the very same principle. So far as the history of Ceylon is concerned, the Pali *Chronicles* narrate that the Buddhist monarchs of the island ungrudgingly allowed the Brahmins, Brahmanical ascetics, Ajivikas, and Jainas to enjoy their respective privileges through twenty-one reigns¹⁴ and subsequently.

14. *Mahavamsa*. XXV 109-111, Barua, *Ceylon Lectu*

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"Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten has shown great imagination and sincerity in the new British plan for India. According to this plan, legislation will be passed by the British Parliament by August 1st, giving India dominion status. I had a long and interesting talk with Lord Mountbatten in New Delhi in the first week of April this year. I got the distinct feeling that Lord Mountbatten will do everything to hasten the transfer of power from the British to the Indians. This plan aims at that.

"Now that it is certain that the British rule will end even before June 1948, a significant psychological change will take place. This change will become even more apparent and effective when the British actually withdraw from India.

"True, today the Hindus and Moslems are fighting amongst themselves, but it must not be forgotten that the past British rule is mainly responsible for the deterioration of Hindu-Moslem relationship. After all, the British Imperialists had to 'divide and rule.' And after almost 150 years of 'divide and rule' policy, is it very unnatural that now the world finds India divided? Imperialist Britain's policy of 'divide and rule' has been so successful that now the Hindus and Moslems find themselves not only divided but they want to divide the country too. However, that is not as bad as it sounds.

"I met Mahatma Gandhi during my recent trip to India. I asked Gandhi if Hindu-Moslem disunity will diminish after the departure of the British. Gandhi said that if the British were to leave India without any 'mental reservations', then the Hindu-Moslem riots will end and better understanding between the two communities will prevail.

"I am convinced that after the actual withdrawal of the British authority from India, different counsels will prevail. The existing bitterness and distrust between the Hindus and Moslems will begin to abate.

"I am not at all terrified at the fact that at the time of the British withdrawal this year or the latest by June 1948, India is likely to be divided into India and Pakistan. As a matter of fact, the day that India is divided, that very day will mark the beginning of co-operation between India and Pakistan. Any number of commissions will have to be created to regulate such things as railways, Post Office service, telegraph and telephone lines. Commissions and committees will have to be created to regulate trade and customs between the two parts. Scores of other items of mutual interest will keep on cropping up every day. They will begin to find large areas of agreement and mutual

interest. Such day-to-day co-operation will bring the leaders of the two communities closer to each other.

"I have a feeling that before long they will realize that a mistake had been made and I hope Pakistan and India will become one again.

"Besides that, I believe that after the withdrawal of the British and partition of India, social and economic forces will begin to play an important role. Hungry people, both in India and Pakistan, will demand more food. Naked people, both in India and Pakistan, will demand clothing. In the political wrangling and the communal animosity, the masses of India who are the real sufferers have been forgotten. And, if there is any reality in India, it is the poverty-stricken masses of India. I have a feeling that these masses, both in India and Pakistan, will demand unity of India on an economic basis.

"Then too, the world events will play their part. People of India will come into touch, more and more, with the peoples of other parts of the world. They will begin to realize that a united, strong and democratic India can play a vital and effective role in building up the economy of not only India and Asia but of the whole world.

"I have been asked about the Indian Army and what would happen to it in the case of the division of India.

"There are only 32 per cent Moslems in the Indian Armed Forces. Hindus are 48 per cent. The Sikhs are 8 per cent. The Gurkhas are 7 per cent and the Christians 5 per cent.

"I believe that as soon as the division of India takes place the Indian Armed Forces will be given the choice to serve under the Indian Government or Pakistan Government.

"It is reasonable to assume that practically all of the 32 per cent Moslems in the present Indian Army would like to serve the Moslem Government of Pakistan.

"The picture may look gloomy at this stage. It may look confused. But I have not the slightest doubt that a great and glorious future is ahead for India.

"I wholeheartedly agree with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, head of the Indian Interim Government and one of the greatest men of our time, when he said yesterday in New Delhi: 'Let us face the future not with easy optimism or complacency or weakness, but with confidence and firm faith in India.'—Talk given by Sardar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, over the Columbia Broadcasting system (coast to coast broadcast) on Thursday, June 5, 1947.

THE NEEDS OF UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS

By G. L. MEHTA

IN a world, large parts of which have been devastated and whose economic life and relations have been thrown out of gear by two terrific wars in one generation, efforts are being made to set up international organisations and devise plans and schemes to achieve world-wide co-operation and to eliminate or mitigate economic maladjustments and obstacles. It is now generally recognised that the primary aim of such international economic organizations and plans is the fuller utilisation of natural resources and maximum employment of man-power with a view to expand production and raise the standards of living of the people throughout the world and especially in the economically under-developed countries. This fact has been broadly recognised in the Draft Charter which is now the subject of detailed consideration by the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment. It is hardly necessary to stress that such economic development is not merely a matter of domestic concern but also a prerequisite of the expansion of international trade and attainment of economic stability. But some of the implications of this principle need to be clarified—and I propose to do so mainly from the viewpoint of an under-developed country like mine.

There is no doubt that even a meagre increase in the woefully low standards of living of vast areas steeped in poverty will have far greater effect on the expansion of production and trade than further increase in the already high standards of the developed and richer countries. The material improvement of the poorer nations should, therefore, be high on the priority list of a world organization. In such an economic transition, the more developed and powerful nation will have to adjust their economies and even undergo some sacrifice for the common good. International economic co-operation cannot now be promoted merely on the traditional lines of removal of tariff barriers irrespective of the geographical distribution as well as the content and value of international trade. We have to remove under-employment in backward areas and raise the level of primary producers. For we have to realise in concrete terms that poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere.

If "the world can now produce enough raw materials and manufactured goods to supply the peoples of all countries with the necessities and comforts of life," (General Resolution adopted at the Tenth Biennial Conference of the International Chamber of Commerce, Copenhagen, July, 1939), then the responsibility of Governments, industry, agriculture, labour and the community as a whole to devise policies which will utilise such productive capacity to raise the general standard of living is all the greater. As a result of the war, the productivity of many countries has been considerably enhanced and there have been marked changes and shifts in the balance of production and foreign assets. The acceleration of industrialisation in what were hitherto primary producing countries has made less developed countries machine-minded and "capital hungry." These demands should be met in a co-operative spirit by those who have the goods of the world. In such problems of international economic relationship as currency and exchange, capital movements and invest-

ment, migration of population, distribution of raw materials, industrialization and transport, the economically backward countries demand their say. They require different degrees and kinds of protection in view of their meagre development and urgent needs; they require various forms of assistance from those with longer experience, better skill and larger resources. They, on their part, are prepared to make their own contribution to the achievement of worldwide economic development. International trade, after all is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Stable international relationship can and must depend upon domestic stability. Credit and fiscal measures have to be used as instruments of a national programme to expand production and secure employment.

This, then, is the formidable task that confronts us today—the task to harmonise national economic development with the demands of international economic co-operation. Any international economic order can only be built upon the basis of divergent national economic systems. Those who participate in the framing of an international Trade Charter and in negotiations for reductions in tariff barriers have had to recognise that it is not possible to formulate economic policies or enunciate economic principles without taking into consideration the divergent economic conditions and needs of different countries. To ignore the varying levels of economic development in any international economic plan is to create not uniformity but inequitable conditions resulting in disequilibrium, friction and conflict. Equality of treatment is possible only under equality of conditions. The disparity in the level and pace of economic development of different countries must, therefore, be recognized in any scheme of international economic co-operation.

The war has made far-reaching changes not only in the economic structure but also in the aims of economic policies and in the means by which these objectives are to be achieved. There is a new sense of social responsibility which must be accepted as an element of economic policies and measures in the future. New techniques, such as the growth of plastics, new alloys and synthetic and substitute products, have robbed the theory of international division of labour of much of its classical simplicity. The industrially powerful countries of the world will have to learn to adapt themselves to the changed currents of international trade in so far as world industry is redistributing itself in accordance with the shifts in productive technique on the one hand and the growing social obligations of the State on the other. The pace of international economic development will be set by the least prosperous countries. The strength of the chain is in the weakest link.

Under-developed countries seek to achieve a balanced economy. They desire to diversify their economies and reduce the pressure of population on land by developing alternative sources of employment and economic pursuits. Improvement and rationalisation of agriculture itself is conditioned by industrial advance. Industrialization would enhance the purchasing power of the rural population as agricultural development would provide markets for industrial goods. These countries seek to build up certain essen-

tial industries not merely for national defence but also for sheer self-preservation in times of emergency. India's vast population would have been helpless if in the inter-war years, at least some primary and secondary industries like steel, engineering and sugar had not been developed. As it was, the absence of heavy engineering and basic chemical industries restricted India's industrial development during the war and limited her contribution to the common war effort. Indeed, her lack of merchant shipping tonnage not only failed to provide a second line of defence but prevented the importation of essential foodstuffs for her hungry people. In essential industries and services, therefore, national self-sufficiency is not only a right but a duty.

For these constructive purposes, the undeveloped and under-developed countries need capital, capital goods like plant, equipment and machinery, technology and technical "know-how." The needs of the developed countries, on the other hand, demand full utilization of their expanding industrial capacity. It is one of the main problems of economic statesmanship to reconcile those mutual needs in a programme of long-range development. The expansion and diversification of demand as a result of industrialization will, however, tend to create new markets or markets for new products. That is the lesson of industrial development; the volume of international trade would increase although its character and direction may change. Experience of the last seventy years has shown that the industrial growth of a country has been closely linked up with the growth of its foreign trade. To take only one example, the net import of manufactures into the British Dominions in 1926-29 was about 50 per cent larger than into China and India, which have thirty times their population but are not so industrially developed, while their net import of manufactures per capita was forty or fifty times greater than that of China and India. A country in the process of industrialization would import machinery and other capital equipment as well as industrial raw materials while an increase in the standard of living will lead to diversification in the demand and import of consumer goods. Industrialization, moreover, will lead to the growth of transportation and power as well as processing of locally-produced primary products and the establishment and growth of industries, such as house-building, road-making, etc. . . . which do not, as a rule, enter international trade. All this would lead to simultaneous development of domestic industry, trade and services which would tend to augment international trade.

Today, the world is hungry for goods, not struggling for markets. It is not tariff barriers but the lag in production and the want of purchasing power that are preventing the flow of commerce. The fact that the Conference meeting at Geneva is described as one on Trade as well as Employment brings out an aspect which is frequently ignored, namely, that trade depends on the purchasing power of the countries even more than of tariffs. Access to capital goods or raw materials is, in the last resort, access to the buying markets and is based on the cash and credit of the purchaser. If we want to see the wheels of industry move smoothly and fast, an effective way to do so is to increase the purchasing power of the vast masses of Asia and Africa who suffer from chronic, if somewhat disguised, unemployment and under-employment.

Those who insist on the principle of "equal access to the raw materials of the world" must remember of domestic production of scarce and strategic raw materials as well as the priority of domestic production for which such natural resources have to be utilized. Moreover, industrial raw materials and products, such as soda-ash and sulphur for chemical industries or non-ferrous metals, are unavailable not only when they are in short supply but also because they are controlled and rationed by powerful international controls and combines of the highly developed countries. Under-developed countries are, therefore, entitled to urge that the principle of "equal access to raw materials" should be applicable to such products and not merely to agricultural raw materials or minerals. Lastly, the principle of equitable distribution of productive facilities demands that the capital goods of the world should also be made available to the less developed countries, which should not be made to wait indefinitely in a queue for their essential needs of economic development. In the sphere of technology, the misuse of patents and licences for purposes which have no relation to the invention for which Government gives protection and the monopolistic control of vital knowledge and secret processes place under-developed countries at a serious disadvantage. Here is a field for fruitful co-operation between industry and science, between enterprise and technique of the advanced and under-developed countries. The shortage of technicians and skilled labour is almost world-wide today and if we are to step up production, the problem of training and apprenticeship of technical personnel in industrially backward countries and of loaning technically competent persons from developed countries on reasonable terms needs earnest consideration.

Foreign investment raises the whole problem of external economic relations on which I do not propose to dwell at length here. The difficulty hereto has been that foreign capital and enterprise which have gone into backward areas have created political ramifications involving questions of control and extra-territorial rights and stringent regulations even against indigenous industries. Often enough, they have sought to develop not the industries and services most needed by the inhabitants of such countries but those which suited the interests of the investing countries. Such penetration of foreign capital has been rather in line with economic imperialism than development in the interests of backward peoples whose own attempts to establish industries have been frequently hampered and even stifled for fear of their competition with the industries of the advanced countries. If powerful countries like Britain and France feel the importance of maintaining their sovereignty and economic freedom while negotiating foreign loans, are not the under-developed areas with their meagre resources and their general backwardness entitled to demand adequate safeguards for preserving their political and economic independence? At every international economic conference we find that political considerations cut right across economic problems, whether the issue is tariffs or investment, foreign exchange or food, merchant-shipping or civil aviation; all these issues tend to become matters of high policy where power-politics come into play. The needs of the under-developed countries, therefore, demand not only political emancipation but also complete readjustment of economic

relationship between countries. The policy of "Beggars-My-Neighbour" is not only morally wrong but economically unsound. A division of the world into economic hemispheres resulting in the perpetual exploitation of the resources of the backward countries by the more powerful ones cannot be regarded as economic internationalism in any true sense of the term. The world

cannot continue, in Abraham Lincoln's memorable phrase, to be half slave and half free. And freedom in the modern world means economic freedom no less than political.*

* Addressed by C. L. Mehta in the plenary session of the Montreux Congress, 5th June, 1947.

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OUR FOOD PROBLEM

By PROF. P. C. RAKSHIT, M.Sc., Ph.D.

THE three "F"s—Freedom, Fitness and Food—always go together. We are going to have freedom and we are charged with the responsibility of keeping ourselves fit enough to retain the freedom achieved. It may seem very prosaic but no one will dispute that to attain such fitness we should have adequate food. Starving millions are never expected to fight for and retain their freedom for long. Our starving children and young of this day will have to bear the burden of future. But the scars of hunger in the child never disappear and often lead to waste of life. Even the best minds in a starving body are worth very little.

The problem then is where should we get our food. The total food produce of the world, calculated on a dry basis, amounts to approximately 2,000 billion pounds which feed the two billion people on the surface of this planet. But this production is not in conformity with the distribution of people in the world. The result is that there are countries having a surplus production, and there are other areas with a consequent deficit. This ultimately leads to the fact that certain countries have a very high standard of consumption and requirement, as in America and Oceania; while the Asiatic cross-section of humanity has to pull on at a minimum subsistence level. The four hundred million of us are in an appalling state. The difference of the standards of food both in quality and quantity between India and America is so great that our very existence often seems to be incredible. It is often astonishing to think as to how the Indians survived so long. The heavy death-rate of children (25 per cent of them cannot complete first year), the recurring famines, and the periodic wars maintain the equilibrium between the number of people and the poor quota of food produce. When we are already under-fed, we cannot think of any reserve of food. So, in case of poor harvest, or when there is a gigantic conflict, like the great wars, the effects in our country are simply disastrous—there is no way to escape death. But in other countries, like Australia, having surplus production, they always maintain a reserve to meet emergency. Besides, these countries also possess a huge live-stock. In times of poor harvest or wars, they can absorb a considerable portion of this live-stock, as also the grains which would be consumed by the live-stock. Famines can thus be combated in those countries. But India cannot afford to maintain a live-stock and thereby spend the food after it in order to obtain the live-stock product. That will mean another way of starvation.

One way of minimising the acuteness of food shortage is to spill over some excess population to other countries. The whole world is now self-conscious and such migrations, which helped many European countries to reach a high standard during the past century, are no longer possible. Indians in South Africa will make us realise this.

Those who think that there should be an equalisation of distribution of food-stuff through entire humanity, should realise that such a step would require countries like America to cut down their standard by nearly half. For example, if we consider only animal food, an Indian in order to share equally with the rest, will have to ask an American to spare 66 per cent and a European 30 per cent of their present quota. Such evenness of distribution is therefore unlikely to happen in voluntary or peaceful ways.

For a solution of this problem, we have to proceed along one of the two possible ways: (a) To obtain the over-all deficit in our requirement of food from areas of abundance in production; (b) to make ourselves self-sufficient in the supply of food by increased productivity.

The first of these two methods is not likely to be a satisfactory solution. We can get food from other countries only in exchange of either finished goods or raw materials. India is not industrialised to any appreciable extent, and cannot export much manufactured goods now and even for probably many more years to come. The other alternative is to export raw materials, like minerals, tea, cotton, hides, jute, etc. Already this country has been deprived of an enormous amount of raw materials and there is a limit to such supply. Any further unplanned export of every raw material will be suicidal to the future development of this country. This possibility of obtaining food in exchange of raw materials is not economic or feasible.

We are then to increase our own production of foodstuff as to meet at least our own requirements.¹ The present-day output of food is quite insufficient for our forty crores of mouths. To provide a normal balanced diet on a rational scale, we have an over-all deficit of nearly 100 million tons of foodstuff, animal and soil produce taken together. To be more precise, there is a shortage of nearly 25 million tons in cereals and vegetables production and the rest 75 million tons deficit are in animal food supply, such as milk, meat.

1. Report, Advisory Planning Board, 1946.

eggs, etc. The basis of requirement is to supply approximately 2,500 calories per day per capita, consisted in 410 gms. of carbohydrate, 60 gms. of fat and 60 gms. of protein (including 20 gms. of animal origin²). The greatest shortage is in our milk supply, to an extent of nearly 300 per cent, or in other words, 70 million tons more of milk we need, which means maintenance of a huge special live-stock and their food and pasture. Next important and acute deficit is in the section of oils and fats, to an extent of nearly 5 million tons.

To make up the deficiency in animal-source food immediately is not possible. This will require a longer time and planned organisations in different ways, as developed fisheries, improved bovine population and rearing, pasture-grounds, etc. Our immediate attention should be given to increased output of soil produce as food, and if this can be accomplished in a reasonable time, we can hope to cope satisfactorily with the shortage in our animal food gradually. The amount of agricultural food output can be raised by concentrating on three main directions: (i) utilisation of fallow lands, (ii) increasing the yielding capacity of soil, (iii) proper distribution of soil between cash and food crops.

(i) The utilisation of fallow lands or unused land for the production of food-crops has already come into consideration under the stress of war and some activity in this direction has started. These lands, on a moderate estimate, if brought under the plough, are likely to produce several million tons of cereals, vegetables and fruits. To cite for example, in 1937, Bengal had 2,44,66,300 acres of land under cultivation while 1,06,40,749 acres were lying waste or fallow.³ Nearly 10,000 acres were reclaimed in 1945 by the Government for cereal cultivation. Different reasons are attributed to these lands lying unutilised. Sometimes, the lands are of poor fertility (as in some areas of south Bihar); there are sometimes dearth of local labour, the areas being away from dense population and in unhealthy regions (as is some parts of north-west Assam). Apart from these, difficulties of irrigation are often responsible, while some areas are kept non-productive being leased out to non-agricultural business concerns. These difficulties are to be removed as far as practicable, in order to reclaim these lands. The cultivators must also be trained not to always grow cereals in these lands. Where cereals, pulses, etc., may fail, special fruit production may be possible.

Another fact with special reference to Bengal needs mention. Water-hyacinth problem has been a nuisance in this province for a pretty long time. It is responsible for a huge destruction of crops and fisheries. It is said that this "blue devil" covers an area of one lac acres of cultivated land and the damage to Bengal's paddy is estimated to more than six crores of rupees annually. It is now admitted that the total eradication of the plant is the only solution and this is an immediate necessity.

(ii) Secondly, the productivity of the soil must be increased. It is admitted that the out-turn of our field is in a very low level, and that by taking recourse to scientific methods, the yielding capacity of the soil can

be considerably increased. A comparative study of the output of rice per acre in different countries will reveal the state of affairs.⁴

Country	Rice in lbs. per acre
U. S. A.	2138
Korea	1750
Japan	2688
Egypt	3179
India	826
Bengal	884

The same story will be repeated if we compare the figures for other types of crops. There are many reasons for such a low output of the soil, though mainly lack of irrigation and absence of use of fertilisers are responsible for this poor yield. For success in this direction, co-operation of the various branches of science is necessary. (a) Firstly, there should be an immediate ecological survey of our soil to define what crops are to be developed in respective areas, specially with reference to fundamental food crops. The importance of this is obvious. It is not uncommon that the unknowing and untrained cultivator is sowing a crop in his lands every year in his own conservative way, in spite of poor yield, though a substitute crop would have given him enough return for his money and labour. (b) Secondly, in increasing the food crop production, not only attention should be given to the quantity but also to the quality. This means that nutritional value must also be considered along with the mass value. As an illustrative example, we shall take the important food crop—rice. On consideration of nutrition, it is much better to have some fractions of rice diet to be substituted by other forms of starch, say potatoes, which at present is used only to a small extent in the form of vegetable. But potatoes, as used in many other countries, in small weights can be equivalent to a larger amount of rice in its nutritional and food value. Where it is possible, if the land is utilised for potatoes instead of rice cultivation, there will also be an economic gain. Evidently, in carrying out such a dietary revolution in substituting rice diet partly with potatoes, agriculture would need the co-operation of the Public Health Department to organise the people. (c) Thirdly, there should be an adequate manuring of the soil for increased production. The millions of Indian cultivators do not know either the use of proper fertilisers or the modern method of their application. It is futile to expect a better yield without the addition of fertilisers in proper way. It has been found that addition of 80 lbs. of ammon-sulphate per acre will increase the production of rice by 30 per cent of the present output.⁵ A glance at Table II showing consumption of fertilisers in India and Japan in 1936, will tell us why productivity is higher there. India is in great dearth of artificial fertilisers, the only factory is in Mysore at Belagula producing 7,000 tons of ammon-sulphate synthetically per year. A larger scale factory under the State is under construction near Dhanbad to supply ammonium sulphate. According to Gowing Committee report,⁶ ammon-sulphate is the only fertiliser which can now be suitably manufactured on a large scale (3,50,000 tons) in India. The raw materials

2. Banu, *Science and Culture*, November, 1946.

3. Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, page 273.

4. P. K. Bose, *Calcutta Rotary Club Lecture*, 30-4-46.

5. *Paddy and Rice Enquiry Committee, Government of Bengal 1935.*

6. A. J. C. G., *Fertiliser Industry in India, Science and Culture*, December, 1944.

7. *Report of Technical Mission on Artificial Fertilisers, 1946.*

to be used are the ammonia from coke sources and gypsum abundantly available in India. It is not expected that India would produce nitrolim or urea soon but ammonium nitrate, superphosphate of lime or its substitute are likely to be manufactured in this country in a reasonable time. Only the production of fertiliser will not be enough, equally important is its distribution at a controlled rate to the men with the plough in the myriads of Indian villages. These agriculturists should also be made to know their use and application. For this purpose, in every village a real cultivator should be trained and kept in charge, to distribute the fertilisers, to teach the methods of their use, to advise the selection of crops, and modes of co-operative irrigation, etc., under directions of competent authorities. There must be developed a local initiative.

TABLE II
Fertiliser consumed in 1896 in lbs.

	Japan	India
(NH ₄) ₂ SO ₄	21,00,000	1,48,000
NaNO ₃	73,800	4,400
K-manure	1,68,200	11,400
Superphosphate	24,84,800	12,800
Nitrolim	3,21,000	Nil

(d) Equally important is also the question of irrigation. Any amount of use of manures cannot give good crop unless aided by proper irrigation. The Punjab Canal system has proved it beyond dispute. Many plains in the vast Indo-Gangetic, which on every ground are likely to produce a good crop are not doing so due to ill-irrigation. The dying rivers in many parts of Bengal have already seriously told on the health and crop of the province. The dredging of smaller river mouths and gradual establishment of a network of irrigation channels throughout the land are primary necessities. (e) Last, but not the least, is the personnel which will carry out and develop the vast agriculture of this country. They should be made to learn the improved methods of agriculture and irrigation. Some machine-sense has to be developed in them so that they may take their work in scientifically power-minded enterpriser's fashion. Small tools, power-driven equipments, small tractors of one-man-unit type suitable for small areas are to be introduced which will have important consequences. Besides, the health of the agricultural labour must be given due considera-

tion. At present they are in a poor standard, mostly due to malnutrition and want of treatment. It is necessary that there should be small State medical units in the villages to look after the welfare of the villagers.

(ii) There should be planned distribution of the land for cultivation of food crops and cash crops, etc. We are certainly badly in need of food, but that does not mean all available land should go up for food production. Cotton, jute, flax, sugarcane, etc., are also essential needs and the industrial success is dependent on them. As a matter of fact, the agricultural planning is a very difficult one and on it depends the prosperity of our future. It is necessarily connected with the industrial planning. A fraction of the land should be utilised for cash crop production according to the needs of the industry. In making such distribution of the land, due consideration must also be given to forest reserves and grazing reserves. The former to control the rainfall and humidity of the area and the latter for maintenance of the growing livestock. A well-planned agriculture will not only reach its objective of attaining self-sufficiency but will also contribute to the increase of national wealth. The latter will help to develop a standard economic system.

Not only the productivity of our soil per square yard is low, but also the productivity per farmer is very low. For the same output of crop, an Indian agriculturist has to put on 30 times more work than that of an American. Of course, the high standard of mechanisation in the latter case is responsible for this to a large extent. Besides, nearly 70 per cent of our people are booked in agriculture.³ This figure is too large compared to the output of the soil. The surplus workers must be removed from the field to be skilled in other enterprises or engaged in cottage industries. This will increase the output per agricultural worker also the firm income per capita.

It is, hence necessary, the agricultural planner must look into (a) proper distribution of land, and labour, (b) health and training of the agricultural labour, (c) the production of fertilisers, (d) facilities for irrigation, (e) production of small agricultural implements and power-machines, etc.

The problem is not only of priority number one but also a huge problem requiring courage and determination. And in its success lies our salvation.

I. C. Ghose, *Science and Culture*, February, 1947.

:O:-

MARCH OF THE DESERT

By L. H. AJWANI

THE paper carried the other day a piece of news which attracted not much notice. The Sind-Rajputana desert was advancing in the easterly direction at the rate of sq. many inches every year, and the Forest Department officials were making frantic efforts to stop this march of the desert by certain methods known to them, but they did not know whether they would succeed. So far good, but who is going to stop

the march of the desert which under the high-sounding name of *Pakistan* threatens to reduce the fair "surplus" province of Sind, in the course of a generation or two, to vast Mohen-jo-Daro (Mound of the Dead)?

Of course, it will not be the first time for the jungle and the desert to invade Sind and make an end of all civilised life. It is an old old tale. Sind is the burial ground of innumerable civilisations and cultures

Oldest of all lands, it is the gateway to Hind or Ind (which name is simply a variant of "Sind") and its integral part. But nature's cataclysms, and more often, men's mischievous deeds have driven at times a wedge between Sind and Hind, and, when that has happened, Sind has wilted and dried up and become another Baluchistan or Sahara. Every keen observer must have noted that though Sind is so ancient and renowned (even medieval Europe had a craze for Sendal and Sindon, or Sind cloth) there is not a single building or edifice or work of art in the entire province which may be claimed as a piece of antiquity. All notable buildings and works of art lie buried under the sands and may be known only when they are dug up. There is nothing above the ground to show an old civilisation. Perhaps years hence the only sign of British civilisation and occupation of Sind will be apparent when some other Rakhaldas Banerji comes and digs up the pillars of the Sukkur Barrage bridge from beneath the dried-up bed of the river Sindhu at Sukkur.

The good time for Sind comes when connection between Sind and Hind gets restored and the Sindhu becomes again the first of Indian rivers and not simply a boundary between savage or primitive tribes looking for inspiration, westwards, to Arabistan or Central Asia. In the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries Sind rose to eminence in culture and the arts as a province of (Mogul) India: Abul Fazi and his brother were only two of the many Sindhis who became famous in the days of the greatest of the Moguls (himself a born Sindhi) and his successors. The Sindhi language and literature rose to ecstatic heights in the verse of Shah Latif, the greatest of all the Sindhis. And then came the break between Sind and Hind and the triumphant march of the desert. Sind became attached to Afghanistan. When the British occupied Sind in 1843, Sind was a vast *Shikargah* denuded of anything approaching to civilisation and culture. A million and a half wretched people eked out a primitive existence under the overlordship of petty Baluch chieftains. The great *Makhtabs* and *Pathshahas* had perished, and travellers noted that the learned in Sind prided themselves on a scraggy knowledge of a jargon of the sweet tongue of Shiraz (the Persian language).

The coming of the British established the vanished nexus between Sind and Hind, and the desert gave place to fields and gardens, and all the arts of civilised life. Sind was fortunate to be linked to the progressive Presidency of Bombay, and to have missionaries from distant Bengal to educate her people. And Sind became fertile, great and glorious. Sindhis spread to all parts of the world, and Sind grains, Sind cotton, Sind cows

became objects of envy all over India, while the Sindwork merchants became the most famous merchants in the East for silks, curios, jewellery, etc.

The prosperity of Sind was mostly due to the Sind Hindu who rose above communal or sectarian feelings and made his province flourishing and civilised. The big samindars or *waderas* of Sind, skilled only to hunt poor beasts and oppress poor men and women and compel them to minister to their pleasures and creature comforts, were kept down by a wholesome awe of the British officials, and also of the Hindu money-lenders. The Hindus built up a new civilised Sind with their money, sacrifice and public spirit. During the one-hundred and odd years of British occupation of Sind not a single educational institution or charitable organisation or work of art for the general public was established by the Muslims who formed the three-fourths of the population, the entire burden of educational and philanthropic work being borne by the Hindus, Parsis and other minority communities. The Muslims were only eager to claim the lion's share of appointments, scholarships, etc., and they got it. The Hindus were anxious for the arrival of the day when the Muslims would come up to a level with them, and be fellow-workers with them. To this end the Indian National Congress conceded provincial autonomy to Sind and agreed that it should be a separate province.

Ten years have elapsed since Sind became a separate province but all these years Sind continued to be with India—and the desert was kept out. The lords of the countryside were kept within limits and could not pull down the fabric that was built up in a hundred years. Now, however, the bond between Sind and Hind has burst. The Muslim League Ministry in Sind swears by "Pakistan" and is determined to weed out all that is Indian from Sind. The sweet Sindhi language, descendant of Sanskrit-Prakrit, and wholly Indian in its grammar, structure and vocabulary is to be turned into a jargon of Arabic-Persian or to be entirely replaced by Urdu. The Hindu agriculturist is to be deprived of his land by lawless laws, the Hindu official to be turned out by a 75 per cent reservation of appointments for the Muslims, while the Hindu educational institutions are to be strangled by a Muslim University. The poor Sindhi Muslim who has lived in amity and fellowship with his Hindu brother is to be excited to frenzied fury by hired Moulvis and Mullas from outside, and Sind is to be given up to the tender mercies of the Punjabi Muslims and Biharis who are taking forcible possession of plots in Sind. And the Muslim *wadera* is chuckling that he can have for his *shikar* men and women, beasts and vast tracts . . . The Desert is marching on!





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE HINDU TEMPLE: By Stella Kramrisch, Professor of Indian Art, Calcutta University. Photographs by Raymond Burnier, University of Calcutta. 1946. Vols. I & II. Pp. xii + 466. Plates I-LXXX.

In spite of the limitations and handicaps set by the long continuance of the War, we are glad that Dr. Kramrisch has at last been able to publish her great work on the Hindu temple.

In these volumes, Dr. Kramrisch has dealt not so much with the physics as with the metaphysics of the temple. Her central thesis is that the temple is an embodiment in architectural form of the individual soul's striving towards *Moksha-Kaivalya*, in which final state, it loses its separate identity and becomes merged in the Universal Soul. The temple, which grew out of the simple altar of Vedic times, retains the mystic import of the original altar and thus gives a certain world-view.

Dr. Kramrisch then pursues this symbolism through the entire range of architectural and sculptural details. The ground-plan with its recesses has been explained as an irradiation of the central principle enshrined as the Divinity, and it is this same light which creates by the urgency of its outward irradiation, the *gavakshas* or windows, which meant not for the ingress of light from outside as the egress from within. The structure of the temple capped by the *amalaka* and the *kalasa*, which draws and closes in all upward movement of lines into one single point, has the same symbolic significance. The placement of the sculptures as well as their character, all fuse into one whole, intensifying the message which is otherwise borne by the separate structural elements.

The author has taken great pains to substantiate her thesis by means of quotations from contemporary Sanskrit literature, both sacred and secular. One is however sometimes left in doubt as to how far these thoughts recorded in sacred literature of a ritualistic kind, were actually responsible for the origin of particular architectural traditions. Some of them might as well have been afterthoughts of *sadhakas*, who were not *silpinas*, and who might have enriched the metaphysical connotation of physical forms which sprang from the creative genius of those who designed and built the temples.

This should not, however, be taken to mean that Dr. Kramrisch has neglected the physical side of temples or of the importance of the *silpasastras*. She has also laid the latter under contribution, sometimes discovered meanings which were lost to the architects themselves, as in the case of her very original interpretation of the meaning of the term *rekha-gandhi* where she has found a

geometrical formula for determining the curve of the *rekha-gandhi*. Such explanations deserve careful examination, and have to be verified by actual measurement of the curves of extant temples. Dr. Kramrisch's suggestion about the origin of the roof of the stepped *Piha Deul* is likewise based upon a due recognition of the importance of the physical factor. But in spite of this deep familiarity with *silpa* texts and of the bearing of material facts, the reviewer begs to submit that her leanings are on the mental-spiritual side of the question.

The unfortunate part of such explanations is that they often demand such deep familiarity with mystic thoughts and practices as well as such a high degree of individualization, that they are usually beyond the reach of average science as we know it. It is more than likely that the *silpin* himself might have been motivated by impulses for setting in symbolic form the thoughts and aspirations which Dr. Kramrisch has discovered from contemporary literature by means of her painstaking research, but when it is difficult that it was actually so. Something akin to this might be likewise said of the explanations about the origins of Art as expounded by the School of Psycho-analysis under Sigmund Freud. There also, one often feels tempted to say that the explanations might be true; but then it is difficult to prove except to initiate. As such, the reviewer believes that Dr. Kramrisch's work belongs more to the realm of Art than of Science with its narrowly set limitations of method.

We are indeed grateful to Dr. Kramrisch for the new light that she has been able to throw upon this well-trodden path of Indian civilization by dint of her industry and penetration; and there can be no doubt that the volumes under review will entitle their author to a lasting place in the history of Indian archaeological studies. And we are also thankful to M. Burnier who has adorned the text by a series of magnificent photographs.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE RUIN THAT BRITAIN WROUGHT: By K. M. Munshi. Published by Padma Publications Ltd. Bombay. Pages 85. Price Rs. 2-8.

In spite of the claims for Englishmen from time to time about the welfare of India done under the English rule of about two hundred years, it is now as clear as day to what degradation India has been reduced by the Britishers. In this small booklet of eleven chapters Mr. Munshi by facts and figures has proved how England thrived and prospered at India's cost during the past two centuries. India's agriculture, industries and commerce, all deteriorated to enrich Englishmen and British Imperialism and Capitalists. Health of her millions was ruined, and starvation became the rule. The poorest country in the world has to

maintain the most expensive bureaucracy and army and a most inoffensive people was made to pay for British Imperialistic wars. Most up-to-date figures from highest authorities on the subject, both European and Indian, have been used by the author and as such the conclusions are from unimpeachable premises. In a short compass the learned author has treated every aspect of India's ills and has been successful in proving that British rule and British methods are responsible for everything wrong in India today.

Students of Indian Economics and political workers will find this book not only interesting and instructive but extremely useful in their everyday life. The book deserves wide circulation.

UNEMPLOYMENT, FULL EMPLOYMENT AND INDIA : By Dr. N. Das, I.C.S., Ph.D. Published by All-India Publishing Co. Ltd., 30 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pages 68. Price Rs. 3.

Since the publication of Beveridge Plan on social security and unemployment there have been quite a good number of publications on the subject so far as capitalistic societies are concerned. In a communistic society, such as we have in Soviet Russia, no question of unemployment arises as the society is totalitarian. It is now clear to all that unemployment is not due to the fault of the individual as such but its very root is deep in the social structure as we have today. The individuals or the group affected by unemployment are merely creatures of circumstances over which they have no control. The author in the first five chapters of this book has discussed the subject in such a clear manner that even a layman will find it easy to grasp the ideas. Relation of public finance to full employment has been discussed with considerable skill. India is not only backward (medieval) and capitalistic but under a foreign yoke for the last two hundred years and as such the problem is almost beyond solution. Besides, we have no statistics worth the name. So long by "unemployment," we understood "educated unemployed" without taking into consideration the hundreds of millions in abject poverty and in enforced idleness throughout the year. To solve this problem, India must make progress on the basis of a planned economy and that can be done only when India is free to work out her own destiny as a Socialist State. The author admits that full employment cannot be assured in a capitalist country although unemployment can be sufficiently controlled or reduced.

Students of Economics and the general public interested in the subject will find this book useful.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

SUKTIRATNAVALI : By Busader Sadasiw Joshi. New Rajsthan Press, 73 Mukhtaram Baba Street, Calcutta.

This is an interesting booklet containing free metrical renderings in Sanskrit of one hundred selected quotations from famous western authors, used from day to day as mottoes in the well-known newspaper *The Times of India*. To make the renderings attractive the translator, Pandit Joshi, has occasionally embellished them with expressions and figures of speech not found in the original but familiar in Sanskrit. Of course, such rendering is not a new thing. Reference may be made in this connection to the beautiful translation of a number of Greek and German verses made by Prof. C. Cappelar, under the titles *Yavana-satakam* and *Subhanitamalika* and published in 1903-4 in the pages of the now defunct *Indian Antiquary*.

CHINTAKARAN CHAKRAVARTY

BENGALI

JHANSIR RANI BAHINI—Diary : Edited by Kalidas Ghosal. *The National Literature*, 105 Cotton Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

Most of our countrymen are today familiar with the name of "Jhansi Rani Bahini" or the regiment of Indian women formed as an integral part of the 'Azad Hind Fauz, i.e., the Indian National Army, by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in Singapore. Bengali literature is almost flooded over with books on I.N.A. and "Rani Jhansi Regiment." But one cannot rely on those books as the materials contained therein are half imaginary and not collected from authentic sources. But the book under review is a departure from the lot inasmuch as it has creditably been edited from the diary-leaves of a woman-soldier of the Regiment who participated in all its activities. One can get a fair idea of the origin, development and activities of the "Jhansi Rani Regiment" after going through the pages of this authentic and reliable diary. The writer wields a facile pen, her style is fascinating and owing to the literary charm and flavour, the book, though full of facts, reads like a romance. Here and there the reader comes across passages containing personal touches which reminds him that the writer, though she adopted military career, is after all a woman over whose life emotion plays such an important part and to whom "love is her whole being." Whenever she writes down a few sentences about her beloved husband from whom she was separated due to abnormal war-conditions, she gives vent to her feelings in a highly impressive manner. The last page of the diary gives an account of one of the greatest tragic incidents of the writer's life in such an impressive way that it leaves an indelible impression on the reader's mind and he finishes the book with a deep sigh.

The book is profusely illustrated. The get-up and printing leaves nothing to be desired and a map of the route taken by the Azad Hind Fauz to reach the Eastern Frontier has added to the attraction of the book.

NALINI K. BHADRA

HINDUR BANGLA : By Dr. Santosh Kumar Mukherjee. Published from 44 Badur Bagan Street, Calcutta. Pages 47. Price eight annas.

As pioneers of Indian nationalism Bengalis have always preached and fought for united Bengal and undivided India. But the Muslim League administration of Bengal for the last decade has changed the mentality of the Bengali Hindus who now advocate partition for the sheer preservation of their culture. The author has a clear grasp of the subject, i.e., the Bengali Hindu case for a separate nationalist Hindu Bengal and the materials he has used prove beyond doubt the reasonableness of the case he advocates. It must be admitted that this booklet helped the movement of division of the province a great deal, which is now an accomplished fact. The book will have a very wide circulation among the Bengali-knowing public.

A. B. DUTTA

GUJARATI

1. **AHAR ANE POSHAN :** By Jhaverbhai Patel. Paper cover. Pp. 64. Price eight annas.

2. **PRACHIN SHIL KATHAO :** By Gopaldas J. Patel. 1945. Paper cover. Pp. 49. Price annas six. Both published by the Gujarat Vidya Pitha, Ahmedabad.

"Food and nutriment" are discussed in the form of a dialogue between an educated master and her children

—a girl and a boy, and valuable information about the part that each item of our food and drink, cereal, fruit, vegetable, raw and cooked, plays in the building up of a healthy body, is conveyed in a very easy manner. Children can surely follow it.

In the other book ancient tales of virtue, thirteen in number, are pleasantly told and they bring out sharply the virtues of toleration, good conduct, patience and allied pieces of conduct.

(1) **MADHAPUDO** (2) **KAUSHIK AKHYAN** : By Jugatram Dave. Both published by the Navjivan Prakashan Vander, Ahmedabad. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 194 and pp. 42. Prices eight annas and three annas respectively.

Madhapudo, Beehive is the fifth reprint within 16 years of a book of excerpts in verse and prose of the writings of well-known writers in respect of the lives of our great men like Buddha, Hemchandra and others. It has been noticed previously. *Kaushik Akhyan* is a very short poem on a mythological subject, the burden of which is that service of aged parents is higher than *tapas*.

THODA VIVECHAN LEKHO : By Mansukhlal Jhaveri, M.A., Rajkot. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Rampur. Thick cardboard. 1944. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 2-8.

Professor Jhaveri is slowly forging ahead as one of the few efficient reviewers and critics of works in Gujarati. The present collection of such reviews consists of seventeen contributions ranging between 1934 and 1941 and comprises the works of Navalram, Govardhanram, Kasi Nanalal, Kant, Narsinhrao and Umashankar. They are all thoughtfully done with sobriety and an attempt to have the balance even. They are attracting the attention they deserve.

SADHANA : By Upavasi. Printed at the Rajni Printing, Bombay. Illustrated. Thick cover. 1944. Pp. 108. Price Rs. 2.

Poems, short and long, bearing on the three stages of human life, Love, Desai, Attainment, about 39 in number are collected in this book called *Sadhana*. A kindred spirit Prof. Umashankar Joshi expresses in a scholarly introduction—the truth lying behind these three stages, but it must be confessed that more than an ordinary mind is wanted to understand the trend of these outpourings, both in the introduction and the text. Marxism and the revolution in Russia, called development of Russia, play no small part in filling the background of the poems, thus giving a distinct individuality to the performance.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BROADCASTING : By Seth Druecker. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 27. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price six annas.

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY : David Thomson. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 67. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price 6d.

(1) **INDO-CHINA**. (2) **PHILIPPINES**. (3) **CHINA** : The Indian Institute of Indian Affairs. New Delhi. Pp. 23, 22 and 24 respectively. 1945. Price 5 annas each.

SCIENTIFIC WORKERS AND THEIR RIGHTS : Prepared by J. Kuczycki and a study group of the Association of Scientific Workers in Great Britain, The Association of Scientific Workers (India), 210 Bowbazar, Calcutta, 1946.

HUMAN EQUALITY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION : By Seetaram Pandey. Rakhal Das Reading Room, Somlong, Ranchi. Price Re. 1.

SCOPE OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN INDIA : Hara Gopal Biswas. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.

ON HISTORY : By M. C. Samaddar. Renaissance Club, Patna. 1947. Price eight annas.

REFLECTION ON INDIAN REVOLUTION : By K. Chandra Sekharan. Allied Indian Publishers, Circular Road, Bhindari Cottage, Lahore 1940. Price Re. 1-14.

PLACE OF INDIA IN WORLD TRADE AND SHIPPING : By S. N. Hiji, A.L. M. O. Monograph. No. 10. The All-India Manufacturers' Organization, Bombay 1946. Pp. 65. Price Rs. 2-8.

THE RISE AND FALL OF JAPAN : By Sir Frederick Whyte. Royal Institute of International Affairs, London : Chatham House, St. James's Sq., S.W.1. Pp. 59. Price 1s. net.

ARCHITECTURE : By Claude Batley.

TRANSPORT : By F. P. Antia. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs Nos. 34 and 35. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price six annas each.

THE PROBLEM OF AUSTRIA : By E. J. Pasant. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 72. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price 6d. net.

WHAT NEXT? CAN INDIA BE UNITED? : By J. M. Kumarappa. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay. 1945. Price twelve annas.

NEW ELEMENTS IN MONAZITE SAND : By Ramendralal De. The University of Dacca, Bengal. 1947.

A PRIMER OF ANTHROPOLOGY : By Durga Bhagwat. Distributors—Padma Publications Ltd. Bombay, Likhmi Building, Sir P. M. Road, Bombay. Pp. 47. Price Re. 1.

HOUSING INDIAN LABOUR : By Kanji Dwivedi. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay. Pp. 16. Price eight annas.

MARWARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE : Established 1900. Report of the Committee for the year 1946. Published by B. R. Mishra, Secretary, Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Imperial Bank Building, Burrabazar, Calcutta. 1947. Pp. 210.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT of the Radhasoami Satsang Sabha, Dayalbagh, Agra, 1947.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT for the year 1946-47 giving information regarding Dayalbagh Limited Companies etc.; Published by Dayalbagh Manufacturers' Trading Co., Ltd. Dayalbagh, Agra.

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD STUDIES : (1) Law Section, (2) Chemistry Section, (3) Zoology Section. Published by the Senate House, Allahabad 1946.

EXHIBITION OF ASIATIC ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (New Delhi, 23 March-2 April 1947) : Containing an Introductory note by R. C. Mortimer Wheeler, Director-General of Archaeology in India, Historical Notes (Part I) and Catalogue (Part II). Published by the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. Price four annas.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Clarity

The following is taken from a chapter of Rabindranath Tagore's *Panchabhut* as translated by Indira Devi Chaudhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Referring to a well-known English poet Sutaswin said, "I don't know why, but I don't like this poetry".

Dipti seconded her opinion more vigorously.

Samir does not as a rule openly contradict any woman. So he hesitated a little and said with a smile, "But many great critics place him in a very high rank".

"It is not necessary," said Dipti, "to have any critic's help in order to understand clearly that fire burns; it can be understood quite well with the tip of the little finger of one's own left hand. If I can't understand the goodness of good poetry similarly off-hand, then I don't think it necessary to read its criticism".

Samir was aware of the burning power possessed by fire, so he kept quiet; but poor Byom was innocent of any *savoir-faire* about these matters so he began to soliloquize out loud.

He said, "The mind of man outstrips him, very often one can't catch up with it".

Interrupting him Kshiti said, "In the *Treta Yuga* (the age following the *Satya* or Golden Age) the hundreds-of-miles-long tail of Master Hanuman used to far outstrip him; if a flea sat on its tip, then he had to set up a relay of horses in order to scratch it. The mind of man is longer than Human's tail, so sometimes he cannot reach it without the horse-relay of the critic. The difference between the tail and the mind is that the mind goes on ahead; while the tail is left behind that is why in this world the tail is so stultified and mind is so glorified".

When Kshiti had finished, Byom resumed, "The object of Science is to know, and the object of Philosophy is to understand; but things have so turned out that the knowing of Science and the understanding of Philosophy have become more difficult than all other knowing and understanding. What a lot of schools and books and apparatus have become necessary for the purpose. The object of Literature is to evoke joy, but it is not so easy to obtain that joy either;—various kinds of teaching and help are required for that also. That is why I was saying, the mind advances so rapidly that one has to use a ladder to reach it. If somebody says in a huff, that which can't be known without education is not Science, that which can't be understood without effort is not Philosophy and that which does not give joy without culture is not Literature, then he will have to lag far behind with traditional maxims, proverbs, and doggerels."

"Everything tends to become increasingly difficult in men's hands," said Samir. "Savages get excited by shouting anyhow, but it is our misfortune that we cannot be satisfied with anything short of music, which entails special practice and cultivation; worse luck still, one cannot even sing well without being taught. As a result, that which was once public property, gradually tends to become the private property of the practised performer. Everybody can shout, and every uncivilised man in the street can feel pleasantly excited by shouting; but every one can't sing, nor does everyone enjoy singing. Hence with the progress of society two distinct classes of initiated and uninitiated, connoisseurs and outsiders are being created."

Said Kshiti, "Poor man has been so created that the more he tries to adopt easy methods, the more entangled he becomes in difficulties. He invented machines in order to do his work easily but the machine itself is a highly intricate affair; he organized Science in order to arrange easily all our knowledge of Nature, but that very Science is difficult to master; Law was evolved in the process of trying to find an easy method of doing justice, but eventually a long-lived man is required to sacrifice three-fourths of his life in order to understand Law properly. Money was created as a means of easy exchange, but in the end the problem of money has become such a big problem that it defies any one to solve it. In attempting to simplify everything, man's learning and teaching, eating and drinking, enjoyment and amusement, everything has become hopelessly difficult.

"Poetry has also followed suit and become difficult", said Sutaswin, "Mankind has now become distinctly divided into two classes; now few are wealthy and many are poor; few are talented and many are talentless; now poetry also is not for the general public but for the select few. I understand all that. But the fact of the matter is that the particular poem which has given rise to the discussion is not at all difficult, there is nothing in it that even people like us can't understand, it is quite simple. So that if we don't like it, it is not the fault of our understanding".

Neither Kshiti nor Samir felt inclined to say anything after this. But Byom went on unblushingly, "Because a thing is simple, it doesn't follow that it is easy. Very often it is that which is most difficult, because it doesn't adopt any kind of trumpery means to explain itself; it remains standing quietly; if you don't understand it and go away, it does not tempt you back with any artifice. The distinctive quality of clarity is that it establishes a direct connection with the mind; it has no intermediary. But for those minds which cannot accept anything without the help of an intermediary, which have to be attracted by blandishments, clarity is extremely unintelligible. The clay *bhisti* (water-carrier), modelled by the craftsmen of Krishnagar, with its colouring and its water-skin and pose, readily finds its way into our mental senses and habits, but Greek statuary has no colours or postures, it is clear and absolutely effortless. But that is not to say that it is easily intelligible. Just because it disdains to attract by any contemptible outward trappings, it must possess all the more innate wealth of ideas."

"Bother your Greek statuary", said Dipti with marked annoyance. "We have heard a great deal about it, and if we live, we shall hear a great deal more. The worst of good things is that they always have to remain in the public eye, everybody talks about them, they have no covering, no veil; they don't need to be discovered, to be understood, to be observed carefully: one has only to hear and repeat stock phrases about them. Just as the sun should remain hidden behind the clouds sometimes, otherwise the splendour of the unclouded sun cannot be realised, so I think famous things should occasionally be obscured by the screen of neglect. It should be the fashion to slander Greek statues now and then, it should be demonstrated publicly that Chanakya is a better poet than Kalidasa. Otherwise it is becoming intolerable. However, that is by the way. What I want to say is, that very often rudeness of behaviour and poverty of ideas are mistaken to be the sign of excessive feeling,—one should also remember that."

I said, "In works of Art simplicity goes hand in hand

'with a high order of mental culture. Barbarity is not simplicity. Barbarity is largely attended by pomp and circumstance. Civilization is comparatively unadorned. Excessive ornamentation attracts the eye but repels the mind. Both in our Bengali newspapers and high class literature a lack of simplicity and moderation is evident. Everybody is fond of talking in too loud a voice and with too much gesticulation; nobody cares to express the truth clearly and without bombast, because a primeval barbarity still exists within us. If truth comes to us simply clothed, we cannot realise its depth and distinction. Unless the beauty of ideas is loaded with artificial jewellery and every kind of exaggeration, we do not give it its due appreciation."

"Moderation is one of the chief signs of courtesy," said Samir. "Well-bred people never advertise themselves blatantly by any kind of pushing and excess—they preserve their dignity through modesty and self-control. Very often fussiness and effusive manners seem more attractive to the ordinary run of people than well-controlled, dignified courtesy. But that is not the fault of courtesy,—it is the misfortune of ordinary people. Moderation in literature and behaviour is a sign of progress. Barbarity consists in the attempt to catch the eye by means of exaggeration."

I said, "I must be excused for using an English word or two. As in polite society, so in literary, there are manners but not mannerisms. No doubt good literature has a form and quality of its own, but that form does not specially strike the eye. It possesses a certain spirit, a certain influence, but not any extraordinary style. Very often for want of splashing waves on the surface, the inner perfection is lost sight of. Again, very often where there is no perfection, people are moved by the splashing of the waves, but let nobody, therefore, make the mistake that the plainness of perfection is easy and the gesticulating of shallowness is difficult."

Turning to Srotaswini I said, "Very often it is difficult to understand high class literature for this reason that the mind appreciates it, but it does not try to explain itself."

"I salute you", said Dipti, "We have learnt enough to-day. We shall never again proclaim our barbarity by expressing our opinion of high-brow literature to high-brow pundits."

Mentioning that English poet Srotaswini said, "However much you may argue and rail against us, I can't abide that author's poetry."

Party System in Britain

Its History and Characteristics

The strength of British parliamentary life lies in the fact that it combines the safeguarding of the citizens' full political rights of freedom with a really workable system of government. L. Roberts observes in *The Indian Review* :

The political parties are the instrument that makes this combination possible. Normally, it is the Cabinet itself (the wartime Coalition Government being a characteristic exception) that represents a majority party government holding office "under the ever critical eye of the minority—the Opposition. Although no limit is imposed on the number of parties, Britain's parliamentary system is based on the two-party system, the smaller parties either supporting the Government or the Opposition even if they also often pursue an independent path.

The names of the three great British political parties—Conservative, Liberal and Labour—have long since become part and parcel of everyday speech all

over the world. However, as hazy notions are often associated with these names of parties, it is well worth while saying a few words about their history and their peculiar characteristics.

At the present moment, the Government in Britain is representative of the Labour Party, which is not only by far the strongest party in Parliament but also the youngest of the three great parties. Let us deal first of all, with the two other older parties.

ORIGINS OF THE SYSTEM

The Conservatives are frequently called "Tories" and this name brings us straight back to the origins of the British party system. The Civil War of the 17th century was, in the main, a conflict between the King and the Parliament and it ended with a decisive victory for the latter. But this war left a permanent mark on parliamentary government in Britain: the political leaders who supported the cause of the Monarchy formed the "Tory" Party, whilst the champions of parliamentary authority were known as "Whigs."

For a long time the "Whigs" formed the majority until finally, as a reaction against the French Revolution of 1789, the "Tories" were brought into power. Both parties changed their names round about 1830, the "Tories" henceforth going by the name of "Conservatives" in order to show that they sought to preserve the Old Order whilst the "Whigs" took the name of "Liberals" in order to give expression to the fact that they advocated free progress.

The question of Royal Prerogative is no longer of any importance in the Parliamentary life of Britain and is thus in no way characteristic of the Conservative fundamental political creed. Although, as a matter of policy, the Conservatives cling most tenaciously to tradition, this Party has in the course of centuries changed very considerably—which is natural in such a living institution as the British parliamentary system.

OPPOSED TO NATIONALISATION

The defeat at the polls in 1945 gave the "Conservatives" a new part to play, for they now form the Opposition in a House in which Labour Members hold a clear majority. Some time elapsed before the Conservatives recovered from the shock of their defeat but they are now energetically engaged in using their position as opponents to the Labour Government as a means of infusing new life into their Party as well as giving sharper relief to the process of formulating their programme.

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This Party, accordingly, fights for a democratic system based on private ownership and initiative; it opposes nationalisation and the formation of State monopolies and they advocate a strengthening of the bonds uniting the member-States of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Whilst the Conservatives are led in the Lower House by such experienced parliamentarians and statesmen as Churchill and Eden, whose part in the Opposition in Britain's parliamentary life is so very important, energetic attempts are being made, at the same time, to stiffen up the party organisation and make it more effective. Lord Woolton, the Chairman of the Party who enjoyed universal popularity as Food Minister during World War II, is one of Britain's best organisers. He is endeavouring to enlist the co-operation of the younger generation of Conservatives in important tasks and to create an entry for the Party into the ranks of the working classes

EQUALITY OF RIGHT

The Liberal Party, once the great rival of the "Tories" has had to yield up this role to the Labour Party. The number of Liberal M.P.s. in the present House is very small and only amounts to 25. (if we disregard the various "shadings-off" of the Liberal Party) compared with nearly 200 Conservatives and over 400 Labour M.P.s.

The Liberals have, in a certain sense, fallen victim to their own ideas; their belief in the equality of the right of every individual, whether man or woman, to personal liberty has become so generally established in Britain within the last 100 years that their programme has, in part, lost its combative quality. The Liberal Party has, furthermore, suffered more than any other of its fellows since World War I from division within its ranks. On one side there was a strong movement of its members towards the Conservatives, whilst the other section fell victim to the Labour Party. But this does not mean that henceforward, the Liberals may not be a strong spiritual force in Britain, for the great inheritance of such men as Gladstone, Asquith and Lloyd George still lives on.

The old Liberal ideas that everything is measured in terms of man, that every human being must have freedom and independence to dispose of his own destiny provided, in so doing, he does not prejudice his fellow-man's rights to freedom—these ideas have, within the last 30 or 40 years, been developed still further by the idea of "economic freedom" based on "social security." The leading position occupied in the Liberal Party today by Lord Beveridge together with Lady Violet Bonham Carter (Asquith's daughter) and Lady Megan (Lloyd George's daughter) is characteristic of this development.

LABOUR—A YOUNG PARTY

Today, the Labour Party in the Lower House has a safe and comfortable majority—400 out of 640 M.P.s. and the Labour Government in office under the leadership of Attlee can rely exclusively on its own strength for carrying out its policy. It is the first time that "Labour" has an absolute majority in Parliament, for, the Party is young and has within less than 60 years been borne to power on a wave of success.

The Labour Party came into existence round about 1900 as a not very clearly defined Socialist group and its representation in Parliament under the leadership of Keir Hardie occupied the position of a diminutive Opposition. The Party only received its present form in 1918 and now, as before, its strength rests above all on the support it receives from the Trades Unions: not unjustly has it been called the "political arm of the Unions." This does not, however, mean that the Labour Party is dominated by the Unions or that

these act like a closed circle within the Party.

The policy of the Labour Party is laid down in its annual conference in which all the associated organisations—the Trades Union naturally included—express their views and, by their votes, support or attack decisions of policy. At the present moment, the Labour Party is, without doubt, the best organised and most strongly disciplined of all parties in Britain: it has more than 700,000 individual members and further to this more than 3,000,000 trades unionists are associated members of the Party paying their membership into the Party funds. Today, in addition to the working-class, the Party derives strong support from both the middle and the intellectuals.

The Imitation of Christ

"A Devotee of Christ" writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The Imitation of Christ is universally considered second only to the Bible among Christian writings. It is a cherished treasure of instruction and inspiration for all who follow the way of the spirit, and is a vivid commentary upon life itself. Needless to say such a book must have been written by one who knew whereof he spoke. "Written, perhaps, is not the proper word," said Swami Vivekananda in the preface to his Bengali translation, "It would be more appropriate to say that each letter of the book is marked deep with the heart's blood of the great soul who had renounced all for this love of Christ." The Swami said further, "The spirit of humanity, the pining of the distressed soul, the best expression of *Dasya Bhakti* (devotion as servant) will be found imprinted on every line of this great book, and the reader's heart will be profoundly stirred by the author's thoughts of burning renunciation, marvellous surrender and deep sense of dependence on the will of God."

The Imitation of Christ was generally ascribed to Thomas a Kempis, who for seventy years lived as monk in a Dutch monastery. The claim that he was the author rested on the fact that in Brussels is an autograph copy of *The Imitation* ending thus: "Finished and completed in the year of our Lord 1441 by the hand of brother Thomas van Kempen, at mount Saint Agnes, near Zwolle."

Thomas a Kempis, who entered the monastery at the age of thirteen and knew not the world beyond its walls, lived a peaceful and uneventful life. The greater part of his time must have been spent in scriptorium, where he transcribed the Roman Missal and also the entire Bible in four folio volumes. He wrote, among other things, a chronicle of the monastery and biographies of its founders and their disciples. As master of novices he was

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employed in teaching the younger members of the community. However, we know very few of the details of his inner life.

But from the very fifteenth century when *The Imitation of Christ* appeared in its many versions, there were doubts whether Thomas a Kempis was the actual writer of the book, and in course of time the literature on the problem of its authorship grew too extensive for any man to read in one lifetime. Gradually, however, the names of other possible authors were eliminated and Thomas a Kempis became and remained until quite recently the only contestant in the field. Catholics and Protestants united in gratitude to raise a monument to him in the Church of Saint Michael at Zwolle. Nevertheless in 1911, when the Dean of Zwolle mentioned the subject of the authorship to Pope Pius X, the Holy Father declared emphatically that he did not believe Thomas a Kempis to be the writer—perhaps as Pope he had access to information denied to others.

Whatever that may have been, a new light was thrown on the problem in 1921, when an old manuscript was discovered in the library of Lubek in northern Germany a manuscript that for centuries had lain unnoticed among others belonging to the Sisters of the Common Life. It was entitled, *Admonitions Concerning Interior Things*, and was written in Netherlandish. A study of its six chapters convinced scholars that it was the original of the second and fourth Books of the *The Imitation of Christ*, also, that its author was Gerard Groote, the courageous and devoted founder of the Renaissance order known as the Brethren of the Common Life and its counterpart for women, and the father of the teaching known as the 'Modern Devotion.'

Further research made it evident that the other Books of *The Imitation of Christ* were also based on the original works of Groote, and that Thomas a Kempis, because of his great knowledge of Latin, had been employed by the Brethren of the Common Life to translate the Books into that language. In so doing he took certain liberties with the text. Although he kept the first Book intact, he converted the second Book into the second and fourth, adding several chapters of his own and he edited the third Book to some degree.

The Imitation of Christ, as Groote wrote it originally, is divided into three parts: Book One, 'Admonitions very Useful for a Spiritual Life;' Book Two, 'Admonitions Concerning Interior Things,' which has three divisions: 'Of Interior Conversations,' 'Of the Interior Discourse of Christ to the Faithful Soul,' and 'Of Interior Consolation' and finally, Book Three, 'Devout Admonitions for Approaching Holy Communion.' These Books, each with its many chapters, were composed by Groote at different times and under different circumstances. They may be rightly considered faithful reflections of his spiritual moods, convictions, struggles, and experiences, revealing his progress to God through the three stages described in Christian mysticism as the 'purgative,' the 'illuminative,' and the 'unitive' ways.

The reason why the compilation was permitted to go out under the name of the translator and editor rather than that of the true author will appear when we consider the life of Gerard Groote. At the time Thomas a Kempis undertook the task of translation (1424) more and more imperfect copies under false names were circulating all over Europe, and so we are indebted to the industrious monk for providing a fairly reliable version of Groote's spiritual masterpiece.

Who was Gerard Groote, this extraordinary man, who could produce a work of such magnitude and whom Swami Vivekananda called "that great soul, whose words, living and burning, have cast such a spell for the last four hundred years over the hearts of myriads of men and women; whose influence to-day remains as strong as

ever and is destined to endure for all time to come; before whose genius and Sadhana (spiritual discipline) hundreds of crowned heads have bent down in reverence; and before whose matchless purity the jarring sects of Christendom have sunk their differences of centuries in common veneration to a common principle?" Biographical material is available, but even if it were not, *The Imitation of Christ* would throw much light upon Groote's inner life upon his spiritual experiences, struggles, and growth.

Gerard Groote, or Gerardus Magnus, was born in 1340 at Deventer in Gederland, in the diocese of Utrecht. As his parents were wealthy, he received a comprehensive education, beginning with the famous chapter school of Deventer and extending to the colleges of Aachen, Paris, Cologne, and Prague. He was one of the most learned men of his time, versed in philosophy, theology, canon law, medicine, astronomy, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

Later in his life, after his spiritual awakening, he was to write, "Trust not in thine own knowledge... but rather in the grace of God, who helpeth the humble and humbleth the proud," and "Please not thyself in the natural gifts or ability, lest thereby thou shouldest displease God, to whom appertaineth the good whatsoever thou hast by nature." But in the days of his ray and admittedly unrestrained youth, he rode the crest of the wave of world's popularity and success.

The townsmen of Deventer appreciated his sagacity even then, for when he was but twenty-six they sent him on a mission in the interests of the city to the court of Pope Urban V at Avignon. Shortly afterwards he was appointed professor of philosophy and theology at Cologne. Besides, he enjoyed two prebends, one at Utrecht and the other at Aachen, which increased his already substantial income.

By the time he was thirty, however, his brilliant mind awoke to the emptiness of earthly glory and turned to God in a way unknown to it during his long years of philosophical and theological study. He felt the necessity of following Christ in the way the Master would be followed and of despising all earthly vanities, among which he no doubt included theological dialectics and ecclesiastical honours. Appraising the calculation of theologians, he said that he would rather feel contrition than know how to define it. And he confessed that while formerly he had studied the scriptures to gain knowledge, he now read them to find the truths that would be helpful to his soul. He summed up what was to be the theme of his life in these words: "Whosoever then would fully and feelingly understand the words of Christ must endeavour to conform his life wholly to the life of Christ."

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On Literature

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Prof. P. S. Naidu brings the theories of Depth Psychology to bear upon the problem of why some types of writing are divisive and inflammatory and others helpful to world unity :

A work of literature, like any other form of fine art, is the product of a gifted mind struggling to express itself in this case through the medium of language. While literary criticism has handled with skill and success the medium of expression, it has failed to understand the mysteries of the structure of the mind which carves out of the medium pleasing and lasting forms. Let us, therefore, probe into this neglected aspect of higher literary criticism.

Modern Depth Psychology teaches us that the human mind at birth has a certain innate structure.

The elements of this structure are the primitive instincts and their concomitant emotions, such as fear, anger, parental love, sex-appeal, disgust, self-assertion, submission, acquisitiveness, curiosity, wonder etc. But, unlike a machine, the structure of mind which is living and dynamic grows and develops as the result of its intimate and inescapable contact with the social, biological and physical environment. This growth, contemporary psychology tells us, is through the formation of sentiments. For instance, when a small child is ill-treated by a bully, he may hit back but he soon finds retaliation futile. He is very angry with the bully, but he is also afraid of him. The two elementary emotions of fear and anger weave themselves round the bully and produce the sentiment of hatred.

As a human being is the centre of organisation of the sentiment, we call this mental product a concrete sentiment.

A few more examples of concrete sentiments will clarify our understanding of this mental process. When the two fundamental emotions of wonder and submission are organised round a person or a striking natural object such as a waterfall, we get *admiration* ; add fear to it, then *awe* is generated ; let the filial feeling be mingled with awe, it will yield *reverence*. Thus we see how the peculiar process of mental growth through the formation of sentiments proceeds.

And after concrete sentiments come abstract sentiments.

These are the result of the organisation of instincts, emotions and concrete sentiments round ideas and ideals. Some visible symbol may be present, such as the flag or the national anthem, at the core of the abstract sentiment (in this case of patriotism). But it is the non-material concept that is the centre of an abstract sentiment.

These sentiments, abstract and concrete, are usually many and varied in the mental structure of an individual, and they come into conflict with one another. In recent times in our country often the tender feeling for a beloved parent, child or life-partner has come into conflict with one's sense of duty to the country. These mental conflicts have to be resolved through the formation of a scale of sentiment values, a hierarchical arrangement of sentiments in a graded order. In such a graded scale, it goes without saying, there should be a *master-sentiment* in terms

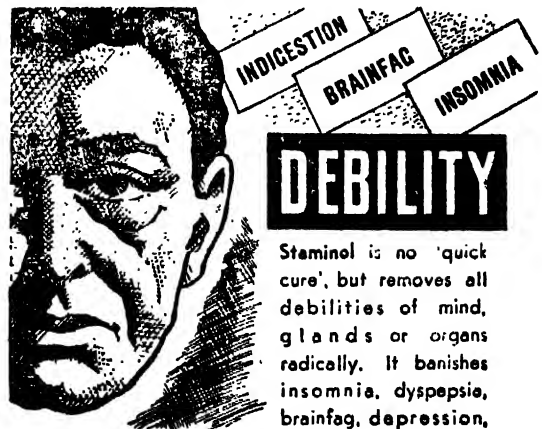
of whose supreme worth all other sentiments are evaluated. At the present moment, in the mind of many, the Nation, the State, or social service is the master-sentiment. But it will be readily admitted that Love of the Supreme and the intense aspiration to be one with It should be the sovereign sentiment for human beings seeking to realise the highest and the best within themselves. This, however, is a question with which we are not concerned now.

One or two features of the mental dynamics of sentiment-organisation merit our attention. One is that the mind must express itself.

I have touched on this point already. Literature is one of the forms which the expression of mental structure may take. The other feature is known in psychological language as "Sympathetic Induction." Our minds are all built of the same stuff. Hence, not surprisingly, both elementary emotions and more advanced and cultured sentiments have a tendency to reproduce themselves in other minds.

Literature is a very powerful force for this mental induction, which holds the secret of the aesthetic joy which we experience in reading or witnessing a great tragedy, although it may portray suffering and human degradation. Literary critics in the West as well as in the East have attempted in vain to explain this strange phenomenon of "enjoyment" of the painful. The secret lies in the capacity of the *Sahridaya* to catch and recreate in his own mind the joy which the author experienced in producing the tragedy. In other words it consists in reproducing in our own mind the great sentiment in the mind of the author which found expression in the masterpiece of literary art.

Let us turn to our main problem.



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If we examine the works of literature which have universal appeal we find that many of them are the expressions of the fundamental emotions shared by all human beings.

Consider for a moment what a tremendous present appeal all over the world a novel, a short story or a poem will have which portrays the pangs of hunger. The food instinct is universal. Similarly poems, dramas and stories woven round parental feeling, fear or assertion will have a universal appeal.

If we pass from the lowest level of primitive emotions to the next higher, namely, concrete sentiments, here again we find remarkable identity of patterning in the minds of different nationalities and races. The great literary works dealing with romantic love, pure friendship, valour, selfless devotion to a master, are all built on more or less the same pattern and appeal readily to nations widely differing in their *Weltanschauung*. Which people is there that will not respond to the sublime appeal of *Sakuntalam*, of *Damon and Pythias* or of *Sohrab and Rustum*?

Trouble arises when we ascend to the next level of abstract sentiments, for it is here that man's mind first begins to forsake its earthly attachments and seeks to discover its true nature. One of the methods adopted for self-discovery is self-identification with the nation, the State or the religious creed or dogma. Literature violently patriotic or sectarian is a fruitful source of trouble. There is a deep-seated reason for this. While man is fairly certain of himself and his feeling at the level of the primitive emotions and concrete sentiments, he is on rather slippery ground on the level of abstract sentiments. There is danger of his being swept off his feet here. So the unconscious defends him in his weak holdings. And is not attack the best form of defence? So, literature expressive of the unripe abstract sentiments is often certainly a dividing force.

Biological Concepts

The history of scientific advance is littered with discarded theories and hypotheses, but the leading concepts of science are less numerous and more stable. In the course of an article on Biological Concepts in *Science and Culture* Bhupendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya observes :

Empiricism, which is the true opposite of science and which consists in using the results of observation and experience without attempting seriously to understand their true meaning, forms laws and theories to be discarded eventually on the shedding of a new ray of light from science. But the concepts of science are the sure foundation of a different attitude which is termed scientific.

Scientific advancement proceeds from scientific concepts. Aristotle's conception of fixed and quite distinct species was prevalent among the biologists of the Linnean period; and, the descriptive phase of Botany was thus characterized by a desire to know, classify and record as many species of plant as possible, and add to that by new collections from all the ends of the earth. As long as the concept of fixed species remained predominant in the minds of the scientists, such collection and description yielded useful results, and satisfied the urge to know the unknown. But with the advent of the Darwinian period, it became increasingly difficult for such a static notion to hold the absorbing attention of the scientific mind. Instead of taking the existing species of plants and animals for granted, it was necessary to probe into their origin

and development. The problem of descent, which included the construction of phylogenetic system, became the chief aim of the phyletic period of Botany. The new concept gave a dynamic outlook, and the old habit of viewing things with a static gaze was abandoned for good.

Only correct concept can raise science from the level of magic, by its elaboration into scientific theories and principles, and distinguishing scientific operations from magical rites. Primitive agriculture of the people of ruder culture for instance, has its strictly scientific aspects; but the whole operation is so much mixed up with pseudo-religious faiths and superstitious beliefs, due to the lack of a reliable concept, that their agricultural activity appears more magical than scientific. Indeed, no one would regard an appeal to the supernatural as strictly scientific. For, the object of science is to give rational account of things, not to invoke inscrutable, *ad hoc* powers to explain them away.

Mere examination of facts and search for utility leads nowhere. It is the desire for an explanation that gives science the impetus to take its first step towards concept-building.

Chemistry acquired its concepts about two hundred years ago and since then has gone ahead. Before that, it had been a tool in the hands of the alchemists, to play frauds with. The notion of chemical substance as something possessing a number of specific properties came fairly late in the history of chemistry. Thus, if one specific property is found to be changed, the rest are changed also; and this can only be possible through a chemical process, involving conversion of one substance into another substance or substances. Again, things may be physically homogeneous and yet chemically heterogeneous. Given these notions, but not till then, real chemistry can begin. The notion of chemical substance is not self-evident, nor can it be gathered from general physical consideration any more than the notion of what constitutes a species of plant can be arrived at from the popular idea of 'pot-herbs.' In fact, the evidence of general observation is against specific properties and in favour of transmutation. There was no reason, therefore, why one should not expect to turn a lead into gold; it was only a matter of changing one property, viz., the colour, just as one can change water into vapour or ice, or a man into a fascist or communist. Lacking the necessary notion, "Newton could acquiesce in statements such as that water even when redistilled several times leaves a residue on evaporation, or that mercury at ordinary temperatures may be solid or liquid." But given the notion, such statements become impossible.

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Take, for instance, the concept of organic evolution; Darwin did not invent it any more than Hitler invented racial hatred; the speculative Greeks had already suggested such a possibility hundreds of years before Darwinism came into being. In fact, the Hindu doctrine of 'Karma' and 'Rebirth' savours of an evolutionary idea. What Lamarck and Darwin tried to do was to explain evolutionary tendencies in the organic world as best as they could, and formulate theories to embody their explanations. We no longer agree with Lamarck that characters acquired by the conscious effort of the individual are inherited, or with Darwin that Natural Selection by itself is sufficient to explain evolution. Modern genetical biology no longer accepts Weismann's Germ-cell theory in the form in which the author stated it, nor does it subscribe to the time-honoured distinction between inherited and acquired characteristics. But about the fundamental notion of evolution, that is to say, that the organisms now living are descended from ancestors from whom they differ very considerably, there is a singularly universal agreement among Biologists.

The theories of evolution change, but the evolutionary concept which throws these theories up from time to time remains.

Yet, the leading concepts of science are not immutable permanent acquisitions. They too change, but change less frequently and more fundamentally, and often with devastating results. The notion of geocentric universe was explained by Copernicus, evoking great hostility from the Church; Darwin struck at the root of the idea of "Special Creation" and created a great commotion; abiogenesis gave way to biogenesis; Pavlov's conditioned reflexes have thrown a new light upon the relation of mind and body, and compelled us to reconsider the question of free-will; Einstein's relativity has altered our conception of the nature of time and space, while Planck's quanta have revolutionized our idea of energy and matter; and we are now asked to revise our opinion about ether in the light of Michelson-Morley experiment.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Imperialism and the Indian Army

In an article in the *Labour Monthly*, edited by R. Palme Dutt, Neil Stewart shows how the policy of communal distinction has been consistently applied to the whole of India for about two hundred years by British Imperialism in respect of the Indian Army as well as in the civil administration of the country :

European domination over India has been in the past maintained more by the use of Indian troops than British. In the wars of conquest of the 18th century, the frontier wars against the Sikhs and the Afghans, in the Mutiny, in the conquest of Burma and in the innumerable little struggles in and near India, it has been the Indian Army rather than the European troops of the Honourable Company, or the Regiments of the Line, which has been the predominating factor. This was frankly expressed by Sir John Malcolm Governor of Bombay, in 1832 :

"Our Eastern Empire has been required, and must be maintained by the sword. It has no foundation, and is not capable of having any, that can divest it of that character ; and if the local army of India but above all the native branch, is not preserved in a condition which, while it maintains its efficiency preserves its attachment, to commercial, fiscal or judicial systems we may improve or introduce, can be of permanent benefit." (Quoted in the *Eden Report*, 1884).

The task of the military and civil leader, therefore, was to maintain the loyalty of the army. The Mutiny was a terrible lesson ; it was taken to heart and minutely analysed by the Peel Commission of 1859 and twenty years later by the Eden Commission. The mass of evidence taken by these commissions showed how the Mutiny had been made easy by the fact that caste and religious differences in the old Bengal Army had been smoothed away. A pro-British Moslem commentator on the Mutiny recorded as follows what had taken place :

"Government certainly did put the two antagonistic races in the same regiments but consistent intercourse had done its work, and the two races in regiments had become one. It is but natural and to be expected that a feeling of fellowship and brotherhood must spring up between men of a regiment, constantly brought together as they are. They consider themselves as one body, and thus it was that the differences which exist between Hindus and Mohammedans had, in these regiments been almost entirely smoothed away."

"If a portion of a regiment engaged in anything, all the rest joined. If separate regiments of Hindus and separate regiments of Mohammedans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood would not have arisen." (*The Causes of the Indian Revolt*. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Calcutta, 1873).

There were many who saw that British rule depended upon maintaining the existing divisions among the Indians. One of the most brilliant and able British soldiers in India, General Sir Charles Napier, wrote only a few years before the Mutiny :

"The moment these brave and able natives learn how to combine they will rush on us simultaneously and the game will be up." (*Life of General Sir Charles Napier*. W. N. Bruce, London, 1885).

The opinions of a number of personalities famous in British-Indian history were offered to the Peel Commission with a view to demonstrating that communal divisions were the basis of British safety in India. Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, wrote in a Minute (14th May, 1859) presented to the Commission :

"But suppose the whole native troops to be formed into one grand army, the component parts of each regiment being as heterogeneous as possible, and suppose some cause of discontent to arise which affects all castes alike the danger would undoubtedly be far greater than that which overtook us last year."

"I have long ago considered this subject, and I am convinced that the exact converse of this policy of assimilation is our only safe military policy in India. *Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours."

With a neat simile Lord Elphinstone compared the policy for ruling India with the watertight compartments of a boat :

"The safety of the great iron steamers which are adding so much to our military power and which are probably destined to add still more to our commercial superiority, is greatly increased by building them in compartments I would ensure the safety of our Indian Empire by constituting our native army on the same principle : for this purpose I would avail myself of those divisions of race and language which we find ready to hand."

The military leaders were in complete accord with this point of view. A memorandum by an old Sepoy officer Major-General Sir H. T. Tucker also envisaged the encouragement of caste and religious differences as the most helpful solution :

"The strong necessity which exists for so dividing and separating into distinct bodies the different nationalities and castes the rulers in our Eastern Dominions may deem it safe to entertain in our armies, so as to render them as little dangerous as possible to the state."

"The introduction of other elements would be advisable . . . anything, in short to divide and so neutralise the strength of the 'castes and nationalities' which compose our armies in the East."

A Minute by the Chief of Staff in India Sir W. R. Mansfield, advocated not merely communal division, but communal antagonism as the main contribution to better control :

"I am strongly of the opinion that Mussalmans should not be in the same company or troop with Hindoos or Sikhs and that the two latter should not be mingled together. I would maintain even in the same regiment all differences of faith with the greatest care. There might be rivalry or even hatred between two companies or troops."

"The discipline of a native regiment, instead of being impaired would gain by it, as regards the greater question of the obedience of the whole to the commanding officer. The motto of the regimental com-

mandar in chief must be for the future *Divide et Impera*."

"Divide and rule" was the policy freely and openly accepted by the leading military and civil personalities in India. The Earl of Ellenborough, Governor-General of India from 1841 to 1844, also advocated this policy in a Minute to the Peel Commission:

"The fewer elements of combination there are in the native army the better; and therefore the more nationalities and castes and religions, the more secure we shall be."

The evidence before the Peel Commission echoed the report of the Punjab Committee of 1858, which was composed by three men famous in the history of British India, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Neville Chamberlain and Sir Herbert Edwards. It said:

"As we cannot do without a large native army in India, our main object is to make that army safe; and next to the grand counterpoise of a sufficient European force comes the counterpoise of Natives against Natives."

"It is found that different races mixed together do not long preserve their distinctiveness; their corners and angles and feelings and prejudices get rubbed off, until at last they assimilate and the object of their association to a considerable extent is lost."

"To preserve that distinctiveness which is so valuable and which, while it lasts, makes the Muhammadan of one country despise, fear or dislike the Muhammadan of another, corps should in future be provincial, and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked."

"By the system thus indicated two great evils are avoided; firstly that community of feeling throughout the native army, and that mischievous political activity and intrigue which results from association with other races and travel in Indian provinces."

A more clear and frank case for the encouragement of communal strife could hardly be made out.

The result of the Peel Commission was that the balance between Indian and British troops, and between the various races in India, was in future carefully kept. There were 60,000 British to 140,000 Indian troops. All scientific arms and personnel of arsenals and depots were British. A number of Gurkhas were recruited whose antagonism towards the Indians was known. Brigades were formed with two British, one Indian and one Gurkha battalion, thus ensuring that the number of fighting troops (including the artillery, the predominant arm of the 19th century battlefield) were British or Gurkha.

The recruiting of Gurkhas had been advocated before the Mutiny by General Sir Charles Napier, when Commander-in-Chief. He wrote:

"The Gurkha will be faithful, and for low pay we can enlist a large body of troops whom our best officers consider equal in courage to European troops. Even as a matter of economy this will be good; but the great advantage of enlisting these hill-men will be that with 30,000 or 40,000 Gurkhas added to the 30,000 Europeans, the possession of India will not depend on opinion, but on an army able with ease to overthrow any combination among Hindoos or Mohammedans or both." (*Life of General Sir Charles Napier*. W. N. Bruce, London, 1885).

The next examination of Indian Army organisation was by the Eden Committee, which met in 1879, and whose report was published in 1884. It approved the continuance of the caste and religious divisions of the Army:

"Our desire is to maintain the great national divisions of the army. . . . The armies of India should be divided into four complete and distinct bodies, to be called army corps, so distributed that they shall be deprived, as far as possible, of community of national sentiment and interest, and so organised, recruited and constituted as to act in time of excitement and disturbance as checks each upon the other." (p. 30).

This policy had already been borne out by the Mutiny, when the armies of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, helped by the irregulars from the Punjab, which had all previously kept separate from each other, fought against the mutineers. The Commission came to the conclusion that in the Bengal Army the policy of "divide and rule" was not being correctly put into practice:

"At the present time the Sikh and the Poorbia, the Mussalman from the Punjab and of Oudh, serve side by side in all parts of the vast and ill-defined tract called the Bengal Presidency. . . .

"The natural consequences are that the distinctive characteristics of the soldiers, both in creed and nationality, tend to amalgamate, and thus a common feeling is stimulated which might dangerously unite them to a common end." (p. 32).


The advice of the Commission was to divide the Bengal Army into two halves, each separate and distinct, so as to prevent any possible recurrence of the Mutiny:

"In working out the details of the proposed division of the army, our main object has been to define the territorial formation of the Army of India with due regard to the great principle of *divide et impera*." (p. 38).

The Moslems had been considered the most savagely anti-British element in the Mutiny, while the Hindus were considered the least seditious. Therefore, while there were a few all-Hindu units, there were no

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all-Moslem units, and the majority of infantry battalions and cavalry regiments were made up of the different religions. An infantry battalion might have one Punjabi Moslem, one Sikh and two Hindu companies. The Hindus would usually be of different castes or races, such as Jats, Dogras, Brahmins, Kumaons or Rajputs. A number of Pathans and other Moslems from the North-West Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas were also recruited as an offset to the Moslems from the Punjab. The India Army, though extremely efficient as a fighting force, if not in its higher administration, was a body of separate little communities, each having little contact with the other, and the whole welded together by British officers.

Urdu was the common language in which orders were given. As Urdu, or some similar language, is spoken by the majority of Indians, the language problem did not present any difficulty.

The organisation of the Indian Army upon communal lines was not just a phase of 19th century politics. It was carried on up to the present day, except when emergency or necessity enforced a change. It is noticeable that where caste or religious barriers are not recognised, as in the Royal Indian Navy, the situation that led to the Indian Mutiny arose once more and Moslem and Hindu united.

Communal distinction in the army is, in fact, a reflection of the consistent policy which has been applied to the whole of India and which has successfully held it under European rule for close on two hundred years. The encouragement of communal distinction in the army has been paralleled by the encouragement of communal distinction among civilians; this is "the great system of *divide et impera*" whose result has been the present political deadlock and the terrible massacres of Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab.

Indians in Trinidad and British Guiana

In the Editorial Notes on Trinidad and British Guiana, Anup Singh observes in *The Voice of India*, the monthly organ of the National Committee for Indian Freedom:

I have just returned from a ten-days' trip to Trinidad and British Guiana. For a number of years I had hoped to visit these regions, and to know something about the large number of Indians who reside there, and to learn something about the problems that confront these Colonial areas. The hope was finally realised, though I regret that my visit was of necessity all too short.

Indians were brought to these parts a little over a hundred years ago as indentured laborers for the sugar plantations. They all hoped to save a little money and return home at the expiry of their contracts, or else to become owners of small patches of free land that were promised them. Unfortunately these hopes were never realised and the promises were never honored. And they were compelled to drag on their dreary, dismal existence, under revolting and inhuman economic conditions, bullied, harassed and exploited by task-masters not burdened with any social conscience. Eventually some of these people, by super-human efforts, managed to break away from this servitude and to strike out on their own. The Canadian Missionaries provided them with some education. Some of these pioneers, their grit and native intelligence thus fortified with education, made their mark in the economic life of the countries. Today you can find the sons and grandsons of these early pioneers as lawyers, teachers, officers, doctors and business men. The present position of these men, their progress from such humble beginnings, stands as a living tribute not only to their own abilities but to the fine qualities of their pioneer ancestors.

In Port of Spain, Trinidad, and in Georgetown, British Guiana, the educated Indians have established India Clubs. These clubs occupy magnificent buildings, with reading rooms where members find Indian newspapers and books. Evenings of Indian music and dance and private showings of Indian moving pictures are also given. Not only are the India Clubs fine tributes to the spirit of the Indians but they also raise the prestige of the Indian community.

But the vast majority of the Indians still suffer from degrading poverty and live under conditions reminiscent of the worst slums of Indian cities. I saw girls and boys of ten and thirteen working in the plantations for 12 hours for a mere pittance. I saw



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families of eight and ten herded together like animals in a one-room shack without any furniture. I found them living on rice and dal. Meat and milk were luxuries beyond their reach. No wonder they are the victims of all sorts of diseases.

The Indians and the Negroes are the two largest communities in Trinidad and British Guiana. I detected among some Negroes an undercurrent of resentment and jealousy against the success of some Indians, and over the fact that socially and culturally the Indians do not identify themselves with the Negroes. And the growing Negro nationalism and the drive for a federation of all the West Indies, tends somewhat to accentuate this tension between the Indian and Negro communities. I was told however, that the Indians fully co-operate with the Negroes in all the major economic and political issues that face these areas.

I found the Indians everywhere looking to their Mother Country for moral and spiritual inspiration. Through newspapers and even more through movies, they keep in touch with the trends and thought currents in India. Through religious instruction by the Pandits and the Mullahs they are rediscovering for themselves their ancient heritage.

Yet, although these people—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, cling so desperately to their ancient cultural background, it is interesting to note that there has never been any lack of harmony between the different religious groups. Love of the Mother Country binds together these uprooted sons and daughters of India. At the mere mention that the land of their birth is now practically a free country, they invariably burst out with thunderous applause, as they did also at Gandhiji's and Nehru's names. During the Bengal famine these people sent to India around \$70,000 as a token of their deep concern for the plight of India's. The visit of someone from India makes their faces positively glow. They turn out by thousands from far and near and shower upon the visitor their unbounded love and affection expressed through addresses of welcome, garlanding, songs, etc. They urged me over and over again to prevail upon Mr. Asaf Ali, India's first Ambassador to the United States, to pay them a visit.

I have returned with the conviction that the antiquated Colonial system which holds these areas in its grip and retards economic and political progress, must be ended. I see no prosperity, no large-scale economic reforms, unless and until the vast holdings of absentee owners are broken up and individuals are established on small independent holdings. I have returned with the hope that some day very soon some international commission sponsored by the U. N. O. will look into the social and economic problems of these parts of the world and make them world issues. I find co-operation among different communities absolutely essential for the future of these countries. I have suggested the convening of a conference representative of all the West Indies for the discussion of their common problems, as I suggested also that their representatives should explore the possibility of bringing their problems to the cognizance of the U. N. O. and establishing contacts with the leaders of other Colonial people.

As for the Indians, I feel that their worst days are over. Though distant from the Mother Country, with her they have come into their own. And from now on they can count upon a free and valiant India.

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তত্ত্ববোধী প্রভিন্স চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত

(সচিত্র ও যত্ন) **শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী** ॥

অঙ্গল, কালক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, দুর্গাবি এবং রক্তচন্দ্রের সরল আরাধনা ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্প্রদায়িক বিধিক 'চণ্ডী' বিধিক বহুল জাতক্য বিবরণিতে ও বর্ণনামূলক দোকুমেন্ট প্রসঙ্গ।

শ্রীশ্রীসত্যনারায়ণপূজা ও কথা ... ১/১০

শ্রীশ্রীশনিপূজা ও কথা ... ১/১০

শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ১/১০ **ত্রিসংখ্যা** ১০

প্রাতিষ্ঠান—ইউনাইটেড ইন্ডিয়ান বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশক
বিকট—১১-১২ আগার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকতা।

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NOTES

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The fateful day has come and gone with all its pomp and pageantry and the vast upsurge of popular emotion. Today the Indian can proudly lift his head and take his place in the Comity of Nations as a Freeman with a Fatherland that he can call his own and a Flag that is a true symbol of the culmination of his dreams of independence. Speeches there have been many as well as pledges of service and oaths of allegiance to the Fatherland and its nationals. Some of the speeches have been inspiring, others stereotyped. Time alone will show whether the inspiration was of the moment only or whether it came from the deep and sincere passions that pulsed in the heart of the speakers. The pledges and oaths of fealty and service, likewise, remain yet to be proven before their intrinsic worth is established.

We have worked and fought for independence and self-determination for all these long years. Vast have been the sacrifices, in lives, suffering and treasure, before the world became aware of the fight that was in progress. But in spite of all that, we must confess that we got our freedom cheap. The World was in ferment, through the Battle of the Giants of the power-crazy West, and so the wheels of the gods started moving, slow and sure, and out of that movement came the Freedom of India. And now that this Freedom is here it is for us to justify the existence of the Union of India in a free world.

It is time now that our leaders, in whose hands the nation has entrusted the helm of the State, realized the weight of the responsibilities that are on their shoulders. Too many of them have been behaving so far like the nephew of the novels who has been left a million pounds by a colonial uncle. They must understand that it is they who have taken an oath and a pledge to serve a free people, and it is not that the people have signed a bond to serve new masters. We have to make this point because the news from Delhi go to indicate that the political fancy fair is still on there, and thousands are still thronging the haunts of the "mighty" for a chance for a lucky dip in the tubs containing soft jobs and fat contracts. It is about

time that this disgraceful job and contract hunting came to an end. The Cabinet Ministers at Delhi must realize that they have not come to the happy end of the journey where they could live happily for ever and distribute largesse to all and sundry, without discrimination and without any thought of costs. The chapter of the story of the Indian nation that opened on the 15th of August, 1947, is on the contrary, likely to prove full of complicated problems and serious tribulations, which might lead to dire consequences unless the Cabinet became fully aware of the gravity of the situation. The Cabinet must, therefore, be rid of all inefficient and contrary elements, of which there is still a good few left. Let "cushy jobs" be found for them, if this present unrealistic face-saving gesture must be persisted in, where they cannot do any mischief while enjoying a totally undeserved return for the services they are supposed to have rendered to the nation.

It is high time, indeed, that an appraisal was made in all seriousness as to how and where does the Union of India stand. If we cast up a profit and loss account, perhaps, then the equanimity of some of us would be rudely disturbed. It is true that on the profit side we must put Independence, which would outweigh all costs and all losses. But we must not forget that this independence has only been gained for a part of India, for the Union of India today is not what the India of yesterday was. A large slice has been cut away and given to a party that neither fought for freedom nor ever opposed the Imperialist. British wiles and British brains worked for them and thanks to the pusillanimity, bent for appeasement, and inexperience in diplomacy of our leaders, the British succeeded in dividing India. This division has created new frontiers with endless complications, and has further sown the Dragon's Teeth, for the re-subjugation of the Indian people, if not by the British, then by some other power.

Are our leaders aware of this sinister fact? If indeed they were alert and alive about the implications of the present chaotic conditions, then they would set about strengthening the Centre, getting rid of the free-map,

the sluggards and the crafty self-seekers. They would start a move for rectifying the inter-provincial fissiparous tendencies and the intra-provincial feuds that are threatening to disrupt the Union. But as yet we see no signs of such a move. In any state which has new frontiers imposed on it by extraneous forces, if the State is in the hands of sane men, the first and invariable move is to reinforce the defences by augmenting the resources of the people of the frontiers and to see that they become a source of strong resistance against aggression. We can therefore question the Cabinet at the Centre about their plans for East Punjab and West Bengal. Do they want these areas to crumple up or secede? What is the position of the Punjabi and the Bengali in the Union of India? Only the other day, *after the Birth of a Free India* an article appeared in the *Searchlight* of Patna, which for venom and scurrilousness surpassed anything that has yet appeared in the South African papers about the Indian in that country. And this in a Congress province and in a so-called Congress paper owned by the Birlas! This incident, we know, will not disturb Rajendra Babu's sleep or the tranquillity of the other members of the Cabinet but other affairs might, before long, since the leaders of that province are fast approaching the record of Bengal under the League. We would not, in case, however, lay any stress on this merry game of Bengali-baiting that is being carried on in Bihar and Orissa, for it is an old practice and in the past it pleased the British masters of those provinces and thereby brought both profit and amusement to the baiters. And for all, we know, it will do so under the new masters. The Bengali must learn the lesson of provincialism in full and act in accordance with the code of Moses, otherwise he will get no redress anywhere, for as yet we do not see that the Congress has reversed its dictum "let Bunglal perish."

Let, by all means, West Bengal and East Punjab perish, by piecemeal dismemberment and by continuous persecution, from both the so-called friend and the open foe. But does that solve the problem of the frontiers of the Union of India? As matters stand, Eastern Pakistan has been brought right up to the Katihar area of East Bihar. The largest Muslim pocket in Bihar is within that region and therefore the seed of discord has been well-sown by the wily Britisher. In the Punjab likewise a well-planned spear-head has been emplaced where it would hurt and weaken the Union most.

Let us not fool ourselves. The Radcliffe Award in the Boundary Commission was a well-planned move, in line with the past acts of black treachery and malice aforethought, that went to build the British Empire in India. We know there are people who are fools enough to swallow the ancient British "dope" that an award that satisfies nobody must be a fair award. Fair award fersooth! When the person that makes an award manufactures arguments that never were in existence, when he enunciates principles to suit the purposes of "A" and deliberately breaches the same to deprive "B," when his award runs counter

to the time-honoured principles of justice and equity as practised in all democratic lands, we must yet call his award just, or at the most say that he scamped his job, just because the other party raised a routine howl of protest, as per the scheduled plan!

Radcliffe says the first question was, "Who should have Calcutta?" We ask, whence did this question arise, since Calcutta is a city in West Bengal, overwhelmingly non-Muslim in population and surrounded on all sides by non-Muslim majority areas, the Muslim interest in Calcutta being 23.5 per cent of the population of 3.5 per cent of the holdings, providing 6.25 per cent of the rates only? Then he enunciates the principle that, "Whoever gets Jessore district gets Khulna district also," without giving any reason whatsoever as to why, how or wherefore of this argument, the question of natural boundaries being totally ignored by him, and not being in support of this dictum either. Then he enunciates the principle of "compensatory allotment" in order to give control of a railway in the Sylhet district to the Muslims of East Bengal, while splitting up that district between Assam and East Bengal. And he totally violates that principle—which is of his own manufacture—in North Bengal in order to deprive West Bengal of all railway communications with Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. And so on and so forth.

Incidentally we must admit that the man did his job of disruption in a thorough fashion. He has virtually isolated Assam from the rest of India by rail and by water, brought Pakistan up to the weakest spot in Bihar, and by handing over the Chittagong Hill tracts—an excluded area, 97 per cent non-Muslim in population—to East Bengal, has practically drawn a complete *cordon sanitaire* all round the Union of India. Further by splitting up West Bengal and by depriving East Punjab of all its canal sources, he has practically eliminated all possibility of Pakistan, in the West or in the East. Being faced with a strong barrier against aggression. We do not know what the eminent gentlemen in the Sleepy Hollow of Delhi propose to do about it. For aught we know they might be busy planning moves that would further strengthen the strategic plans of the British allies of the League. It is evident, though, that the League has been apprised of this fact, as witness the rising note of truculence in the League press and the League radio. And well might that be so for, as even the most amateur of strategists would know, in the case of a planned aggression, the chances for survival of Assam, most of West Bengal and a good bit of North Bihar are almost negligible, as matters have been arranged. All the aggressor would need is a good fifth column inside the Union area and a good sea-borne route for supplies. And both are theirs for the asking for the present.

The Radcliffe Award

British Awards are familiar to us. The Meeson Award had placed an unwarranted financial burden on Bengal which she had to bear for nearly two decades. The MacDonald Award is at the root of all the evils and degradations in the national and political

life of the country. Now comes the Radcliffe Award apparently with the same objective—to hit the Nationalist and to support reaction.

The Radcliffe Award has come as an insult to India, particularly to Bengal. Under terms of the June 3 plan, two Boundary Commissions were set up, one for the Punjab and another for Bengal, with equal number of Hindu and Muslim members and a common Chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe. When the Commission heard the parties, the Chairman was absent. So far as Bengal is concerned, the Chairman never even held a joint sitting of the Commission and never tried to come to an agreed solution of all the members of the Commission. He took full advantage of the different notes submitted by the Hindu and Muslim Judges. From the very start, the Chairman assumed the role of an arbitrator and never opened his mind to the members of the Commission. In the Independence Act, a last minute change was made to give statutory recognition to the Chairman's award which in no sense can be termed a Report of the Boundary Commission.

The Radcliffe Award reminds us about the Imperialist game in fixing boundaries for the Succession States in Eastern Europe after the termination of the first World War. In the name of minority protection great care was taken to introduce large blocs of minorities in every new-born State so that they might remain perpetual thorns on their side. Minority disputes were thus sought to be kept alive and the door was left open for Big Powers to come in and interfere on the plea of minority protection. A careful study of the map of Bengal with the new boundaries will show that a very large Hindu bloc has been created in the Khulna-Gopalganj-Barisal sector which may menace Pakistan, at least that portion which is south of the Padma. Similar is the case for the Murshidabad sector.

Bengal wanted the province to be partitioned into two. Radcliffe has cut it into three pieces by leaving a wide gap between West Bengal and the Jalpaiguri-Darjeeling bloc. A study of the thana-wise provincial map will show that there is a contiguous non-Muslim link between these two areas through the Radcliffe-break. To be precise, the non-Muslim majority of Biral, Bochaganj, Kaherul and Birganj thanas of Dinajpur district are situated one after another practically in a line from south to north reaching the non-Muslim majority of Debiganj thana of the Jalpaiguri district. Debiganj is linked up with the completely non-Muslim areas of that district through the non-Muslim majority eastern portion of the thanas of Boda and Pachagar. This tract of land, with approximately sixty per cent of non-Muslim inhabitants would have provided a link for West Bengal with Jalpaiguri-Darjeeling. This would, of course, have cut off the Muslim majority Thakurgaon sector of Dinajpur from Eastern Bengal. But with the principle of delinking accepted and applied for non-Muslim Bengal, such a course would have been far more fair and just. Again, on the principle of compensation as applied to the

Karimganj-Kulaura adjustment in Sylhet by Radcliffe himself, a compensatory area through Haripur, Ranisankail, Baliadangi, Boda and Pachagar thanas could have been provided.

Next comes the case of Khulna. Sir Cyril's contention is that the districts of Jessore and Khulna cannot be held by two different states. This argument, if it can be called so, is not only fallacious but also mischievous. Had the chairman let the members of the Boundary Commission have a glimpse of this side of his mind, he would have received the proper reply. But he worked in secret and thus avoided an answer to one of his most mischievous "arguments." Jessore and Khulna were for many a long year one district, Khulna being only a sub-division. But as, through experience it was realised that the problems of the two areas were entirely different, Jessore being a plain and Khulna a riverine and jungle tract, the latter was created into a separate district. The affinity of Khulna is much more with the adjacent twenty-four Parganas than with Jessore. A glance at the thana-map would show that the non-Muslim majority thanas of these two districts are contiguous and the Sundarbans stretching over the southern parts of these two districts is one complete whole. If Khulna and Jessore were inseparable, as Sir Cyril says, it would have been equitable to let Jessore come to West Bengal together with Khulna which is integrally connected with the 24 Parganas. For by striking out Khulna, the claim of Gopalganj and north Barkerganj which are large non-Muslim areas have also been made to lapse.

The third sinister factor is Sir Cyril's concern for East Bengal communications. He has split the non-Muslim majority Balurghat thana to keep the Darjeeling railway line intact for East Bengal. In Sylhet, he has included the two non-Muslim thanas of Maulvi Bazar and Kulaura in East Bengal in his eagerness to retain the Kulaura Railway junction which connects the Sylhet town through a branch line. But eagerness to maintain arterial railway lines undisturbed died out when the case for West Bengal came up. With the Darjeeling line gone, the only railway route for West Bengal to Darjeeling lies through Lalgola-Godagari Ghat via Katihar. But a portion of this line from Godagari Ghat to the Maldah border has been broken. This communication, vital for the western part of divided Bengal, could have been easily maintained by including only five thanas in West Bengal of which one is non-Muslim majority and another with a Muslim majority of only 51.05 per cent. Sir Cyril's determination to sacrifice non-Muslim interests in his anxiety to include isolated Muslim thanas in East Bengal is too blatant. In Jalpaiguri, he has sacrificed the two non-Muslim thanas of Debiganj and Patgram and the non-Muslim eastern half of Boda for including the Muslim thana of Tetulia and the Muslim western parts of the two thanas of Pachagar and Boda. In Dinajpur, he has sacrificed four non-Muslim thanas in order to include six Muslim thanas in East Bengal. By doing this gross injustice to West Bengal, he has maintained the Dinajpur-Ruha railway line for Pakistan.

Lastly, grave injustice has been done to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It still remains doubtful whether this dis-

istrict was included in the terms of reference. According to the Notional Division, it was within West Bengal geographically but administratively it being an Excluded Area, outside the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal. With the principle of delinking admitted, this district could have remained a part of West Bengal or might have been given an option to join Assam. It is surely preposterous to tag on a district with Pakistan whose Muslim population works out only at 3 per cent.

A fair division would have given West Bengal a population of 27.5 million leaving a population of 33 millions for East Bengal. As regards area, West Bengal should have been entitled to 35,000 sq. miles and East Bengal 42,000 sq. miles. This would have divided both population and area in the proportion of 45 to 55. But the Chairman of the Boundary Commission has awarded a population of only 21.2 million and an area of 28,000 sq. miles to West Bengal and a population of nearly 40 million and an area of 49,000 sq. miles to East Bengal. Thus while 66.3 per cent of the total area goes to East Bengal only 33.7 per cent of it goes to the West. As regards composition of population, West Bengal gets 2,21,97,722 of whom 16,032,960 are non-Muslims and only 5,164,762 Muslims. East Bengal, on the other hand, gets a total population of 39,108,803 of whom 27,840,672 are Muslims and 11,268,131 non-Muslims. This means that while about 84 per cent of the total Muslim population will be in East Bengal, only about 16 per cent will remain in West Bengal. But of the total non-Muslim population of the province, only about 58 per cent will be in West Bengal while 42 per cent have been allocated to the East. As regards the net cropped area, less than 36 per cent has been allocated to West Bengal, leaving more than 64 per cent for the East. Apparently, population supported per sq. mile of net cropped area is 1315 for West and 1344 for East Bengal but when population per sq. mile is calculated against the gross cultivable area, it works out at 1030 for West and 977 for East Bengal indicating that the expansion of population in West Bengal has been rendered more difficult than East Bengal.

Gandhiji on Nationalist Muslims

In his prayer meeting held at the Woodlands, Alipore, Calcutta, Gandhiji made some observations about Nationalist Muslims which have created resentment amongst many of them. During this phase of Gandhiji's stay in Calcutta, it had been the grievance of the Nationalist Muslims as also of many other people, that he had given much more access and importance to those Muslim Leaguers who had been responsible for the great Calcutta carnage and the subsequent communal frenzy all over the country. With political power knocked out of their hands, these Leaguers took refuge in the Gandhi camp out of—as is firmly believed by the general body of people—fear for their lives. On August 7, the free doles to the *goonda* areas of Calcutta, supplied for nearly one year by the Suhrawardy Ministry, was stopped. The Punjabi Muslim Armed Constables had been withdrawn the day before. Many of the police stations were placed

in charge of non-Muslim officers and communal Muslim officers were removed. The Muslim bustees, the nerve centres of one year's terrible hooliganism were virtually cordoned off. With this background, it took the general Muslim population only a week to realise that they had been grossly let-down by the League leaders. Moves were made from the Muslim side for peace. National flag was hoisted in some quarters a few days before the 14th August. It was clearly understood, as it was frankly admitted in Mr. Suhrawardy's Bengali daily organ, that unless the year-old resentment of the Hindus could be checked, the Muslims of the City would soon be in a precarious position. Gandhiji did this. He prevented the counter-attack and the natural peaceful tendency of the Hindus helped him. An atmosphere of forgive and forget was made possible.

But a blot on this fraternisation remained. A golden opportunity to revive the Nationalist Muslims and to establish Muslim mass-contact directly through the Congress offered itself, but it was not seized. With the State power and British bayonets knocked out from their back, the morale of the hooligan elements of the city has been permanently broken and time came when a permanent farewell could have been bid to the communally minded Muslim leaders. Opportunity came to consolidate the Hindu and Muslim masses on an economic and political platform and to separate them from the dangerously evil influences of the League. But to our utter surprise we find that the murderers and gangsters are being lionised, introduced to the public as good men and seeds of a second disturbance are being sown. Those Muslims who have so long suffered terrible hardships for the sole crime of loving the motherland and devoting their life in her service are again being relegated to the background. The leaders of the cult of murder and rape, who have found refuge in Gandhi Camp, are neither repentant nor have they atoned for their past misdeeds. Instead they are out to earn political advantage out of Gandhiji's sagacity and consolidate the League. It is good to forgive a sinner but it may be dangerous to take his word at full value and to place him on high level in the State.

In his prayer meeting Gandhiji said that the Nationalist Muslims twitted him for giving importance and life to the Muslim League and neglecting the Nationalist Muslims. He could not plead guilty to either charge. The League had gained importance without his or the Congress aid. It became great because rightly or wrongly it caught the Muslim's fancy. The Congress and he had to deal with and recognise the fact that faced them. He was not sorry for having visited Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah 18 times in Bombay. His friends should also know that he alone could have done nothing without Shaheed Sahab and Osman Sahab and other League members. There was no question of neglect of Nationalist Muslims. Nationalism of a man was its own merit. It demanded no recognition. He would advise his friends to remain what they were and exhibit in their every act courage, self-sacrifice and true knowledge born of study and he was certain that whether

they were few or many, they would make their mark on India's future.

Gandhiji would even advise the Nationalist Muslims to join the League and oppose it from within whenever they found it to be reactionary. Whilst he said all this, he would advise his League friends to approach the Nationalist Muslims in a friendly spirit whether they remained out or came in. True friendship did not admit of exclusiveness without the soundest reason.

Shaheed Sahab played the very same role with Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das as he is playing today with Gandhiji. The people have not yet seen any sign of repentance in him for his past misdeeds, rather his clever machinations to have his political position consolidated is more in evidence. There is the same apprehension about him that just as he had betrayed the cause of Nationalism soon after Deshabandhu's death, he will do so once again as soon as he can consolidate his position. A man who cannot deny responsibility for the great Calcutta riot of 1946 can never be taken at his face value without definite and concrete proof of his repentance. And what is said about Mr. Suhrawardy can be said about Mr. Osman.

The Nationalist Muslims, in a meeting held on the day following Gandhiji's speech, passed a resolution to the following effect:

The Nationalist Muslims of Calcutta and its suburbs very much resent Gandhiji's advice to them to join the Muslim League to oppose it from within in its reactionary efforts. In their opinion, the Muslim League is itself a reactionary organisation. Its aim is to keep India divided on the basis of the two-nation theory which can never be accepted by the Congress. Although India has been divided, the Congress cannot stop its efforts to unite the two parts once again under a sovereign democratic republic where the peasant and labour would be supreme. Under such circumstances, the need for joining the League to reform it does not arise at all, rather serious efforts should now be made to consolidate the Nationalist Muslims under the Congress flag to eradicate the evil that has already done us enough harm. With this aim in view, the Nationalist Muslims assembled in that meeting appealed to all Muslims in India to join the Congress.

Stabilising Indian Economy !

Surveying the general economic conditions during the second post-war year, the report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India for the year ended June 30, says that the pace of transition was rather slow and halting. "The pre-occupation of Government with constitutional changes," the report says, "also gave an air of unreality to some of its measures in the economic sphere." The persisting maladjustments in the various sectors of the country's economy continued and production actually declined in the more important industries. The Economic Adviser's general index number of wholesale prices rose from 270.1 in July 1946 to 289.9 in May 1947, the pace of the rise being generally quicker after September 1946, following the relaxation of most of the controls. The total value of the foreign sea-borne trade of India for the nine months ended March, 1947 amounted to

Rs. 480.80 lakhs as against Rs. 391.80 lakhs for the corresponding period ended March, 1946. The value of imports went up by 35 per cent to Rs. 239.90 lakhs and exports recorded a moderate improvement of 13 per cent and totalled Rs. 240.80 lakhs. The balance of trade was very slightly favourable by Rs. 90 lakhs as against the surplus of Rs. 354 lakhs during the corresponding period of the previous year. Thus the economic situation in the country remains bleak, despite the hope that a resolution of the constitutional problem would leave the Government strong and ready to deal with urgent problems urgently. The situation today is more full of problems challenging solutions than was ever the case before.

A solution to the present situation is dependent on a realistic assessment of the background. In its analysis of the perspective, the report observes that the post-war years have not brought about the hoped-for price recession and inflationary conditions have come to prevail. Rising costs have also prevented the supply side from responding to the force of demand. These difficulties, common in different degrees to most countries, have been present in an acute form in our own country. This condition is the outcome of the utter disorganisation in the country's economy, which though not subject to the actual ravages of war, has suffered no less under the strain of having to provide a volume of real wealth in the form of war supplies out of proportion to the country's ability and the existing low levels of production and living standards. The legacy of inflation, which this has left behind, has derived further stimulus from the rising price levels in the other countries abroad and has raised many challenging problems of wage stabilisation, food supplies, price controls, control over exports, imports and speculation, all of which vie with each other in demanding urgent solutions which still remain to be found. Superimposed on this is the experience of the many months of communal strife and the dislocation which followed these disturbances, in the country's normal economic activity. The recent constitutional and political developments have added further to the many uncertainties in the situation and rendered the problem of reconversion and building up of the country's economy less easy of accomplishment. Therefore, the report concludes, if the cost of living is not reduced to a reasonable figure and if further deterioration in the economic condition of the middle class and the other poorer sections of society with fixed incomes is not stopped, any kind of planned industrialisation will prove impossible of achievement.

The problem that has so far occupied the whole attention of the Government, is the food crisis. In its haste to help the affected people, which is typical of the methods of officialdom when faced with an emergency, the Government has been all too keen to import foodgrains. The problem of food is certainly of supreme importance. But the authorities would have been better advised to find out ways and means whereby the country could grow food and stop the large imports draining away a considerable part of the overstrained foreign exchange resources. Imports of food last year accounted for a payment of nearly

department. The task is indeed difficult, but given the will, should not prove impossible. That corruption is rampant in the department is known to everybody, but no serious effort has yet been made to eradicate it. The Congress Government, symbolising as it does the hopes and aspirations of the people, should not allow it to continue. If for the purpose it is necessary to place an officer of unblemished character other than of the Engineering Service at the head of the Department, Government should not hesitate to do so. If corruption in the P.W.D. is stamped out it will mean a large saving for the public exchequer.

A properly constituted Retrenchment Committee may be able to suggest many other ways of effecting savings, but the Committee should consist of men who know the ins and outs of the administration, and are not afraid of doing their duty without fear or favour.

The above suggestions were given to us by an officer of high ability and integrity, and deserve close and careful consideration by the West Bengal Government. In this connection we should like to point out that the authorities will be greatly benefited if they call for the report of Mr. B. B. Mukharji on Corruption in the Bengal Administration. This inquiry had been initiated by Mr. Casey and the report, when submitted, had been buried by the Burrows-Suhrawardy Government. We hope it has not been destroyed.

Irrigation in West Bengal

In the Notes in June issue we published a summary of the five-year plan proposed by the National Planning Committee for the purpose of overcoming the food deficit in India. The first two items of this programme are as follows :

- (1) Bringing under cultivation additional lands which now lie uncultivated, and
- (2) Improving facilities for adequate supply of water for lands already under tillage or those to be brought under the plough.

In the undulating tracts of Western Bengal, additional lands can be brought under cultivation only if facilities for irrigation can be provided. It follows, therefore, that the first item in the programme, so far as the major portion of the new provinces concerned, is the improvement of irrigation.

From time immemorial, irrigation has been provided mainly from tanks with which these districts are dotted, which bear an eloquent testimony to the intelligence and enterprise of the pioneers in cultivation in these areas. These tanks usually consist of a shallow reservoir with a dam built across the slope in order to intercept and conserve the water, flowing down from the catchment area above, for the irrigation of the lands below.

These tanks not only served to protect the staple paddy crop against the risks of insufficient and ill-distributed rainfall, which are frequent in West Bengal districts, but also to enable the cultivation of valuable winter-crops such as mustard, pulses, wheat and sugarcane. The unfortunate position of Bengal with regard to

these foodstuffs has recently been examined by Mr. Bimal Chandra Sinha, in an article published in the same (June) issue of this journal. Moreover, the irrigation tanks provided the only source of fish supply in areas where, owing to physical conditions, large rivers and *beels* are practically non-existent. To a large extent, they augmented the available water supply for domestic purposes.

In short, it would be no exaggeration to say that the irrigation tanks provided the very life-blood to the people and their gradual deterioration, due to the silting up of the beds and the washing down of the embankments was a national calamity of the first magnitude.

For many years, the local government was unaware of the intimate connection which exists between these tanks and the periodical crop failure and famine in the western districts of Bengal. The attention of the 'powers that be' was, for the first time, drawn to it by the late Gurusaday Dutt while he was in charge of the district of Bankura in 1921-23. For some years, an experiment was made with the co-operative method and co-operative irrigation societies began to spring up like mushrooms, most of which ended in dismal failure.

In 1939, the Government enacted the Bengal Tanks Improvement Act, but, owing to indifference of the League Ministry to the interests of West Bengal, the Act was never properly applied and administered. There is a Tanks Improvement Department in the Secretariat, attached, curiously enough, not to the portfolio of Irrigation but to that of Agriculture, but, so far as the public are aware, it is functioning in a half-hearted manner.

The newly formed Ministry for West Bengal will have to prepare and put into effect a fully chalked out development plan for the province. But, pending the collection of data and the formulation of a detailed programme, we insist that no time should be lost in taking up seriously the work of re-excavating and repairing the numerous irrigation tanks.

Tree Planting

A tree-planting week was celebrated in New Delhi some time back. It had received the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi in one of his post-prayer speeches and among those who took part in the functions were the Vicereine and Pandit Nehru.

Tree-planting or *Vriksha-ropan* occupied a prominent place in the rural programme of Rabindranath and the picturesque manner of its celebration at Santiniketan, draws a large body of visitors. After the celebration, plants blessed by the Poet used to be distributed to the outlying villages and planted there with due ceremony.

It seems too much like flogging the dead horse, but we cannot refrain from referring to a curious phenomenon which was observed during the 10 years' League administration in Bengal.

In 1944, one of the mushroom departments created by the late Government, which called itself the Development Department, suddenly issued instructions to its

staff, all over the province, for the observance of a tree-planting fortnight. The work was undertaken in a half-hearted fashion, without any support or enthusiasm from other departments. In 1945, on the eve of the dissolution of the Development Department, there was another attempt to repeat the observance of the previous year. Since then nothing has been done in this respect.

Although it is too early to conjecture, let us hope that the National Government which has been set up in West Bengal, will realise the importance of tree-planting in the programme of rural uplift and organise the work in 1948 in a business-like way, enlisting the sympathy and support of the public and of quasi-official bodies like Municipalities, District and Union Boards. We hope further that arrangements will be made, in proper time, for the adequate supply of grafts and seedlings and that the Agricultural Department will take it up seriously.

Mahatma Gandhi had referred to the tree plantation week in Delhi. Many big people had taken part in it including the Viceroy. He was told that none but she had thought of watering the trees after planting. The official who originated the idea of tree-planting did not do it for fancy nor was it meant only for the moneyed man. It began with them so that the others would copy them and thus add to the wealth and rainfall of India. Deforestation leads to diminished rainfall. Moreover, trees required little care except in the early stages.

The Problem of Indonesia

Right with the end of the war discontent and violence broke out in widely separated parts of the globe against imperialist tyranny of varying degrees. Indo-China established the Republic of Vietnam with the defeat of Japan. So, also, did the Indonesians set up their own Republic. But as Britain has been doggedly vexing Greece, Egypt and Palestine in their own homes, so did also France and the Netherlands attempt to re-establish themselves in their respective colonies of past days. The story also has been the same everywhere, Greece, Palestine, Indo-China and Indonesia have only vied with one another in bloodshed, only Egypt remained quiet. These incidents are typical in their similarity of persistent oppression and in the tenacity of resistance which is more deep-rooted than it appears to be. They bring into focus the present course of imperialism, the future prospect of the new awakening and the possibility of the Security Council of the United Nations being a real guarantee to peace and liberty and thus becoming an improvement on the ill-fated League of Nations. Incidentally, the Indonesian issue has already come up and received satisfactory treatment before the U. N. O., and the Security Council has ordered the belligerents to cease fire and has asked the United States to mediate in the settlement of the dispute between the Indonesians and the Dutch. The United States has accordingly placed its 'good offices' at the disposal of the parties both of whom have accepted the offer.

Moving the resolution. Col. Hodgson, the Australian representative observed :

We feel this is a test case—a case by which the reputation and status of the Security Council may

well stand or fall for its ability to take speedy, effective action in the interests of world peace. This is a challenge to the Security Council and we hope we will meet it.

The propriety of this remark is strongly upheld by Pandit Nehru's letter to the President of the United Nations Security Council in which he recounts the recent happenings in Indonesia which are as ruthless as illegal. Panditji writes :

I have the honour on behalf of the Government of India to draw the attention of the Security Council, under Article 35, paragraph 1 of the United Nations Charter, to the situation in Indonesia. During the last few days Dutch forces have embarked, without warning, on a large-scale military action against the Indonesian people. These attacks began without warning at a time, when a delegation of the Indonesian Republican Government was actually at Batavia for negotiation with the Dutch authorities on the implementation of the Linggadjati Agreement. In the opinion of the Government of India, this situation endangers the maintenance of international peace and security, which is covered by Article 34 of the Charter.

The Government of India, therefore, request the Security Council to take the necessary measures provided by the Charter, to put an end to the present situation.

The Government earnestly hope that in view of its urgency, the Council will consider this matter as soon as possible.

Extending his support to the resolution M. Gromyko, the Soviet representative added :

Dr. Van Kleffens claimed that the events in Indonesia were only of local significance and not a threat to peace. We do not agree. Big wars begin through small incidents.

Accordingly, the Security Council took the following resolution :

The Security Council, noting with concern the hostilities in progress between the armed forces of the Netherlands and of the Republic of Indonesia and having determined that such hostilities constitute a breach of the peace under Article 31 of the Charter of the United Nations, calls upon the Governments of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia under Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to comply with the following measures, such measures to be without prejudice to the rights claims or position of either party.

First, to cease hostilities forthwith and secondly, to settle their disputes by arbitration in accordance with Article 17 of the Linggadjati Agreement signed at Batavia on March 25, 1947.

Cabling of this resolution to Indonesia was followed by cease fire order from either side. The Dutch decision to cease fire and release Republican leaders like Mr. A. K. Gani and recognising him to be the Vice-Premier has been characterised by Dr. Van Mook as another opportunity to the Republic to relinquish its attitude of "aggression and provocation" The Republicans, however, made the following points in their statement :

(1) In principle the Republic did not object to arbitration under the supervision of the Security Council if performed by a commission of several countries appointed by the Council and agreed to by both the Dutch and the Indonesians.

(2) The Security Council's decision was highly valued by the Republic as their first attempt to end the conflict, indicating that the United Nations adhered to the ideals and principles of the Charter.

(3) Considering its experience in the past two years, the Republic considered it of the greatest importance that the Dutch forces should be withdrawn from the whole Archipelago.

(4) For a smooth and just execution of the Security Council's task, the Republic deemed it necessary that a representative of the Republic be heard and allowed fully to express the Republic's views in the Council.

(5) To all nations desiring to preserve peace based on the human rights of freedom, the Republic earnestly appealed to exert all efforts to stop Dutch "colonial aggression."

Dawn of a New Age

Soul-stirring events, crowded into 24 hours, marked the celebration of Independence Day at New Delhi. Beginning with the swearing-in of the Governor-General and of the Prime Minister and other Ministers and ending with the unfurling of the National Flag by Pandit Nehru over the Red Fort, the Capital of India witnessed scenes unparalleled even in its colourful history.

Pandit Nehru as the first Prime Minister and Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor-General were the main heroes of the drama. They got receptions which any monarch or President would have envied. The outburst of popular joy was like the bursting of a dam, the mighty torrent breaking through all barriers.

At least 200,000 people swarmed round the Council House when the Sovereign Constituent Assembly was addressed by Lord Mountbatten and the National Flag was unfurled over the Council House dome. More than half a million people gathered in the Grand Vista on the occasion of the parade near India Gate when the National Flag was flown and the Governor-General and the Prime Minister saluted it.

The Government House reception was one of the biggest ever held. At about three-quarter of a million people gathered at the Parade Ground outside the Red Fort, and the cheering was thunderous when Pandit Nehru spoke of Netaji Subhas Bose who had unfurled the Flag of Indian Independence abroad and had begun the march towards the Delhi Red Fort with the tricolour. The I.N.A. soldiers and their band participated in the ceremony. They had the further satisfaction that the first act of the Nehru Government was to announce the release of I.N.A. prisoners and political prisoners.

Two of the striking features of the celebrations were that all sections of the people participated wholeheartedly and that thousands of villagers had flocked into the Capital in their colourful costumes.

The significance of the ceremony lay in the fact that whereas the Governor-General took the Oath of Allegiance to the King and his heirs and successors, the Ministers swore "faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established" and pledged themselves "to do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of India without fear or favour, affection or ill-will."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast

Following is the text of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's first broadcast to the Nation as Prime Minister of the Indian Union:

"We are a free and sovereign people today and we have rid ourselves of the burden of the past. We look at the world with clear and friendly eyes and at the future with faith and confidence.

"It has been my privilege to serve India and the cause of India's freedom for many years. Today I address you for the first time officially as the first servant of the Indian people, pledged to their service and their betterment. I am here because you willed it so, and I remain here so long as you choose to honour me with your confidence.

"The burden of foreign domination is done with, but freedom brings its own responsibilities and burdens, and they can only be shouldered in the spirit of free people, self-disciplined, and determined to preserve and enlarge that freedom.

"We have achieved much; we have to achieve much more. Let us then address ourselves to our new tasks with the determination and adherence to high principles which our great leader has taught us.

"Gandhiji is fortunately with us to guide and inspire and ever to point out to us the path of high endeavour. He taught us long ago that ideals and objectives can never be divorced from the methods adopted to realize them, that worthy ends can only be achieved through worthy means.

"If we aim at the big things of life, if we dream of India as a great nation giving her age-old message of peace and freedom to others, then we have to be big ourselves and worthy children of Mother India. The eyes of the world are upon us watching this birth of freedom in the East and wondering what it means.

"Our first and immediate objective must be to put an end to all internal strife and violence, which disfigure and degrade us and injure the cause of freedom. They come in the way of consideration of the great economic problems of the masses of the people which so urgently demand attention.

"Our long subjection and the World War and its aftermath have made us inherit an accumulation of vital problems, and today our people lack food and clothing and other necessities, and we are caught in a spiral of inflation and rising prices. We cannot solve these problems suddenly, but we cannot also delay their solution. So we must plan wisely so that the burdens on the masses may grow less and their standards of living go up.

"We wish ill to none, but it must be clearly understood that the interests of our long-suffering masses must come first, and every entrenched interest that comes in their way must yield to them. We have to change rapidly our antiquated land tenure system, and we have also to promote industrialization on a large and balanced scale so as to add to the wealth of the country and thus to the national dividend which can be equitably distributed.

"Production today is the first priority, and every attempt to hamper or lessen production is injuring the nation.

and more especially harmful to our labouring masses. But production by itself is not enough, for this may lead to an even greater concentration of wealth in a few hands, which comes in the way of progress, and which, in the context of today, produces instability and conflict. Therefore, fair and equitable distribution is essential for any solution of the problem.

"The Government of India have in hand at present several vast schemes for developing river valleys by controlling the flow of rivers, building dams and reservoirs and irrigation works and developing hydro-electric power. These will lead to greater food production and to the growth of industry and to all-round development. These schemes are thus basic to all planning, and we intend to complete them as rapidly as possible so that the masses may profit.

"All this requires peaceful conditions, and the co-operation of all concerned, and hard and continuous work. Let us then address ourselves to these great and worthy tasks and forget our mutual wrangling and conflicts. There is a time for quarrelling and there is a time for co-operative endeavour. There is a time for work and there is a time for play. Today there is no time for quarrelling or over-much play, unless we prove false to our country and our people. Today, we must co-operate with each other and work together, and work with right goodwill.

"I should like to address a few words to our Services - civil and military. The old distinctions and differences are gone, and today we are all free sons and daughters of India, proud of our country's freedom and joining together in our service of her. Our common allegiance is to India. In the difficult days ahead our Services and our experts have a vital role to fulfil, and we invite them to do so as comrades in the service of India."

The 'Midnight Session'

In its historic midnight session in the night of August 14-15, the Indian Constituent Assembly passed a resolution assuming power for the governance of India. The resolution was moved from the Chair and approved by the House. The House also approved the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India from August 15, 1947. The decision of the Assembly was conveyed to Lord Mountbatten by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly and Pandit Nehru, Premier of India.

Earlier, on the motion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, seconded by Choudhuri Khaliquzzaman and supported by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the members of the Constituent Assembly pledged to dedicate themselves to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attains her rightful and honoured place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and welfare of mankind.

The pledge was read out by Dr. Prasad first in Hindi and then in English and repeated sentence by sentence by members rising in their seats. This was followed by blowing of conch-shells and lusty shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai."

Before Pandit Nehru moved the above pledge two

minutes' silence was observed in memory of those who died in the struggle for freedom in India and elsewhere.

The historic session of the Assembly began at 10-45 p.m. (I.S.T.), with the galleries packed with visitors. The proceedings commenced with "Bande Mataram" sung by Mrs. Kripalani. This was followed by a brief opening address by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Pandit Nehru then moved the pledge. He spoke with emotion in Hindi and English, his speech being punctuated with outbursts of applause.

Both Dr. Prasad and Pandit Nehru paid striking tributes to Mahatma Gandhi's outstanding contributions to the cause of Indian freedom.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad moved the following resolution from the Chair amidst thunderous cheers and acclamation :

"I propose that it will be intimated to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Constituent Assembly of India has assumed the power for the governance of India (Cheers). And the Constituent Assembly of India has endorsed the recommendation that Lord Mountbatten be the Governor-General of India from August 15, 1947 (Cheers) And that this message be conveyed forthwith to Lord Mountbatten by the President and Pandit Nehru.

The House approved it amidst acclamation.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta then presented the National Flag of India to the Indian Constituent Assembly. In presenting the Flag to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Mehta said : "It is in the fitness of things that the first Flag that is flying over this august House should be the gift from the women of India."

Dr. Prasad showed the Flag round.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad then addressed the House on the historic occasion of assumption of power :

"In this solemn hour of our history when after many years of struggle we are taking over the governance of this country let us offer our humble thanks to the almighty power that shapes the destinies of men and nations and let us recall in grateful remembrance the services and sacrifices of all those men and women, known and unknown, who with smiles on their face walked to the gallows or faced bullets on their chests, who experienced living death in the cells of the Andamans, or spent long years in the prisons of India, who preferred voluntary exile in foreign countries to a life of humiliation in their own, who not only lost wealth and property but cut themselves off from near and dear ones to devote themselves to the achievement of the great objective which we are witnessing today.

"Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon light, our guide and philosopher during the last thirty years or more. He represents that undying spirit in our culture and make-up which has kept India alive through vicissitudes of our history. He it is who pulled us out of the slough of despond and despair and blowed into us a spirit which enabled us to stand up for justice, to claim our birth-right of freedom and placed in our

bands the matchless and unfailing weapon of truth and non-violence which without arms and armaments has won for us the invaluable prize of Swaraj at a price which, when the history of these times comes to be written, will be regarded as incredible for a vast country of our size and for the teeming millions of our population. We were indifferent instruments that he had to work with but he led us with consummate skill, with unwavering determination, with an undying faith in our future, with faith in his weapon and above all with faith in God. Let us prove true to that faith. Let us hope that India will not in the hour of her triumph give up or minimise the value of the weapon which served not only to rouse and inspire her in her moments of depression but has alone proved its efficacy. India has a great part to play in the shaping and moulding of the future of a war-distracted world. She can play that part not by mimicking, from a distance what others are doing, or by joining in the race for armaments and competing with others in the discovery of the latest and most effective instruments of destruction. She has now the opportunity, and, let us hope, she will have the courage and strength to place before the world for its acceptance her infallible substitute for war and bloodshed, death and destruction. The world needs it and will welcome it, unless it is prepared to reel back into barbarism from which it boasts to have emerged.

"Let us then assure all countries of the world that we propose to stick to our historic tradition to be on the term of friendship and amity with all, that we have no designs against any one and hope that none will have any against us. We have only one ambition and desire and that is to make our contribution to the building up of freedom for all and peace among mankind.

"The country which was made by God and nature to be one stands divided today. Separation from near and dear ones, even from strangers after some association, is always painful. I would be untrue to myself if I did not at this moment confess to a sense of sorrow at this separation. But I wish to send on your behalf and my own our greetings and good wishes for success and the best of luck in the high endeavour of Government in which the people of Pakistan which till today has been a part and parcel of ourselves will be engaged. To those who feel like us but are on the other side of the border we send a word of cheer. They should not give way to panic but should stick to their hearths and homes, their religion and culture and cultivate the qualities of courage and forbearance. They have no reason to fear that they will not get protection and just and fair treatment and they should not become victims of doubt and suspicion. They must accept the assurances publicly given and win their rightful place in the polity of the State where they are placed by their loyalty.

"To all the minorities in India we give the assurance that they will receive fair and just treatment and there will be no discrimination in any form against them. Their religion, their culture and their language

are safe and they will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship and will be expected in their turn to render loyalty to the country in which they live and to its constitution. To all we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease, to abolish distinctions and exploitation and to ensure decent conditions of living.

"We are embarking on a great task. We hope that in this we shall have the unstinted service and co-operation of all our people and the sympathy and support of all the communities. We shall do our best to deserve it."

Pandit Nehru, India's first Premier, then moved the resolution prescribing an oath for the members in the Constituent Assembly and said, "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially.

"At the stroke of midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting, but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India but they are also for the world, for all the

nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of Free India where all her children may dwell.

I beg to move, sir, that it be resolved that :

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly, present on this occasion, do take the following pledge :

"At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I, . . . a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly."

Free India's National Flag

The Flag adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India has been a horizontal tricolour of saffron, white and green with the wheel of Asoka at the centre printed in deep blue. The new flag, it is clear, is distinguishable from the previous one only in the replacement of the *charkha* or the spinning wheel by the *chakra* or the Asoka wheel. Lest any communal interpretation is attempted either of the colours chosen for the stripes or of the wheel selected to be in the centre, both Pandit Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan have given out the authentic interpretation. While Pandit Nehru has been emphatic on the artistic significance ruling the design, Dr. Radhakrishnan has noted the philosophy symbolised. Moving the resolution on the National Flag, Pandit Nehru observed :

It is a flag which has been variously described and some people have misunderstood it and have, thinking in communal terms, said some part of it represents this community or that. But when the flag was devised there was no communal significance attached to it.

We tried to find a flag which was beautiful, because a symbol of a nation must be beautiful to look at. We thought of a flag which would in its combination and in its separate parts somehow represent the spirit of the nation, the tradition of the nation, that mixed spirit and tradition which have grown up in these thousands of years in India. So we devised this flag.

Perhaps I am partial but I do think that it is a very beautiful flag to look at purely from the point of view of artistry and it has come to symbolise many other beautiful things also, things of

the mind, things that give value to the individual's life.

Adding his unreserved support to the resolution, Dr. Radhakrishnan said that saffron colour in the flag meant renunciation. This indicated that the leaders of the people must be disinterested.

That the choice has been consistent with the past history of our national struggle is noticed in Pandit Jawaharlal's reflection. He says, "I remember the ups and downs of the great struggle for freedom of this great nation. I remember—and many in this House will remember—when we looked up to this flag not only with pride and enthusiasm but with a tingling in our veins. Also, when we were sometimes down and out, the sight of this flag gave us courage to go on." In fact, behind the resolution lies history—the compressed history of a short span in the nation's existence.

This living and acting in a concentrated way meant solution of all economic and social problems and attainment of democratic rights at one and the same time. This spinning wheel has now been changed for the wheel which is inscribed on the Asoka lion capital. Analysing the dynamic implication involved Dr. Radhakrishnan observed that the wheel represented something which perpetually moved with times while always being on the side of law and discipline. In a word, it represents the dynamism of a peaceful change and hence the deviation does not revolt against the original idea of having a spinning wheel in the national flag. Giving out the negative and extra-philosophic reasons for the change, Pandit Nehru, the initiator pointed out, "Normally speaking, a symbol on one side of the flag should be exactly the same as on the other side. Otherwise there is difficulty. It goes against the rules, if I may say so. The *charkha*, as it appeared previously on this flag, has the wheel on the one side and the spindle on the other." Pointing out this heraldic difficulty Pandit Nehru noted, "We were of course convinced that this great symbol which had infused the people should continue, but we thought that it should continue in a slightly different form. The wheel should be there and not the rest of the *charkha* which created this confusion. The essential part of the *charkha* should be there, that is the wheel. But then what type of wheel should we have? The Asoka wheel itself is symbol of India's ancient culture and of many things that India has stood for. So, we thought that this *charkha* emblem should be that particular wheel instead of just any odd wheel."

This association of our flag with the name and time of Asoka implies that India will not content herself with being righteous alone but would change herself into an international centre. Consciousness of this implication is noticeable in the confident hope expressed by Pandit Nehru when he observed :

Wherever it may go—and I hope it will go far not only where Indians dwell or our Ambassadors or Ministers live but across the seas where it may be carried by Indian ships—it will bring a message of freedom and comradeship to those people, a message that India wants to be friend with every country and that India wants to help any people who may lack freedom.

Lord Mountbatten's Address

The following is the full text of Lord Mountbatten's address to the Constituent Assembly on the Independence Day :

On this historic day when India takes her place as a free and independent Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, I send you all my greetings and heartfelt wishes.

Freedom-loving people everywhere will wish to share in your celebrations, for with this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of a great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian peoples alike are firmly dedicated. It is inspiring to think that all this has been achieved by means of peaceful change.

Heavy responsibilities lie ahead of you, but when I consider the statesmanship you have already shown and the great sacrifices you have already made, I am confident that you will be worthy of your destiny.

I pray that the blessings of the Almighty may rest upon you and that your leaders may continue to be guided with wisdom in the tasks before them. May the blessings of friendship, tolerance and peace inspire you in your relations with the nations of the world. Be assured always of my sympathy in all your efforts to promote the prosperity of your people and the general welfare of mankind.

It is barely six months ago that Mr. Attlee invited me to accept the appointment of last Viceroy. He made it clear that this would be no easy task—since, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had decided to transfer power to Indian hands by June, 1948. At that time it seemed to many that His Majesty's Government had set a date far too early. How could this tremendous operation be completed in 15 months?

However, I had not been more than a week in India before I realized that this date of June, 1948, for the transfer of power was too late rather than too early; communal tension and rioting had assumed proportions of which I had had no conception when I left England. It seemed to me that a decision had to be taken at the earliest possible moment unless there was to be risk of a general conflagration throughout the whole sub-continent.

I entered into discussions with the leaders of all the parties at once—and the result was the plan of June 3. Its acceptance has been hailed as an example of fine statesmanship throughout the world. The plan was evolved at every stage by a process of open diplomacy with the leaders. Its success is chiefly attributable to them.

I believe that this system of open diplomacy was the only one suited to the situation in which the problems were so complex and the tension so high. I would here pay tribute to the wisdom, tolerance and friendly help of the leaders which have enabled the transfer of power to take place ten-and-a-half months earlier than originally intended.

At the very meeting at which the plan of June 3 was accepted, the leaders agreed to discuss a paper which I had laid before them on the administrative consequences of partition; and then and there we set up the machinery which was to carry out one of the greatest administrative operations in history—the partition of a sub-continent of

400 million inhabitants and the transfer of power to two independent Governments in less than two-and-a-half months.

My reason for hastening these processes was that, once the principle of division had been accepted, it was in the interest of all parties that it should be carried out with the utmost speed. We set a pace faster in fact than many at the time thought possible. To the Ministers and officials who have laboured day and night to produce this astonishing result, the greatest credit is due.

I know well that the rejoicing which the advent of freedom brings is tempered in your hearts by the sadness that it could not come to a united India; and that the pain of division has shorn today's events of some of its joy. In supporting your leaders in the difficult decision which they had to take, you have displayed as much magnanimity and realism as have those patriotic statesmen themselves.

These statesmen have placed me in their debt for ever by their sympathetic understanding of my position. They did not, for example, press their original request that I should be the Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal. Again they agreed from the outset to release me from any responsibility whatsoever for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal.

It was they who selected the personnel of the Boundary Commissions including the Chairman; it was they who drew up the terms of reference; it is they who shoulder the responsibility for implementing the award. You will appreciate that had they not done this, I would have been placed in an impossible position.

Let me now pass to the Indian States. The plan of June 3 dealt almost exclusively with the problem of the transfer of power in British India; and the only reference to the States was a paragraph which recognized that on the transfer of power, all the Indian States—565 of them—would become independent. Here then was another gigantic problem and there was apprehension on all sides. But after the formation of the States Department it was possible for me, as Crown Representative, to tackle this great question. Thanks to that far-sighted statesman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister in charge of the States Department, a scheme was produced which appeared to me to be equally in the interests of the States as of the Dominion of India. The overwhelming majority of States are geographically linked with India, and therefore this Dominion had by far the bigger stake in the solution of this problem.

It is a great triumph for the realism and sense of responsibility of the Rulers and the Governments of the States, as well as for the Government of India, that it was possible to produce an Instrument of Accession which was equally acceptable to both sides; and one, moreover, so simple and so straightforward that within less than three weeks practically all the States concerned had signed the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement. There is thus established a unified political structure covering over 300 million people and the major part of this great sub-continent. The only State of the first importance that has not yet acceded is the premier State, Hyderabad.

NOTES

Hyderabad occupies a unique position in view of its size, population and resources, and it has its special problems. The Nizam, while he does not propose to accede to the Dominion of Pakistan, has not up to the present felt able to accede to the Dominion of India. His Exalted Highness has, however, assured me of his wish to co-operate in the three essential subjects of External Affairs, Defence and Communications with that Dominion whose territories surround his State. With the assent of the Government, negotiations will be continued with the Nizam and I am hopeful that we shall reach a solution satisfactory to all.

From today I am your constitutional Governor-General and I would ask you to regard me as one of yourselves, devoted wholly to the furtherance of India's interests. I am honoured that you have endorsed the invitation originally made to me by your leaders to remain as your Governor-General. The only consideration I had in mind in accepting was that I might continue to be of some help to you in the difficult days which lie immediately ahead.

When discussing the Draft of the India Independence Act your leaders selected March 31, 1948, as the end of what may be called the interim period. I propose to ask to be released in April. It is not that I fail to appreciate the honour of being invited to stay on in your service, but I feel that as soon as possible India should be at liberty, if you so wish, to have one of her own people as her Governor-General. Until then my wife and I will consider it a privilege to continue to work with and amongst you.

No words can express our gratitude for the understanding and co-operation as well as the true sympathy and generosity of spirit which have been shown to us at all times.

I am glad to announce that "my" Government—as I am now constitutionally entitled and most proud to call them—have decided to mark this historic occasion by a generous programme of amnesty. The categories are as wide as could be consistent with the over-riding consideration of public morality and safety, and special account has been taken of political motives. This policy will also govern the release of military prisoners undergoing sentences as a result of trial by courts-martial.

The tasks before you are heavy. The war ended two years ago. In fact, it was on this very day two years ago that I was with that great friend of India, Mr. Attlee, in his Cabinet Room when the news came through that Japan has surrendered. That was a moment for thankfulness and rejoicing, for it marked the end of six bitter years of destruction and slaughter. But in India we have achieved something greater—what has been well described as "A Treaty of Peace without a War."

Nevertheless, the ravages of the war are still apparent all over the world. India, which played such a valiant part, as I can personally testify from my experience in South-East Asia, has also had to pay her price in the dislocation of her economy and the casualties to her gallant fighting men with whom I was so proud to be associated. Pre-occupations with the political problem retarded recovery. It is for you to ensure the happiness and ever-increasing prosperity of the people, to provide against future scarcities of food, cloth and essential commodities and to build up a balanced economy. The solution of these problems

requires immediate and whole-hearted effort and far-sighted planning, but I feel confident that with your resources in men, material and leadership you will prove equal to the task.

What is happening in India is of far more than purely national interest. The emergence of a stable and prosperous State will be a factor of the greatest international importance for the peace of the world. Its social and economic development, as well as its strategic situation and its wealth of resources, invest with great significance the events that take place here. It is for this reason that not only Great Britain and the sister Dominions but all the great nations of the world will watch with sympathetic expectancy the fortunes of this country and will wish it all prosperity and success.

At this historic moment, let us not forget all that India owes to Mahatma Gandhi—the architect of her freedom through non-violence. We miss his presence here today, and would have him know how much he is in our thoughts.

Mr. President, I would like you and our other colleagues of the late Interim Government to know how deeply I have appreciated your unfailing support and co-operation.

In your first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, you have a world-renowned leader of courage and vision. His trust and friendship have helped me beyond measure in my task. Under his able guidance, assisted by the colleagues whom he has selected, and with the loyal co-operation of the people, India will attain a position of strength and influence and take her rightful place in the comity of nations.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Address

Following is the full text of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's address to the Constituent Assembly in the Independence Day in reply to Lord Mountbatten's speech:

Let us in this momentous hour of our history, when we are assuming power for the governance of our country, recall in grateful remembrance the services and sacrifices of all those who laboured and suffered for the achievement of the independence we are attaining today.

Let us on this historic occasion pay our homage to the maker of our modern history, Mahatma Gandhi, who has inspired and guided us through all these years of trial and travail and who in spite of the weight of years is still working in his own way to complete what is left yet unaccomplished.

Let us gratefully acknowledge that while our achievement is in no small measure due to our own sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events and last, though not least, it is the consummation and fulfilment of the historic traditions and democratic ideals of the British race whose far-sighted leaders and statesmen saw the vision and gave the pledges which are being redeemed today.

We are happy to have in our midst as a representative of that race, Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and his consort, who have worked hard and played such an important part in bringing this about during the closing scenes of the drama. The period of domination by

Britain over India ends today and our relationship with Britain is henceforward going to rest on basis of equality, of mutual goodwill and mutual profit.

It is undoubtedly a day of rejoicing. But there is only one thought which mars and detracts from the fullness of this happy event. India, which was made by God and Nature to be one, which culture and tradition and history of millenniums have made one, is divided today and many there are on the other side of the boundary who would much rather be on this side.

To them we send a word of cheer and assurance and ask them not to give way to panic or despair but to live with faith and courage in peace with their neighbours and fulfil the duties of loyal citizenship and thus win their rightful place. We send our greetings to the new Dominion which is being established today there and wish it the best luck in its great work of governing that region and making all its citizens happy and prosperous. We feel assured that they all will be treated fairly and justly without any distinction or discrimination.

Let us hope and pray that the day will come when even those who have insisted upon and brought about this division will realize India's essential oneness and we shall be united once again. We must realize, however, that this can be brought about not by force but by large-heartedness and co-operation and by so managning our affairs on this side as to attract those who have parted. It may appear to be a dream but it is no more fantastic a dream than that of those who wanted a division and may well be realized even sooner than we dare hope for today.

More than a day of rejoicing it is a day of dedication for all of us to build the India of our dreams. Let us turn our eyes away from the past and fix our gaze on the future. We have no quarrel with other nations and countries and let us hope no one will pick a quarrel with us.

By history and tradition we are a peaceful people and India wants to be at peace with the world. India's Empire outside her own borders has been of a different kind from all other Empires. India's conquests have been the conquests of spirit which did not impose heavy chains of slavery, whether of iron or of gold, on others but tied other lands and other peoples to her with the more enduring ties of golden silk—of culture and civilization, of religion and knowledge (Gyan).

We shall follow that safe tradition and shall have no ambition save that of contributing our little mite to the building of peace and freedom in a war-distracted world by holding aloft the banner under which we have marched to victory and placing in a practical manner in the hands of the world the great weapon of non-violence which has achieved this unique result.

India has a great part to play. There is something in her life and culture which has enabled her to survive the onslaught of time and today we witness a new birth full of promise, if only we prove ourselves true to our ideals.

Let us resolve to create conditions in this country when every individual will be free and provided with the wherewithal to develop and rise to his fullest stature; when

poverty and squalor and ignorance and ill-health will have been vanished; when the distinction between high and low, between rich and poor, will have disappeared; when religion will not only be professed and preached and practised freely but will have become a cementing force for binding man to man and not serve as a disturbing and disrupting force dividing and separating; when untouchability will have been forgotten like an unpleasant nightmare; when exploitation of man by man will have ceased; when facilities and special arrangements will have been provided for the *adim jatts* of India and for all others who are backward, to enable them to catch up to others; and when this land will have not only enough food to feed its teeming millions but will once again have become a land flowing with rivers of milk; when men and women will be laughing and working for all they are worth in fields and factories; when every cottage and hamlet will be humming with the sweet music of village handicrafts and maids will be busy with them and singing to their tune; when the sun and moon will be shining on happy homes and loving faces.

To bring all this about we need all the idealism and sacrifice, all the intelligence and diligence, all the determination and the power of organization that we can muster. We have many parties and groups with differing ideals and ideologies. They are all trying to convert the country to their own ideologies and to mould the constitution and the administration to suit their own viewpoint. While they have the right to do so the country and the nation have the right to demand loyalty from them. All must realize that what is needed most today is a great constructive effort—not strife, hard solid work—not argumentation, and let us hope that all will be prepared to make their contribution.

We want the peasant to grow more food; we want the workers to produce more goods; we want our industrialists to use their intelligence, tact and resourcefulness for the common good. To all we must assure conditions of decent and healthy life and opportunities for self-improvement and self-realization.

Not only have the people to dedicate themselves to this great task that lies ahead but those who have so far been playing the role of rulers and regulators of the lives of our men and women have to assume the role of servants.

Our Army has won undying glory in distant lands for its bravery and great fighting qualities. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have to realize that they now form a National Army on whom devolves the duty not only of defending the freedom which we have won but also to help in a constructive way in building up a new life. There is no place in the armed forces of our country which is not open to our people, and what is more they are required to take the highest places as soon as they can so that they may take full charge of our defences.

Our public servants in various departments of Government have to shed their role as rulers and have to become true servants of the people that their compeers are in all free countries. The people and the Government on their side have to give them their trust and assure them conditions of service in keeping with the lives of the people in whose midst they have to live and serve.

We welcome the Indian States which have acceded to India and to their people we offer our hands of comradeship. To the Princes and the Rulers of the States we say that we have no designs against them. We trust they will follow the example of the King of England and become constitutional Rulers. They would do well to take as their model the British monarchical system which has stood the shock of two successive world wars when so many other monarchies in Europe have toppled down.

To Indians settled abroad in British Colonies and elsewhere we send our good wishes and assurance of our abiding interest in their welfare. To our minorities we give the assurance that they will receive fair and just treatment and their rights will be respected and protected.

One of the great tasks which we have in hand is to complete the constitution under which not only will freedom and liberty be assured to each and all but which will enable us to achieve and attain and enjoy its fulfilment and its fruits. We must accomplish this task as soon as possible so that we may begin to live and work under a constitution of our own making, of which we may all be proud and which it may become our pride and privilege to defend and to preserve to the lasting good of our people and for the service of mankind.

In framing that constitution we shall naturally draw upon the experience and knowledge of other countries and nations no less than on our own traditions and surroundings and may have at times to disregard the lines drawn by recent history and lay down new boundary lines not only of provinces but also of distribution of powers and functions. Our ideal is to have a constitution that will enable the people's will to be expressed and enforced and that will not only secure liberty to the individual but also reconcile and make it subservient to the common good.

We have up to now been taking a pledge to achieve freedom and to undergo all sufferings and sacrifices for it. Time has come when we have to take a pledge of another kind. Let no one imagine that the time for work and sacrifice is gone and the time for enjoying the fruits thereof has come. Let us realize that the demand on our enthusiasm and capacity for unselfish work in the future will be as great as, if not greater than, what it has ever been before.

We have, therefore, to dedicate ourselves once again to the great cause that beckons us. The task is great, the times are precipitous. Let us pray that we may have the strength, the wisdom and the courage to fulfil it.

Mountbatten Addresses Pakistan Consent Assembly

Lord Mountbatten addressed the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on the morning of August 14, fourteen hours before the transfer of power to that body.

Following is the text of the address delivered by His Excellency Lord Mountbatten to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on August 14, 1947 :

Mr. President and members of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan :

I have a message from His Majesty the King to deliver to you today. This is His Majesty's message :

"I send you my greetings and warmest wishes on this great occasion when the new Dominion of Pakistan is about to take its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In thus achieving your independence by agreement, you have set an example to all freedom-loving people throughout the world.

I know that I can speak for all sections of opinion within the British Commonwealth when I say that their support will not fail you in upholding democratic principles. I am confident that the statesmanship and the spirit of co-operation which have led to the historic developments you are now celebrating will be the best guarantee of your future happiness and prosperity. Great responsibilities lie ahead of you and of your leaders. May the blessings of the Almighty sustain you in all your future tasks. Be assured always of my sympathy and support as I watch your continuing efforts to advance the cause of humanity."

I am speaking to you today as your Viceroy, tomorrow the Government of the new Dominion of Pakistan will rest in your hands and I shall be the constitutional head of your neighbour, the Dominion of India. The leaders of both Governments, however, have invited me to be the independent Chairman of the Joint Defence Council. This is an honour which I shall strive to merit.

Tomorrow two new Sovereign States will take their place in the Commonwealth : not young nations, but the heirs of old and proud civilisations : fully independent states, whose leaders are statesmen, already known and respected throughout the world, whose poets and philosophers, scientists, and warriors have made their imperishable contribution to the service of mankind : not immature Governments or weak, but fit to carry their great share of responsibility for the peace and progress of the world.

The birth of Pakistan is an event in history. We, who are part of history, and are helping to make it, are not well-placed, even if we wished, to moralise on the event, to look back and survey the sequence of the past that led to it. History seems sometimes to move with the infinite slowness of a glacier, and sometimes to rush forward in a torrent. Just now, in this part of the world our united efforts have melted the ice and moved some impediments in the stream, and we are carried onwards in the full flood. There is no time to look back. There is time only to look forward.

I wish to pay tribute to the great men, your leaders, who helped to arrive at a peaceful solution for the transfer of power.

Here I would like to express my tribute to Mr. Jinnah, our close personal contact, and the mutual trust and understanding that have grown out of it, are, I feel, the best of omens for future good relations. He has my sincere good wishes as your new Governor-General.

Moral courage is the truest attribute of greatness, and the men who have allowed the paramount need for agreement and a peaceful solution to take precedence over the hopes and claims they so strongly held

and keenly felt, have shown moral courage in a high degree. I wish to acknowledge, too, the help of others, of the men who advised and assisted the process of negotiations; of the men who kept the machinery of administration running under great difficulties; of the men who have worked day and night to solve the innumerable problems of partition. All this has been achieved with toil and sweat. I wish I could say also without tears and blood, but terrible crimes have been committed. It is justifiable to reflect, however, that far more terrible things might have happened if the majority had not proved worthy of the high endeavour of their leaders, or had not listened to that great appeal which Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi together made, and which the respective future Governments reiterated in a statement made by the Partition Council.

May I remind you of the terms of that statement? The two Governments declared that "it is their intention to safeguard the legitimate interests of all citizens, irrespective of religion, caste or sex. In the exercise of their normal civic rights all citizens will be regarded as equal and both Governments will assure to all people within their territories the exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form associations, the right to worship in their own way and the protection of their language and culture."

Both Governments further undertake that there shall be no discrimination against those who before August 15, have been political opponents."

The honouring of these words will mean nothing less than a charter of liberty for a fifth of the human race.

Some days ago I went to Lahore. From the reports I had received I expected to witness a scene of unparalleled devastation. Those of you, who have not visited Lahore, will be relieved to hear that the destruction is far less than I expected. It amounts to not more than eighteen houses per thousand of the whole municipal area. I do not say this in extenuation of the madness which caused even so much wanton damage. Rather I wish to pay my tribute, and ask you to do the same, to those who have saved Lahore from complete ruin, to the police and fire services, to the soldiers and the civil administration, and to all public-spirited citizens, who have resisted or prevented the powers of destruction; also to the many who helped to tend and heal the tragic victims where these outrages have occurred. The ideal of public service which inspired these men and women, the spirit of co-operation and compromise which inspired your leaders, these are political and civic virtues that make a nation great, and preserve it in greatness. I pray that you may practise them always.

Now the time has come to bid you farewell on behalf of His Majesty's Government the King on behalf of my country, and on behalf of myself, also on behalf of my wife, whose thoughts and prayers will be so much with the women in Pakistan.

This is a parting between friends, who have learned to honour and respect one another, even in disagree-

ment. It is not an absolute parting I rejoice to think, not an end of comradeship.

Many of my countrymen for generations have been born in this country, many lived their lives here, and many have died here. Some will remain for trade and commerce; and others in Government service and in the armed forces who count it an honour that they have been invited to serve you.

During the centuries that British and Indians have known one another, the British mode of life, customs, speech and thought have been profoundly influenced by those of India—more profoundly than has often been realised.

May I remind you that, at the time when the East India Company received its Charter, nearly four centuries ago, your great Emperor Akbar was on the throne, whose reign was marked by perhaps as great a degree of political and religious tolerance, as has been known before or since. It was an example by which, I honestly believe, generations of our public men and administrators have been influenced. Akbar's tradition has not always been consistently followed by British or Indians, but I pray, for the world's sake, that we will hold fast, in the years to come, to the principles that this great ruler taught us.

May Pakistan prosper always. May the citizens be blessed with health and happiness; may learning and the arts of peace flourish in her boundaries, and may she continue in friendship with her neighbours and with all the nations of the world.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY

Mr. Jinnah said:

"Your Excellency, I thank His Majesty the King on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself for his gracious message. I know great responsibilities lie ahead and I naturally reciprocate his sentiments and we greatly appreciate his assurance of sympathy and support and I hope that you will please communicate to His Majesty our assurance of goodwill and friendship for the British nation and him as the Crown Head of the British Government."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah expressed their thanks for some of the messages of goodwill and friendship that have been received. The first one was from President Truman "on behalf of the great American nation," the second from Egypt, third from France, fourth from Syria and fifth from Nepal, "our neighbour." Mr. Jinnah remarked: "I am sure you will all join me in expressing our cordial thanks for these friendly messages that have been received from these countries."

The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

Long before the arrival of the Viceroy, thousands of citizens had collected near the Secretariat building while several thousands lined the entire mile route of the State procession, beflagged and decorated, with arches and bunting. Hundreds of cars began streaming in the Assembly grounds bringing distinguished invitees, even an hour before the ceremony was scheduled to take place. Thousands of soldiers, sailors, and airmen, British and Indian, lined the entire route of the procession as Mr. Jinnah accompanied by Miss

Fatima Jinnah came in an open Buick, the crowd vociferously cheered him and raised slogans. The arrival of the Viceroy and Lady Mountbatten about a few minutes later was the signal for a friendly outburst of cheers by the crowd which their Excellency gracefully acknowledged.

Units of the Royal Indian Navy and Royal Scouts provided the guards of honour and the Viceroy took the royal salute to the strains of national anthem by the bands. Their Excellencies were received by Mr. Bashir Ahmed, the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly and were greeted by Mr. Jinnah as they approached the hall who led his Excellency to the Viceregal seat.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe's Report on Provincial Boundaries

The following is the full text of Sir Cyril Radcliffe's reports: "The terms of reference of the Bengal Boundary Commission, as set out in the announcement, were as follows:—

"The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors."

"We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before Aug. 15.

"After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. A very large number of memoranda and representations was received.

"The public sittings of the Commission took place at Calcutta, and extended from Wednesday, July 16, to Thursday, July 24, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, July 20. Arguments were presented to the Commission by numerous parties on both sides, but the main cases were presented by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha and the New Bengal Association on the one hand, and on behalf of the Muslim League on the other. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Punjab Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Bengal Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and all material submitted for our consideration.

"After the close of the public sittings, the remainder of the time of the Commission was devoted to clarification and discussion of the issues involved. Our discussions took place at Calcutta.

"The question of drawing a satisfactory boundary line under our terms of reference between East and West Bengal was one to which the parties concerned propounded the most diverse solutions. The province offers few, if any, satisfactory natural boundaries, and its development has been on lines that do not well accord with a division

by contiguous majority areas of Muslim and non-Muslim majorities.

"In my view, the demarcation of a boundary line between East and West Bengal depended on the answers to be given to certain basic questions which may be stated as follows:—

"(1)—To which State was the City of Calcutta to be assigned, or was it possible to adopt any method of dividing the city between the two States?

"(2)—If the City of Calcutta must be assigned as a whole to one or other of the States, what were its indispensable claims to the control of territory, such as all or part of the Nadia river system or the Kulti rivers, upon which the life of Calcutta as a City and port depended?

"(3)—Could the attractions of the Ganges-Padma-Madhumati river line displace the strong claims of the heavy concentration of Muslim majorities in the districts of Jessore and Nadia without doing too great a violence to the principle of our terms of reference?

"(4)—Could the district of Khulna usefully be held by a State different from that which held the district of Jessore?

"(5)—Was it right to assign to Eastern Bengal the considerable bloc of non-Muslim majorities in the District of Malda and Dinajpur?

"(6)—Which State's claim ought to prevail in respect of the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, in which the Muslim population amounted to 2.42% of the whole in the case of Darjeeling, and to 23.8% of the whole in the case of Jalpaiguri, but which constituted an area not in any natural sense contiguous to another non-Muslim area of Bengal.

"(7)—To which State should the Chittagong Hill Tracts be assigned, an area in which the Muslim population was only 3% of the whole, but which it was difficult to assign to a State different from that which controlled the district of Chittagong itself?

"After much discussion, my colleagues found that they were unable to arrive at an agreed view on any of these major issues. There were of course considerable areas of the province in the S.-W. and N.-E. and E. which provoked no controversy on either side; but, in the absence of any reconciliation on all main questions affecting the drawing of the boundary itself, my colleagues assented to the view at the close of our discussions that I had no alternative but to proceed to give my own decision.

"This I now proceed to do: but I should like at the same time to express my gratitude to my colleagues for their indispensable assistance in clarifying and discussing the difficult questions involved. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

"I have done what I can in drawing the line to eliminate any avoidable cutting of railway communications and

of river systems, which are of importance to the life of the province: but it is quite impossible to draw a boundary under our terms of reference without causing some interruption of this sort, and can only express the hope that arrangements can be made and maintained between the two States that will minimize the consequences of this interruption as far as possible.

"(1)—A line shall be drawn along the boundary between the thana of Phansidewa in the District of Darjeeling and the thana of Tetulia in the District of Jalpaiguri from the point where that boundary meets the province of Bihar and then along the boundary between the thanas of Tetulia and Rajganj; the thanas of Pachgar and Rajganj, and the thanas of Pachgar and Jalpaiguri, and shall then continue along the northern corner of the thana of Debiganj to the boundary of the Sate of Cooch-Behar. The District of Darjeeling and so much of the District of Jalpaiguri as lies N of this line shall belong to West Bengal, but the thana of Patgram and any other portion of Jalpaiguri District which lies to the E or S shall belong to East Bengal.

"(2)—A line shall then be drawn from the point where the boundary between the thanas of Haripur and Raiganj in the District of Dinajpur meets the border of the province of Bihar to the point where the boundary between the Districts of 24 Parganas and Khulna meets the Bay of Bengal. This line shall follow the course indicated in the following paragraphs. So much of the Province of Bengal as lies to the west of it shall belong to West Bengal. Subject to what has been provided in Para 1 above with regard to the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the remainder of the Province of Bengal shall belong to East Bengal.

"The line shall run along the boundary between the following thanas: Haripur and Raiganj; Haripur and Hemtabad; Ranisankail and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Kaliganj; Boohaganj and Kaliganj; Biral and Kalighat; Biral and Kusmundi; Biral and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Kumarganj; Chirir Bandar and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Balurghat. It shall terminate at the point where the boundary between Phulbari and Balurghat meets the north-south line of the B. A. Railway in the E corner of the thana of Balurghat. The line shall turn down the W. edge of the railway lands belonging to that railway and follow that edge until it meets the boundary between the thanas of Balurghat and Panchbibi.

"From that point the line shall run along the boundary between the following thanas: Balurghat and Panchbibi; Balurghat and Joypurhat; Balurghat and Dhamairhat; Tapan and Dhamairhat; Tapan and Patnitala; Tapan and Porsha; Bamangola and Porsha; Habibpur and Porsha; Habibpur and Gomastapur; Habibpur and Bholahat; Malda and Bholahat; English Bazar and Bholahat; English Bazar and Shibganj; Kaliachak and Shibganj; to the point where the boundary between the two last mentioned thanas meet the boundary between the Districts of Malda and Murshidabad on the River Ganges.

"The line shall then turn S.-E. down the River Ganges

along the boundary between the Districts of Malda and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and Nadia; to the point in the N.-W. corner of the District of Nadia where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off from the River Ganges. The District boundaries, and not the actual course of the River Ganges, shall constitute the boundary between East and West Bengal.

"From the point on the River Ganges where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off the line shall run along that channel to the northernmost point where it meets the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur. The middle line of the main channel shall constitute the actual boundary.

"From this point the boundary between East and West Bengal shall run along the boundaries between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur; Gangani and Karimpur, Meherpur and Tehatta, Meherpur and Chabra; Damurhuda and Chabra; Damurhuda and Krishnaganj; Chuadanga and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Ranaghat; Maheshpur and Bongaon; Jhikargacha and Bongaon; Sarsa and Gaighata; Gaighata and Kalaroa; to the point where the boundary between those thanas meets the boundary between the Districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas.

"The line shall then run S along the boundary between the Districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas, to the point where the boundary meets the Bay of Bengal.

SYLHET

"I have the honour to present the report of the Bengal Boundary Commission relating to Sylhet district and the adjoining districts of Assam. By virtue of Sec. 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the decisions contained in this report become the decision and award of the Commission.

After the conclusion of the proceedings relating to Bengal, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by parties interested in the Sylhet question. A number of such memoranda and representations was received.

The commission held open sittings at Calcutta on Aug. 4—6, for the purpose of hearing arguments. The main arguments were conducted on the one side by counsel on behalf of the Government of East Bengal and the provincial and district Muslim Leagues; and on the other side, by counsel on behalf of the Government of the province of Assam and the Assam provincial Congress committee and the Assam provincial Hindu Mahasabha. I was not present in person at the open sittings as I was at the time engaged in the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission which were taking place simultaneously, but I was supplied with the daily record of the Sylhet proceedings and with all material submitted for the Commission's consideration. At the close of the open sittings, the members of the Commission entered into discussions with me as to the issues involved and the decisions to be come to. These discussions took place at New Delhi.

There was an initial difference of opinion as to the scope of the reference entrusted to the Commission. Two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission had been given authority to detach from Assam and to attach to East Bengal any Muslim majority areas of any part of Assam that could be described as contiguous to East Bengal, since they construed the words the 'adjoining districts of Assam' as meaning any districts of Assam that adjoined East Bengal. The other two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission's power of detaching areas from Assam and transferring them to East Bengal was limited to the district of Sylhet and contiguous Muslim majority areas (if any) of other districts of Assam that adjoined Sylhet. The difference of opinion was referred to me for my casting vote, and I took the view that the more limited construction of our terms of reference was the correct one and that the 'adjoining districts of Assam' did not extend to other districts of Assam than those that adjoined Sylhet. The Commission accordingly proceeded with its work on this basis.

It was argued before the Commission on behalf of the Government of East Bengal that on the true construction of our terms of reference and Sec. 3 of the Indian Independence Act the whole of the District of Sylhet at least must be transferred to East Bengal and the Commission had no option but to act upon this assumption. All my colleagues agreed in rejecting this argument, and I concur in their view.

We found some difficulty in making up our minds whether, under our terms of reference, we were to approach the Sylhet question in the same way as the question of partitioning Bengal, since there were some differences in the language employed but all my colleagues came to the conclusion that we were intended to divide the Sylhet and adjoining districts of Assam between East Bengal and the province of Assam on the basis of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, but taking into account other factors I am glad to adopt this view.

The members of the Commission were however unable to arrive at an agreed view as to how the boundary lines should be drawn, and after discussion of their differences, they invited me to give my decision. This I now proceed to do.

In my view, the question is limited to the Districts of Sylhet and Cachar, since the other districts of Assam that can be said to adjoin Sylhet neither the Garo Hills nor the Khasi and Jaintia Hills nor the Lushai Hills have anything approaching a Muslim majority of population in respect of which a claim could be made.

CACHAR AND HAILAKANDI

Out of 35 thanas in Sylhet, eight have non-Muslim majorities: but of these eight, two—Sulla and Ajmiriganj (which is in any event divided almost evenly between Muslims and non-Muslims)—are entirely surrounded by preponderantly Muslim areas, and must therefore go with them to East Bengal. The other six thanas comprising a population of over 530,000 people stretch in a

continuous line along part of the S border of Sylhet district. They are divided between two sub-divisions, of which one S Sylhet, comprising a population of over 515,000 people, has in fact a non-Muslim majority of some 40,000 while the other, Karimganj, with a population of over 568,000 people, has a Muslim majority that is a little larger.

With regard to the District of Cachar, one thana, Hailakandi, has a Muslim majority and is contiguous to the Muslim thanas to Badarpur and Karimganj in the District of Sylhet. This thana forms, with the thana of Katlichara immediately to its S, the sub-division of Hailakandi, and in the sub-division as a whole Muslims enjoy a very small majority being 51% of the total population. I think that the dependence of Katlichara on Hailakandi for normal communications makes it important that the area should be under one jurisdiction, and that the Muslims would have at any rate a strong presumptive claim for the transfer of the sub-division of Hailakandi, comprising a population of 166,536 from the province of Assam to the province of East Bengal.

But a study of the map shows, in my judgment, that a division on these lines would present problems of administration that might gravely affect the future welfare and happiness of the whole District. Not only would the six non-Muslim thanas of Sylhet be completely divorced from the rest of Assam if the Muslim claim to Hailakandi were recognized but they form a strip running E and W whereas the natural division of the land is N and S and they effect an awkward severance of the railway line through Sylhet, so that, for instance, the junction for the town of Sylhet itself, the Capital of the District, would lie in Assam, not in East Bengal.

In these circumstances I think that some exchange of territories must be effected if a workable division is to result. Some of the non-Muslim thanas must go to East Bengal and some Muslim territory and Hailakandi must be retained by Assam. Accordingly, I decide and award as follows:—

A line shall be drawn from the point where the boundary between the thanas of Patharkandi and Kulaupa meets the frontier of Tripura State and shall run N along the boundary between the thanas of Patharkandi and Barlekha, then along the boundary between the thanas of Karimganj and Barlekha, and then along the boundary between the thanas of Karimganj and Beani Bazar to the point where that boundary meets the River Kusiyara. The line shall then turn to the E taking the River meets the boundary between the Districts of Sylhet and Cachar. The centre line of the main stream or channel shall constitute the boundary. So much of the District of Sylhet as lies to the W and N of this line shall be detached from the province of Assam and transferred to the province of East Bengal. No other part of the province of Assam shall be transferred.

For purposes of illustration a map marked A is attached on which the line is delineated. In the event of any divergence between the line as delineated on the map and as described, the written description is to prevail.

PUNJAB

The terms of reference of the Punjab Boundary Commission as set out in the announcement, were as follows:

"The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, in doing so, it will also take into account other factors.' We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before Aug. 15. After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representation by interested parties. Numerous memoranda and representations were received.

"The public sittings of the Commission took place at Lahore, and extended from Monday July 21, to Thursday July 31, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, July 27. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all materials submitted for our consideration.

"After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined my colleagues, and we entered upon discussions in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the Boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for their indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab in the West and in the East respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to: but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term 'other factors,' which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In those circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

STATES' CLAIM

"This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the Schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

"Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, both of which States were interested in canals whose headworks were situated in the Punjab Province. I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreements that either of those States has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headworks concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

"The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is a difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej Rivers on the one hand, and the River Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of systems of road and rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the perspective situation of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of those cities which each side vigorously maintained. After weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it: as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen.

"I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas E. of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Dipalpur Canal, which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepore headworks and I find it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these headworks.

"I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, which extends from Maddhopur in the Pathankot tahsil to the

W border of the District of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar District boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi hydro-electric scheme which supplies power in the districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura and Lyallpur. I think it only right to express the hope that, where the drawing of a boundary line cannot avoid disrupting such unitary services as canal irrigation, railways, and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto been a valuable common service.

"I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found to gratify to the full those sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in political arrangements with which I am not concerned, and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission.

ANNEXURE A

"1. The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall commence on the N at the point where the W branch of the Ujh River enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. The boundary shall follow the line of that river down the W boundary of the Pathankot tahsil to the point where the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur tahsils meet. The tahsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh River shall constitute the boundary between the E and W Punjab.

"2. From the point of meeting of the three tahsils abovementioned, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall follow the line of the Ujh River to its junction with the River Ravi and thereafter the line of the River Ravi along the boundary between the tahsils of Gurdaspur and Shakargarh, the boundary between the tahsils of Batala and Shakargarh, the boundary between the tahsils of Batala and Narowal, the boundary between the tahsils of Ajnala and Narowal, and the boundary between the tahsils of Ajnala and Shadara, to the point on the River Ravi where the District of Amritsar is divided from the District of Lahore. The tahsil boundaries referred to, and not the actual course of the River Ujh or the River Ravi, shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

"3. From the point on the River Ravi where the District of Amritsar is divided from the District of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn S following the boundary between the tahsils of Ajnala and Lahore and then the tahsils of Tarn Taran and Lahore, to the point where the tahsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn SW along the boundary between the tahsils of Lahore and Kasur to the point where that boundary meets the NE corner of the village of Ther Jharolian. It will then run along the E boundary of that village

to its junction with the village of Cathianwala, turn along the N boundary of that village, and then run down its E boundary to its junction with the village of Waigal. It will then run along the E boundary of the village of Waigal to its junction with the village of Kalia, and then along the S boundary of the village of Waigal to its junction with the village of Panhuawan. The line will then run down the E boundary of the village of Panhuawan to its junction with the village of Gaddoke.

"The line will then run down the E border of the village of Gaddoke to its junction with the village of Nurwala. It will then turn along the S boundary of the village of Gaddoke to its junction with the village of Katluni Kalan. The line will then run down the E boundary of the village of Katluni Kalan to its junction with the villages of Kaalas and Mastgarh. It will then run along the S boundary of the village of Katluni Kalan to the NW corner of the village of Kaalas. It will then run along the W boundary of the village of Kaalas to its junction with the village of Khem Karan. The line will then run along the W and S boundaries of the village of Khem Karan to its junction with the village of Mahewala. It will then run down the W and S boundaries of the village of Mahewala, proceeding E along the boundaries between the village of Mahaidpur on the N and the villages of Sheikhupura, Kuhna, Kamulpura, Fatehwala and Mahewala. The line will then turn N along the W boundary of the village of Sahjra to its junction with the villages of Mahaidepur and Machhike. It will then turn NE along the boundaries between the villages of Machhike and Sahjra and then proceed along the boundary between the villages of Rattoke and Sahjra to the junction between the villages of Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke, the line will then run NE between the villages of Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of the villages of Rattoke, Mabbuke, and Gajjal. From the point the line will run along the boundary between the villages of Kabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn S along the E boundary of the village of Mabbuke to its junction with the village of Nagar Aimanpur. It will then turn along the NE boundary of the village Nagar Aimanpur, and run along its E boundary to its junction with the village of Mastekkee. From there it will run along the E boundary of the village of Mastekkee to where it meets the boundary between the tahsils of Kasur and Ferozepore.

"For the purpose of identifying the villages referred to in this Para, I attach a map of the Kasur tahsil authorized by the then Settlement Officer, Lahore District which was supplied to the Commission by the Provincial Government.

"4. The line will then run in a SW direction from the Sutlej River on the boundary between the districts of Lahore and Ferozepore to the point where the Districts of Ferozepore, Lahore and Montgomery meet. It will continue along the boundary between the districts of Ferozepore and Montgomery to the point where this boundary meets the border of Bahawalpur State. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the

Sutlej River, shall in each case constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

"5. It is my intention that this boundary line should ensure that the canal headworks at Sulemanke will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery District does not ensure this, award to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as covers the headworks, and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

"6. So much of the Punjab Province as lies to the W of the line demarcated in the preceding paras shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the E of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab."

The Position of the States

Sardar K. M. Panikar, Prime Minister of Bikaner State, in a broadcast from Delhi dealt with the importance of recent decisions regarding the States as follows :—

The position of the States in the circumstances created by the withdrawal of British power in India is something which it is not quite easy for everyone to understand. The States of India which number over 560 were at no time during the period of British rule constitutionally integrated with India. Technically they were foreign areas, governed by their rulers who had received guarantees of protection, and were in treaty relations with the Crown.

The actual unity of India, which was effective enough in practice, was achieved through the operation of paramountcy: in effect it was like a garland of stones of varying size and value which was held together by the authority of the Crown compendiously known as Paramountcy. With the lapse of paramountcy the States will technically fall apart. This was what is meant by the oft-repeated phrase that the States resume their independence on the date when the Crown withdraws its authority from India.

The implications of this doctrine of independence are many and extensive. If one looks at the map of India, it will be seen that apart from the Gangetic Valley, the area of what is known as British India is interspersed with the territories of Indian Rulers. In fact after the secession of the Pakistan Provinces, the area under the Indian States is practically equal in area to that of British India. They lie athwart the main lines of communications. If one travels from Muttra to Ahmedabad, there is hardly any territory of British India between these two great cities. If the States were to become independent, and the administrative unity which was so sedulously built up during the last 100 years were to break up, neither the Dominion nor the States would be in a position to function properly. Clearly some action had to be taken in order to preserve the unity and integrity of the Indian Union. The Cabinet Mission plan of the 16th May foresaw this danger and provided two alternatives for the States, the first to join in a constitutional relationship with the

Union by surrendering Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, or alternatively to continue as they are in political relationship with the centre. Neither alternative, it will be seen, contemplated the complete independence of any State. The question was, however, to be decided only with the inauguration of the new constitution. The plan of June 3rd imported a new sense of immediacy into the question as the transfer of power on the 15th August without arrangements with the States would have led to disastrous consequences.

It was not possible therefore to delay the settlement of this problem till the new constitution was framed and accepted by the States. A method had therefore to be improvised and in consultation with representatives of States, it was decided that the best method of dealing with this problem was to have standstill arrangements regarding existing economic and administrative agreements, and also a limited accession to the Dominion on the basis of the 1935 Act for the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. What the standstill agreement means is that where there are existing arrangements between the Central or Provincial Governments and the States, these are continued undisturbed till new agreements are negotiated to take their place. What the accession of the States means is that the Dominion of British India which comes into existence on the 15th August is in respect of the subjects included in the category of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications becomes a Union of both British India and the States. A constitutional relationship which never existed before is established between the States and the Dominion in a limited but important sphere. It is intended that these two arrangements should be given effect to at the same time as the Dominion comes into existence so that there is no hiatus between the establishment of a Dominion and the creation of a Union. Satisfactory negotiations have been going on between the parties on this matter, and some States have already declared publicly their intention of acceding to the Dominion as soon as constitutional formalities permit them to do so.

The importance of this decision may not be apparent at first sight. Only a few weeks ago many States were thinking and talking in terms of independence. Many were toying with the idea that it will be possible for the States, whatever their geographical position to join either of the Dominions, Pakistan or India or have relations with both. A moment's consideration would show the dangers which were inherent in these propositions. If it were open to a State surrounded on all sides by India to join Pakistan or have political relations with it and *vice versa*, then the independence of both Pakistan and India would have been seriously affected. As H. E. the Viceroy very rightly emphasised at his meeting with the Princes "the compelling facts of geography" limit the discretion of most States in the matters of accession. Now, both the dangers have been overcome. States, it is fair to conclude, will accede to the Dominion.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY—A SOCIAL EXPERIMENT

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

MUCH has been written about the Tennessee Valley Authority or T. V. A. as it is called in America. There are few amongst the reading public who are not familiar with this project.

But to most it is just an interesting engineering project conceived and realised by the State, one of the few State-owned public utilities in America, a land predominantly characterised by private enterprise, and where public utilities are all controlled by private companies. Hence T. V. A. has been somewhat of a novelty and rare experiment. But it has been much more. It has been a veritable epic; a great and growing experience to the people of the valley, a romance worked out of their hopes and fears, their scepticism and optimism. It is not to be measured in terms of the magnitude of the brick and mortar, the size of the electrical gadgets measured. But in relationship to the day-to-day life of the people, the infinite little but significant changes wrought in the life of the valley and its inhabitants, to show what strength and economic advance can be achieved by mankind through the wise use of native resources. That is in sooth the real tale of the T. V. A. and its national importance.

Power has been there from the beginning of man's time—even before when it lay dormant like the Sleeping Beauty waiting for man's magical touch to galvanise it to undreamed-of action. Gradually by grappling with it, man subdued it to his control. The project now represents in people's minds the power of man over his environment. But the T. V. A. represents something more, a co-operative power, the serene order which is wrought out of fathomless confusion by the simple process of co-operation of big men and little men, of unlettered men and university graduates, with simple faith in each other and in their labour which is the symbol of their unity. The construction work brought along with it many new institutions that instilled new interests in the local community and stimulated in it new responsibilities. The job in itself inspired self-esteem. It made their imaginations soar, and awakened a new consciousness of developing powers. They responded to the side activities with alert eagerness.

T. V. A. was born when America's fortune-tide was low, during the great depression, when it was felt that the widely spreading distress could be avoided only by the use of the Federal power to bring relief to the citizens. Private enterprise was practically paralysed and State power seemed inadequate. Out of this long night of travail was born this project. Its authority was so used that instead of doing things for people, it enabled people to do things for themselves. Those small isolated communities are proud and would rather be poor than dependent. To them the essence of T. V. A. lay in its being the road to independence. The benefits they got were a fair exchange in return for strong muscle and deft skill.

The very setting for the T. V. A. is alluring. It satisfies the yearning for drama and the desire for peace. The springs and rivulets of the mountains yield water in abundance, which the river proudly carries away in its bosom. The plateau is green, brown and

gray by areas and seasons. On the west it gives way to slopes of green, of luscious orchards and beautiful cattle, down to the stretches of the blue grass and finally to silky cotton and the old old plantations.

The care-free rushing water is almost a mood of nature. But man nevertheless brings it under their sway; determines the time and manner of its passage; pushes it through turbines to produce electric power; releases it in such fashion as to make it navigable for ships, manipulate its force to permit it from crossing the soil. Yet, however great the magnitude of the machine, however stupendous the engineering feat, its value and importance can only be measured in terms of their relationship to human lives, when the quality of these lives can be raised to match the high power quality of the construction and of the grandeur of nature's setting; when mechanisation touches the very heart of the people, to tremble with their weakness and melt with their relaxed limbs and heaving breaths. For when human levels of living and working and the creative abilities of people are not free, then does one truly prepare for peace and for the defence of this peace.

Until the coming of the T. V. A. all public utilities were the monopoly of Big Business, exploited for high profits, normal essential requirements converted into rare expensive articles. Electricity was one of the worst victims. It is said that the Tennessee River made an Engineer's fingers tingle, it was so handy, moving so fast and so far, something just had to be done with it. But tougher than its onward rush was the tussle for its control.

Senator Norris' congressional committee states as follows in its report on this tussle:

"In every bid that has been made it has always been discovered that the object of the lease was to get possession, for private profit, of the enormous power facilities which exist."

One may almost say that the T. V. A. was a logical process of the times. For there was no other way of establishing the principle which Senator Norris boldly enunciated at the time:

"A nation's resources belong to its people and should be used by them for their service."

The T. V. A. simply had to be, for at the end of 1933 there were countries in the southern highlands with more than 50 per cent of the families on relief. One county had as many as 87 per cent on relief. The very land was moreover wasting, seven million acres out of twenty-six was suffering from erosion due partly to single-crop cultivation. In a single county 35 per cent of the land had lost more than one half of its top soil, while 2.9 per cent had been substantially destroyed. In addition, floods were causing an average annual loss of nearly 2 millions for the Tennessee River was then nothing but a destructive force in flood and a useless shoal in drought. Taxes were high, yet there were not enough funds to support good schools, public health and medical services, highways or transport. The farms were without electricity. And at last after a strenuous battle waged for 12 years on behalf of the common

people against the combined forces of monopoly and human greed, it finally ended in the triumphant creation of the T. V. A.'s corporation by an act of the Congress, clothing it with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise, an original and bold experiment raised on a four-pronged facade; to harness the river and its tributaries by means of a series of massive dams and reservoirs to prevent floods; improve navigation, generate and distribute electricity; and manufacture nitrates.

President Roosevelt linked it with the other similar projects, Boulder Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams and the St. Lawrence power projects stating that each of these was to "serve as a yardstick," meaning thereby to trying out the comparison of costs between public and private production. Cheaper power within the reach of the average man, power for every home and farm—that was the target.

To keep the programme up-to-date, the President was directed to recommend to Congress from time to time such legislation as he deemed proper to carry out specific purposes.

"Maximum amount of flood control: maximum development of the said Tennessee River for navigation purposes; maximum generation of electric power consistent with flood control and navigation; the proper use of marginal lands; proper method of restoration of all lands in said drainage basin suitable for reforestation; and the economic and social well-being of the people living in the said river basin."

In addition such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development consequent to this act, was also included. And studies, experiments or demonstrations—all for the general purpose of fostering an orderly and proper physical, economic and social development of the said areas—were also sanctioned.

T. V. A. had been instructed by the Congress to promote the "economic and social well-being of the people living in the said river basin," and to help the communities appraise and use their resources in the most dynamic and yet prudent way. The T. V. A. decided on pushing forward with plans for reforestation, scientific agriculture, getting electricity to every farm and the like. For it saw no reason why a 20th century farmer should function like a 19th century one. It began to buy up phosphate reserves and produce fertilizer materials, finding out the cheapest process. For it thought not merely in terms of chemicals and materials but more in relationship to land, crop, animals and people's lives—in short the development of a rounded community life. To begin with, farmers displaced by the creation of the huge reservoirs, were resettled.

The old system of fertilizers-production had proved wasteful, for land was commonly fertilised with commercial fertilizers which meant going round in a vicious circle. As the land grew poorer, the farm production got less, the farmer's income fell. He therefore tilled more land, bought more nitrates to grow more, which in turn meant a fall in the price of the raw material. But the T. V. A. altered this process. The people were on the contrary encouraged to grow their own nitrates.

The plan was simple. The farmer was asked to add phosphates to his soil and grow leguminous

plants, such as alfalfa, leavedessa, vetch and clover, as they have the quality of nourishing on their roots a certain kind of bacteria which in the process of their life cycle take nitrogen from the air and infect it into the land. One pound of phosphorus used in fertilizer for leguminous plants may result in four or five pounds nitrogen in the soil. Moreover, the planting of such vegetation would furnish high protein grazing, as also keep that land from having its soil washed away. Natural rock phosphates were available in adequate quantities nearby.

Then the chemists went to work to get a concentrated form of fertilizers in place of the old which contained only 16 per cent plant food. When a fertilizer was created it was tried out in experimental farms and control plots. Then it went into use in the demonstration farms selected by the community with the advice of the extension agent, and the candidates chosen to carry them out had to be men who enjoyed the confidence of the community. Each farmer was supplied the fertilizer free with the proviso that the farmer would execute his work in consultation with the county agent or the land-inherent extension service, for the period set, say a five-year programme. The demonstration farm usually attracted the attention of farmers for miles around. In fact, the entire community became interested in it. When favourable results showed, the others avidly copied the process. This often led to area demonstrations in which a number of farms participated, sometimes the area running to as much as ten thousand acres. The advantage of such co-operative work was obvious. What an individual could not achieve, the community could; and where an individual could not afford to invest singly, a group of farmers could buy threshers, grading equipment, top quality bulls and the like, as also derive the best advantage in the marketing. This stimulated almost an epidemic in better and co-operative farming and a fundamental change from one crop fibre-economy system of cotton cultivation to diversified farming and establish a balanced agrarian economy.

This "white magic" as the fertilising process is called is said to make 3 blades of grass grow where one used to, and even on rough and rocky ground. On the average, there was an increase of more than 30 per cent in the production of foods in the demonstration farms. Farm demonstrations have increased hay production by 1/3; small grain by 2/3; corn by 1/4; cotton and tobacco by one-half with hardly any increase in acreage; milk sales by one half, egg sales by one half, fruit and vegetable by one half, with hardly any increase in labour force. Here are poured out a variety of whirling materials; rayon, oxygen, hydrogen, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, phosphorus, methyl alcohol, acetic acid, metal dies, ferro-alloys, fibres and a host of other things.

Nor is this the whole chemistry of T. V. A. It has started making calcium carbide necessary for synthetic rubber; production of alumina, the basis of aluminium from mere clay instead of imported bauxite; extraction of magnesium from olivine instead of brine and sea-water.

The fact that these new methods are becoming countrywide is even more encouraging. Between 1935 and 1943, forty-three thousand demonstration farms had sprung up in 28 states covering a total area of 6,375,000 acres. It has been busy building furnaces

while side by side preparing maps; collecting data on streamflow and silting; prospecting for construction materials while co-operating with forest services to conserve timber resources. In 1933, the average per capita income in the Tennessee Valley was 40 per cent of the national average; in 1939, it was 44 per cent; by 1945, it was 58 per cent and the region had come to establish its economic leadership.

Truly did one of the members of the T. V. A. Board fervently wish these "dams to have the honesty and beauty of a fine tool, for T. V. A. is a tool to do a job for men in a democracy." These dams have converted parts of the valley into a land of lakes, where there were few before. They possess water enough to cover half of Tennessee State and provide 650 miles of river channel—which means generating enough electricity for more than half a million consumers through municipalities and co-operatives. It has increased river traffic from 32,658,951 ton-miles in 1933 to 161,469,344 ton-miles by 1943, which is but the beginning. Thus this region which was once one of the most isolated and backward today hums with incredible activity and has established new economic ties with the great interior regions of the U. S. A.

"The T. V. A. in its 13 years of existence, has never hesitated to try new methods, new machines and new ideas. One of its striking characteristics has been a willingness to explore any line of research if it seemed to offer a reasonable possibility of enabling the T. V. A. to do a better job in the unified development of the Tennessee Valley region.

"While the public attention has been focussed on spectacular dam-building and widely publicised electric power operations, a substantial number of vital research projects have succeeded practically unnoticed. Many of the machines, methods and processes which have been devised and expanded by the T. V. A. were entirely new; others were adaptations of work originated elsewhere and modified to fit the problems of the region.

"The T. V. A. has always benefited in its various experiments by the co-operation of other agencies, federal, state and local, in diverse activities ranging from public health to civil engineering. The examples which follow comprise a partial list of those activities which now engage the attention of administrators, technicians and citizens in their combined efforts to further the development of the Valley."

So says David Lilienthal who was Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority for several years.

Little known is the T. V. A.'s contribution to a blending of medical science with engineering and industrial chemistry. One of the fields in which it has made a successful showing is in combating malaria. Improved methods of spraying and dusting from the T. V. A.'s department of Health have been brought into operation along the T. V. A.'s 26 great artificial lakes, while its technicians pressed army training planes into malaria warfare. As a matter of fact, during the war the T. V. A. converted army planes for dusting and spraying the Pacific malarial areas, and logically enough when the UNRRA started work, it enlisted the T. V. A.'s services to equip planes to be used in malaria-control work in Greece and the Balkans. The T. V. A. has been able to play this noble role in such distant lands because of its very successful experiments in eliminating malaria from its own Valley.

Equally humanitarian is the valuable experiment which is being carried on to find out the relation of human health to soil fertility, involving roughly about 80 farms and about 170 individuals of varying age-groups for clinical study. The farms are divided into two groups, those using soil-mineral fertilisers and the other left unfertilized. Periodical medical examinations are made, with dietary records on food consumption and chemical analysis of foods.

The T. V. A. also experiments in manufacturing industrial objects out of the Valley's resources. One such recent product is tanning used in the manufacture of leather obtained out of waste which used to be burned for fuel, such as pine bark or oak from the saw mill slab pile. It also tried its hand at the manufacture of the small threshing machine for small hilly farms, which can be towed like trailers to scattered and remote fields; low-cost barn-hay driers, the special merit of which lies in its preserving the carotene content denoted by green colour, and retain nutrition value by practically eliminating leaf shattering. The U. S. Department of Agriculture while grading hay found 88 per cent of the Tennessee Valley farms provide grade 1 and 2 as against only 35 per cent from the rest of that grade.

Research in fishing has been another feature which has led not only to the preservation but an increase in fish from 45 to 50 fold. Similarly a T. V. A. method of bonding mica sheets has enabled the American produced "green mica" as distinguished from the foreign-imported "ruby-mica" to be equal in performance to the latter when the "green mica" was being rejected as useless.

At a time when timber was going out of business due to rapid liquidation of forests, the T. V. A. forests came to the rescue and actually today 20,000 more acres have been brought under forest cultivation. There are 14 million acres of forest land together with industries that support a hundred thousand persons, and contributing \$100 million to the annual income of the region. The foresters run 400 demonstration areas on private property and more are being established, representing all shades of woodlands, from small-farm woodlots of a few acres to extensive commercial timber tracts. Dairy herds now browse on the greasy slopes where a few years ago even a wild mountain hog could have hardly survived.

Community co-operatives have been organised especially for growing vegetables, under which the growers estimate that they are reaping 50 cwts. more a bushel than they did under individual cultivation. Farmers who had never kept a chicken, have developed a poultry industry of such magnitude that a single farmer now orders 5,000 electric elements for home-made brooders, built by the farmers themselves under the direction of the agricultural extension agencies.

The practice of using portable overhead irrigation on farm crops has been on the increase, showing increased net returns varying from \$15 to \$90 per acre as a result.

All these activities give some passing yet vivid picture of the splendid work, the T. V. A. is doing to provide for the unified development of all the resources of this Valley region. These projects assure new or increased incomes to the farmers and other settlers of the Valley, provided a definite incentive to enable them to co-operate more fully and effectively in the various programmes launched from time to time to

both conserve the wealth inherent in the soil, minerals and forests, even while developing their potential riches for the welfare of the entire Valley-community; and incidentally even while helping themselves these humble folks of the land have succeeded in stamping their impress on the world at large.

These miracles have been wrought mostly through local labour, whose imagination has been stirred by new pictures of expanding prospects. Above all the people have tasted of the sweet fruits of orderly disciplined execution of large-scale planning through co-operative effort. Job-training, general adult education, library service, new modes of recreation refrigerators owned by the community—all these have come to stand and become part of their life. The T. V. A. in a way seemed to take the people into partnership rather than oppress them. It demonstrated that a diversity of physical resources and human talents when brought together by free choice into voluntary co-operation can bring widespread human benefits. As the T. V. A. Report for 1936 stated, "Final success is as much a matter of general consent of initiative." For the real aim is to make power serve the little men of whom the world is composed, make the independent labour of each of them productive and lend their lives dignity and beauty.

Power must be built for the use of raising dairy cattle on a far-away farm, for the gardener on a mountain side, for community gadgets that save the house-wife, from drudgery give the helpless and old a break, the bed-ridden the comforts of a radio. For such it is that power is wanted—for creativeness and freedom. For behind the steel and concrete of the T. V. A. is the real moving human story of the people whose lives have been transformed. For had the T.V.A.

been diverted to serve only the giant industries, it would have by-passed the little man in his cabin and on the farm.

But the T. V. A. has by no means had a smooth sailing. It greatly disturbed the power business in and around the valley by its very existence. Its constitutional authority was questioned 57 times, and 26 cases of injunctions were brought against it. But it fought and survived and by 1936, the fire-works died down leaving the T. V. A. a "settled and established institution of the country."

Although the T. V. A. is a corporation, its policies do not follow the capitalist pattern. Nonetheless its operations remain solvent and businesslike. Forty per cent of the common costs of the dams are charged to power-production, and payments are made to the States and local units of government in lieu of taxation.

The power-rates set by the T. V. A. for the municipalities and rural co-operatives which in turn distribute that power to consumers, are among the lowest in the states. Still this project continues to reap handsome profits which are used to extend their services or reduce rates further. The high voltage transmission lines extending to 252 sub-stations and thence to many industries and farmers' cottages, a total of 500,000 consumers, form a grand network of 5200 miles. President Truman recently defined the T. V. A.'s role by asserting:

"The T. V. A. has demonstrated democracy's capacity to raise the standard of living, to utilise natural resources wisely and to stimulate and encourage the initiative and enterprise of individuals."

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AMERICA TAKES A STAND AGAINST COMMUNIST MENACE

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

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THE week ending June 28th will go down in recent American history for American stand against Communist menace in America and abroad. I shall summarise a few important events:

(1) The passage of Taft-Hartley Labor Bill, even over the veto of the President, has a great significance. The American public are aware of the fact that American Communists and "fellow-travellers" have "bored from within" into every important industry and every branch of the American State. Some of the most important strikes in the United States, during recent months, have been engineered by Communists to aid Soviet Russia internationally. Thus, this bill among other things provides curbing the power of Labor Unions and depriving them "bargaining rights" in case they create national emergency by striking. It also provides that Labor Unions must make their financial statement public, which will afford an opportunity to learn how a labor union may spend its funds. *No Communist can become an officer of a Labor Union.*

America has become conscious of Communist menace in the form of national industrial tie-up to aid Soviet Russia and has enacted a law which is regarded as anti-Labor; but this law is directed against Communists in labor movement of the United States.

(2) This week U. S. Courts have sentenced several leading Communists like Mr. Gerhardt Eisler, known to be the top communist Soviet Russian agent, and Mr. Dennis, Secretary of the Communist Party, to one year's imprisonment and a fine of \$1,000 for contempt of the U. S. Congressional authority. These men were not punished because they were Communists but because they refused to testify before a Congressional Board of Inquiry. They refused to testify lest they might have divulged certain "un-American" activities of the American Communists.

Twelve more persons belonging to an organisation known as one of the "Communist Fronts" have been sentenced to imprisonment and a fine on the same charge.

(3) The U. S. State Department has this week dismissed ten officials from the department on the ground that these men were either Communists or associates and supporters of Communists and thus could not be trusted in matters of national security. It was indicated that some of these men were heads of divisions and drew salary of nine thousand dollars. *It is known that "top secrets" of U. S. State Department have been divulged by some employees to foreign powers i.e., Soviet Russia. Some of these employees will be prosecuted and the Federal Bureau of*

Investigation is now carrying on careful study of these cases.

(4) The United States Government is sick and tired of Soviet Russian policy of expansion in Asia and Europe and at last has taken a stand, not a negative one but a decisive one, to check Russian aggression everywhere :

(a) It was General Marshall who as American representative in China, tried his best to bring about unified and peaceful China. He failed primarily because the extremists in Koumintang Party and the Communists did not wish to co-operate. Thus America withdrew her aid to the Nationalist Government and assumed the role of a neutral.

But during the last week, the U. S. Government has sold 130,000,000 bullets to the Government of General Chiang Kai-shek, so that, they will be able to fight the Chinese Communists who are trying to detach Manchuria from China, by using arms and ammunitions supplied by Soviet Russia.

America cannot and will not remain neutral while Communists (Soviet Russia) try to detach Manchuria from China and the Mongols (the puppet-government of Soviet Russia) attack Singkiang.

(b) The United States Government's recent notes to Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, are really directed against Soviet Russian policies in these puppet States. They are merely beginning of American assertion in the Balkans on legitimate process.

(c) The United States Government has not only taken active steps to check Communist menace in Greece, but the American delegate to the Security Council of U. N., Mr Austen, the other day in a sharp speech advocated that if Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania which were charged with aiding armed bands, who had been trying to overthrow the present Greek Government and destroy Greece's territorial integrity, continued such activities, then force should be used to check the menace. Of course, Soviet Russia will use her "Veto Power" in the Security Council against such a menace. But it is a serious warning and not an empty one.

(d) The Governments of France and Italy are menaced by Communists who are following disrupting

tactics against any programme which may be opposed by Soviet Russia. But the United States' support to France and Italy has led to the formation of Governments without Communist participation. America will not sit idle, and see that Soviet Russia takes over the Governments of these countries through French and Italian Communists.

(e) The present "Marshall Plan" is to aid unified Europe. Being convinced that Soviet Russia may block it, if a conference was called by U. S. A., the Governments of Britain and France have taken the initiative for the conference of France, Britain and Russia, now holding its sessions at Paris. If Soviet Russia tries to block the Marshall Plan, it is pretty certain that Britain and France will accept it. It will mean Anglo-American-French-Italian co-operation in Europe and it will be followed by steps for revival of German industry in Anglo-French-American zones of Germany.

(f) In the Middle East, America has taken steps to modernise Turkish military equipment and reorganise Persian police and the present Persian Cabinet is pro-Anglo-American, and is ready to co-operate against Soviet Russian menace. America will fight if Soviet Russia tries to control the Middle East. It is not a "bluff"

(g) America is conscious of the Soviet Russian policy of disrupting "hemisphere solidarity." Thus President Truman visited Mexico as well as Canada and will visit Brazil and has inaugurated friendly relations with Argentina. It is expected that there will be soon an agreement among various Latin American Powers to adopt uniform armament for hemisphere security, under the leadership of the United States. America will never tolerate any move by any Power which would interfere with America's position in Western Hemisphere.

America is tired of the Soviet Russian policy of aggression. She has come to the conclusion that "appeasement" of Soviet Russia may lead to the same situation as "appeasement of Nazi Germany." Thus there will be no further "appeasement of Soviet Russia" by the U. S. A. This fact should not be minimised by the Indian public and statesmen.

June 28, 1947

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INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

THE OPIUM PROBLEM IN CHINA

It has been shown elsewhere that the earnestness of China to stamp out opium-smoking secured the co-operation of the British and the Indian Governments so that exports of Indian opium to that country as well as Chinese production of the drug were stopped by 1913. It was realised later on that Chinese addicts continued to obtain their supplies of opium from illicit sources and the Assembly of the League of Nations ~~felt~~ called upon on September 30, 1921, to approach such of its member States as had extra-territorial rights, etc., in China to take care 'to prevent contraband trade in opium and other dangerous drugs.' On August 14, 1924, the Advisory Committee recommended that

"They should, if they had not already done so, make regulations, the breach of which shall be punishable by adequate penalties, to control the carrying on by their nationals in China of any trade in drugs."

About four years after, on October 8, 1927, the Opium Advisory Committee requested the Council of the League of Nations

"to represent to the Government of China that it would prove of the greatest assistance to the Committee in its work if it were provided with a report as to all important seizures of narcotic substances effected by the Chinese Maritime Customs at the various ports and stations which are controlled by that service."

All the above has been said merely to prove that though, at this time, China was producing large quantities of opium, all of it was consumed by the poorer classes of the Chinese addicts who could not afford the far more expensive and more palatable Indian, Persian and Turkish smuggled opium. Under these circumstances, there could be no sense in making an enquiry into the production of opium in China which, after the needs of the Chinese addicts had been satisfied, could be smuggled to other countries.

OUTPUT OF OPIUM IN INDIA

The opium export policy of the British administration at this time was that part of the opium produced was supplied direct to the Governments of the opium-consuming countries which distributed the drug to their peoples through their own agencies while the rest was sold in auctions held in Calcutta to such individuals and concerns as had obtained Import Certificates from the Governments of the countries into which it would be imported. Of the three poppy-cultivating countries from which there was systematic smuggling, India undoubtedly produced the largest amount of opium. This is quite clear from the following lines quoted from page 157 of E. N. La Motte's *Ethics of Opium* :

"The output of Turkish opium for 1922 was about 240 tons. The production of Persian opium for 1921 was about 162 tons, while that of India for 1921-22 came to something in the neighbourhood of 1450 tons."

While it is regrettable that the present writer has found it impossible to secure the production figures of Persia and Turkey for the period with which we are immediately concerned here, *viz.*, 1922-24, there cannot be much doubt that India did produce very much more opium at this time also than either Persia or Turkey or even both taken together. From this, it may be justifiably inferred that the quantity of Indian opium smuggled into countries which banned its entry was very much larger than that of Persian and Turkish opium supplied to them by illicit dealers.

This naturally raises the question as to why the League of Nations did not suggest the sending of a Commission of Enquiry on the production and distribution of opium in India. For one thing, Persia had not objected to receiving such a Commission. Politically the weakest of the three opium-producing countries from which smuggling of the drug was being carried on, it must have felt considerable hesitation in the matter of refusing to accept the proposal of an international organisation such as the League. While no official information is available as to why a similar recommendation was not put forward by the League of Nations for consideration by the India Government, we may remind ourselves of the suggestion made by an American that there was present, at this time, the almost universal feeling that such a proposal would not be favourably received by the British administration in India and that, in this matter, it would receive the unstinted support of the British Government, one of the most powerful of the member States. The refusal in such a case would have been due to its awareness that the report of a thoroughly independent Commission of Enquiry bent on doing its duty conscientiously and fearlessly would have placed the India Government in a very embarrassing situation.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S NEW ATTITUDE IN 1927

The British administration took two steps the remote effect of which was to largely minimise all chances of a proposal to send a Commission of Enquiry to conduct an investigation into the production of opium in India. The first of these, already referred to, was to call a Conference of the opium-producing Indian States with a view to devising ways and means to discourage the smuggling of the so-called Malwa opium produced by them and which, as explained above, led practically to no satisfactory results. The second was to take the drastic step of reducing opium exports, the best possible evidence of its adherence to the international policy of the gradual suppression of opium-smoking.

It was pointed out at the Second International Opium Conference of 1924, that though the British administration had all along expressed the view that opium-smoking is an evil habit and, it was said, to vindicate its traffic inside India, had maintained that it was more damaging than eating the drug, it had continued to export it to various countries in the Far East, such as the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Dutch Indies, French Indo-China and Hongkong, that permitted it.

Attention was also drawn at the same time to the fact that in spite of the adoption of the Import Certificate system, some of the opium sent to the Far East had somehow passed into the hands of unscrupulous people who had been smuggling it to China and other countries. This was proved by seizures of contraband Indian opium in the Chinese ports to which it could not have gone legitimately as our opium exports to that country had been stopped with effect from 1913. So large was the contraband trade in the drug and so wide its ramifications, that there had been seizures of illicit Indian opium not only in China but also in such widely distant countries as Australia, South Africa, Chile, Peru, Mexico and the United States.

The embarrassment created by the above criticisms increased still more when, under the first Article of the Protocol forming part of the Geneva Convention of 1925 signed and ratified by both Great Britain and India, it became incumbent on all the signatories

"to take such measures as may be required to prevent completely within five years of the present date the smuggling of opium from constituting a serious obstacle to the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium."

It was probably the desire to placate international opinion which made Lord Reading, the then Governor-General, to refer to the matter in his speech at the opening of the Council of State on February 9, 1926, that is about one year after the signature and ratification of the Geneva Convention, in the course of which he said :

"My Government have recently had under their consideration the adoption of a new policy regarding opium which is in accordance with the trend of opinion in a number of other countries and also with views that have been freely expressed in some quarters on different occasions in India . . .

"It is desirable that we should declare publicly our intention to reduce progressively the exports of opium from India so as to extinguish them, altogether within a definite period, except as regards exports of opium for strictly medical purposes.

"The period to be fixed has not yet been finally determined, as before arriving at a decision, it is

! necessary to consult the Government of the United Provinces regarding the effects that the resulting reduction in the area cultivated with opium will have on the cultivators in that Province."

It has also been held by some anti-opiumists that at last the British administration had come to realise that the unremitting pressure exerted by Indian Nationalism for a further extension of India's political privileges must, sooner or later, end with the transfer of power to it. And it would surely look odd if backward India took a step from which the British administration had hung back so long and so obstinately. It was thus that the international demand for a change in India's opium policy was reinforced by Indian public opinion.

In June, 1926, it was announced that the extinction of exports of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes would be accomplished not in five years as required by the Protocol, but in ten years, that is, no opium would be exported for purposes other than medical and scientific after December 31, 1935. The reduction would take place on the following basis. The exports in 1927 would be 90 per cent of the exports in 1926, in 1928, 80 per cent of the exports in 1926, and so on.

The Government of India Act was passed in 1935 and the Provincial part of it commenced functioning from 1937. The attitude of the strongest political organisation in the country to the drink and drug policy of the British administration became clear as soon as it assumed responsibility for Provincial administration and if the Federal part had come into operation, there is little doubt about what it would have done provided of course that it had the majority at the Centre.

MISLEADING PROPAGANDA

In view of what has appeared above, it is rather curious to find a British apologist of the India Government giving it credit because "though in no way bound to do so," it reduced its "exports to Far Eastern countries for other than medical and scientific purposes" according to the method mentioned above. If what has been stated previously in regard to the manner in which the League of Nations was making its approach to the problem of opium-smoking is a correct statement of facts, it follows that the British Government, at least to some extent, was compelled to reconsider its opium export policy in the light of what was then happening in other parts of the world.

The Geneva Convention of 1925 must have been signed and ratified only after the British Government had fully realised the obligations it imposed on its signatories. It may also be presumed that it was aware that, in the absence of a central authority with power to enforce its directions on recalcitrant nations, all steps taken to combat the drug menace on an international scale must naturally be the result of agreements arrived at by the participating countries as also that the measure of success attained would be almost exclusively conditioned by the loyalty with which they were carried out.

What has to be emphasised here is that international agreements, such as the Hague Convention of 1912 or the Geneva Convention of 1925, have no other sanction behind them except international determination to carry them out in both the letter and the spirit. If international opinion on any particular

question as expressed by an organisation enjoying a status like that of the League of Nations is not respected, then indeed there is little hope of the march of humanity towards its goal of peace, happiness and prosperity on a world scale.

By signing and ratifying the Geneva Convention of 1925, the India Government had agreed to take such steps as in the circumstances in which it found itself, were regarded as necessary to "prevent completely within five years the smuggling of opium" so that it would no longer constitute a serious obstacle to the suppression of opium-smoking. After reviewing the whole situation, the British administration had come to the conclusion that the only satisfactory method of redeeming its pledge was to stop the export of opium altogether. It was a choice freely made and no special credit can be given to the India Government for doing its obvious duty.

On the other hand, the uncharitable might suggest that, in a sense, it laid itself open to criticism when it took ten years in giving effect to its decision in place of the five years in the course of which it had been agreed it would be done. In effect, this policy meant that the British administration would continue to supply opium for non-medical purposes in gradually diminishing quantities to the Far Eastern countries most of which were colonies and territories under the control of western Powers. And, what is more, its above-mentioned apologist permitted himself to applaud the India Government for discharging its obligations in mathematically measured instalments. This seems clear from the following extract from the statement referred to already :

"Effect has been given to that policy (annual reduction of 10 per cent of opium exports) at considerable financial sacrifice."

The United States of America, Great Britain, the Soviet Republic, Japan, to mention a few civilised and progressive countries only among many others, gladly faced the loss of huge revenues when they put an end to the non-medical use of drugs by their nationals. There is no denying the fact that there are drug addicts in all of them and that large revenues can be secured by sanctioning their use but they refused doing so as they thought it their duty not to permit addiction among their people.

As against this, we find the tacit assumption that it is not improper to benefit Indian finance at the expense of the degradation and misery of the people inhabiting the Far Eastern countries and that the British administration deserves credit because, after supplying opium freely to them for nearly a century and a half, it was at last persuaded into giving up this iniquitous traffic.

All this is propaganda and that of a very crude type. It may mislead those who know little or nothing of the incidents which preceded the adoption by the India Government in 1927 of the new export policy but it will never deceive the Indian who sees that while, under international pressure, the supplying of opium to the Far Eastern people was stopped, it was being provided by the same India Government to the people of India.

LIMITED USEFULNESS OF THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The joint meeting of the Mixed Sub-committee of the Health Committee and of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium which met early in

January, 1923 discussed, among other things, two fundamental questions,—the purpose of the work undertaken by the League in regard to the use of habit-forming drugs including opium and what constitutes their abuse.

As regards the first it was held that

"The aim of the work of the League is to limit and finally to prevent the abuse of opium, of morphine, etc."

As regards the second, in the language of the report of this meeting,

"It was decided that medical use should be considered the only legitimate use and that all non-medical use should be regarded as abuse."

It therefore follows that the League did succeed in its policy of gradualism and that the India Government made a contribution, though not a large one, in this direction. It may also be stated without much fear of contradiction that it accepted and acted on the League's decision that opium-smoking is an abuse but that by continuing the manufacture and distribution of opium for eating to Indians, it refused to accept the view that this particular form of addiction is an abuse of the drug thus standing against international opinion.

Reference has been made previously to the suggestion appearing in the Final Act of the Geneva Convention of 1925, in regard to the sending of a Commission to various opium-producing countries as also to the visit paid to Persia. It is regrettable that somehow other countries producing much larger quantities of the drug than Persia did not come under the scrutiny of such a Commission for, one of its duties, in the language of the document mentioned above, would have been to suggest measures "calculated" "to limit the production of opium . . . to the quantities required for medical and scientific purposes." Here we find clear recognition of the fundamental fact that the one and only satisfactory method of ending the non-medical and non-scientific use of habit-forming drugs is to cut off their supply at their source which, in the case of opium and its derivatives, implies a drastic reduction in the world area under the poppy to the extent that the amount of opium produced is just sufficient to meet the medical and scientific needs of the world.

Let us hope that what the League of Nations failed to achieve will be accomplished sooner or later by its successor the United Nations Organisation.

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GENERAL EISENHOWER TO BECOME PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Department of History, Columbia University, New York

ON June 24, 1947 it was decided by the Trustees of Columbia University that General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower will become the thirteenth President of Columbia University, succeeding Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. General Eisenhower will take his new post some time next year, possibly on January 1st, 1948.

At present General Eisenhower is the Chief of the staff of the United States Army and therefore his acceptance of the new office has the full approval of the President of the United States and the Secretary of War.

During the World War II, General Eisenhower, as the Supreme Allied Commander of the Anglo-American invasion of Europe, distinguished himself as one of the greatest administrators of vast armies and complicated political affairs. It is well-known that General Eisenhower is a kindly man with great inclination for public service. These facts, among other considerations, have played an important part in his choice.

Columbia University is one of the largest and greatest educational institutions of the world with a faculty of more than 3,500 professors and instructors and nearly 40,000 students. Its Graduate School is possibly the largest in the world. Last March 15, Dr. Frank D. Fachenthal, the present Acting President of Columbia University announced that the *budget for the academic year 1946-47* totalled \$14,548,321. "The capital resources of Columbia University were listed in Dr. Fachenthal's report as amounting to \$129,647,053. With the inclusion of seven affiliated institutions however,—Barnard College, Teachers' College, College of Pharmacy, New York, Post-Graduate Medical School,

New York School of Social Work, Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian Hospital—this total rose to the enormous sum of \$246,998,468."

I had an opportunity of discussing the appointment of General Eisenhower, with Prof. Harry J. Carman, the Dean of the Columbia College. Dean Carman, who is one of the most internationally-minded and forward-looking educators, told me:

"New York, with United Nations headquarters, has become the world capital. Yes, Columbia is one of the greatest institutions in the world; but we are ambitious enough to make it the culture-centre of the world and we are confident that General Eisenhower will play an important role in this development."

"There is no limit to the possibility of the growth of one University. I shall point out only one of the phases of the institution in which you are particularly interested—Study of International Affairs. Already we have established the Institute of International Affairs which is so ably directed by Prof. Schryler Wallace. Our Russian Institute, under the guidance of Professor Robinson, is possibly the best of its kind in this country. We are going to expand and some day we will have an India Institute as well."

"Columbia is a rich institution but we need at least another \$100,000,000 to our Endowment Fund, so that we shall be able to carry out our extension programme."

"Columbia has a history and liberal tradition. It was founded as King's College on October 31, 1754, and it has played its part in the Revolution and the growth of this nation. Columbia has produced statesmen, educators, scientists of the very first class. The Section 8 of the Charter of 1810,

which is still the governing law of the institution provides that *ordinances or by-laws shall not make the religious tenets of any person a condition of admission to any privileges or office in the said college*. We have largest number of students from foreign countries and we try to give special consideration to their work, altho the University is overcrowded.*

It is the tradition in America that statesmen, Generals as well as rich men do their best to serve the Republic, by promoting the cause of education. There is no country in the world which offers greater opportunity for higher education for all, specially deserving men and women from poor families. The other day the City College of New York, which gives up to M.A. and M.Sc. degrees, graduated nearly 2,500 students. This college, one of the oldest and best, is entirely free of tuition for American citizens residing in the city. Admission is based upon *merit only*. This poor man's college has produced many distinguished men and women; and of them Mr. Bernard Baruch, the foremost of America's elder statesmen and Justice Felix Frankfurter of U. S. Supreme Court, and U. S. Senator Wagner of New York are known all over the world.

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THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF BURDWAN DIVISION

By PROF. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

WHENEVER the question of economic development of the country according to a plan arises a close study of regional economies becomes essential for securing an equal development of all regions and localities and preventing their unequal development which is the source of all sorts of socio-political and social-psychological complications. The purpose of this essay is to set out certain basic facts regarding the economic problem of Burdwan Division. The study, however, in no way must be taken to demonstrate a spirit of economic isolationism. Isolationistic thinking has no place in modern economic life when economic problems are mostly common to all the localities of a country. Nevertheless there must be at least some degree of variation in the nature of problems from one locality to another. This writing is only an attempt at ascertaining the essential needs of Burdwan Division and evaluating its place in any scheme of economic development. The study will necessarily relate to the density and growth of population, means of livelihood, the degree of industrialisation that has already been attained, the possibilities and suggestions for planning.

DENSITY AND GROWTH OF POPULATION

According to the Census Report of 1941, Burdwan Division has got a population of 10,287,369, while the population of Bengal is 60,306,525. The following table shows the growth of population in Bengal and its different areas :¹

Percentage Growth of Population

	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	1872-31
BENGAL	2.8	7.3	20.3	47.2
Burdwan Division	-4.9	7.4	18.9	13.71
Presidency Division	0.3	7.0	26.8	36.4
Rajshahi Division	2.1	2.7	12.6	31.1
Dacca and Chittagong Division	8.3	10.2	21.8	90.1

1. Census Report, Bengal, (Part I, 1931 and 1941).

From the days of American Revolution, the Civil War, the World War I and even today, statesmen make education the most important task in their lives. For instance, Jefferson, the writer of the *Declaration of Independence of the United States of America*, Governor of Virginia, Secretary of the State of U. S. A., American Minister to France and President of the United States founded the University of Virginia, the first State University in U. S. A. General Lee, the leader of the Confederacy after the Civil War, devoted his life for the reconstruction of the South, as the President of Washington and Lee University. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, was the famous Professor of Government and the President of Princeton University. President Herbert Hoover is closely associated with Stanford University and the Hoover Library at Stanford is unique in the world for original materials on world affairs. Following this tradition General Eisenhower is going to assume the role of a University President—to make Columbia University as the greatest institution of learning, to train men and women to serve Humanity

So, we find that the growth of population in the Burdwan Division is much smaller than that in other regions. There was actually depopulation in the Burdwan Division during the decades 1872-81 and 1911-21. The smaller growth of population in this region may possibly be taken as an indication of socio-economic stagnation.

Now let us note the following tables, one showing the density of population of different areas of Bengal and the other showing the proportion of unused land to the total area available for cultivation or habitation.

Population per sq. mile in 1941²

BENGAL	779
Dacca Division	1,077
Chittagong Division	721
Presidency Division	781
Rajshahi Division	613
Burdwan Division	728
Burdwan District	699
Bankura "	487
Midnapore "	605
Birbhum "	601
Hooghly "	1,142
Howrah "	2,657

Thus excepting the districts of Hooghly and Howrah which are urbanized to a great extent the density of population is generally lower in the Burdwan Division than that in the central and eastern regions of Bengal. Then let us study the other table :³

2. Census Report, Bengal, 1941.

3. Based on figures given in *The Agricultural Statistics of India* (Govt.), 1938-39.

Proportion of unused land (excluding current fallow) to total area available for cultivation or habitation

BENGAL	13 per cent
Bankura District	33 " "
Birbhum "	16 " "
Burdwan "	14 " "
Midnapore "	25 " "
Howrah "	25 " "
Hooghly "	9 " "

So we find that the extent of unused land in the Burdwan Division is generally larger than what is found to be the average proportion of unused land for the whole province of Bengal. The reading of these two tables together points to the fact that Burdwan Division is generally undeveloped, and it is more backward than what it appears to be. A study of the economic condition of the Bankura district reveals that the low density of population in this area is far from leading to any increase in the per capita income of its inhabitants, the district has rather earned the notoriety of being an eternal famine-area and the cause of its famines is not so much a deficit in food-supply as unemployment or under-employment and lack of purchasing power of the people.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Now how do the people of Burdwan Division earn their livelihood? Certainly the economy of this area also in consistency with the fundamental economic characteristics of India is predominantly agricultural. The distribution of population between different occupations in the Burdwan Division is given below :⁴

Occupations	Total number of persons engaged	Percentage to total working population
Pasture and agriculture	1,922,265	60
Industry including mines and transport	444,445	14
Trade and commerce	158,853	5
Professions and public service	62,616	2
Other occupations	596,129	19

Here we find that though the Burdwan Division depends mainly upon agriculture its dependence upon agriculture is less than that in the province of Bengal as a whole where 69 per cent of the working population are employed in agriculture. In Bengal on the average, 11 per cent of the workers are engaged in industries, 6 per cent are engaged in trade and commerce and 3 per cent in professions and public service. Thus in the Burdwan Division while a large proportion of workers are engaged in industries there are comparatively a smaller proportion of workers in trade and commerce, professions and public service than elsewhere in Bengal. A very weak point of the occupational structure of Burdwan Division is that a large number of people (358,317) constituting 10 per cent of its total working population are engaged in domestic service, while for Bengal as a whole 5 per cent of its working population are in the domestic service and in the Dacca Division only 9 per cent of its total working population belong to this category of occupation. It is remarkable that

in the Burdwan Division a large number of females (289,954) derive their livelihood from domestic service. Domestic service is not very much agreeable to humanity or economically gainful. A large volume of employment in domestic service is rather an evidence of economic backwardness of an area or a locality.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Now let us study how industries that have hitherto developed are distributed over different parts of the Burdwan Division. The figures below which are related to the whole of Bengal will give an idea of that :⁵

Cotton Mill Industry (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
Howrah	8	5,359
Hooghly	6	5,250
24-Parganas	9	12,614
Dacca	6	5,856

Jute Industry (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
Howrah	24	62,552
Hooghly	16	49,842
24-Parganas	57	168,835

Iron and Steel Smelting and Steel Rolling Mills (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
Howrah	1	593
Burdwan	3	16,043
24-Parganas	2	278

General Engineering Workshops and Foundries (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
Burdwan	8	2,905
Howrah	57	9,434
Hooghly	1	263
Midnapore	1	46
24-Parganas	61	11,624
Calcutta	10	987
Nadia	1	50
Chittagong	3	261
Bakarganj	2	576
Dacca	3	540
Faridpur	1	63
Darjeeling	1	20
Rangpur	1	93
Mymensingh	1	94
Jalpaiguri	1	75

Match Industry (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
24-Parganas	10	4,594
Jalpaiguri	1	24
Dacca	3	77

Paper Industry (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
Burdwan	1	1,937
24-Parganas	3	4,331

Chemical Industry (1939)

	No. of factories	No. of workers
Hooghly	3	394
Midnapore	1	84
Burdwan	1	123
Howrah	1	43
24-Parganas	12	3,157

4. Census Report, Bengal, Part I, 1931, P. 263 (The numbers are related to earners—principal occupations and working dependents only.)

5. Collected from the Location of Industry in India (Published by the office of the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, 1946.)

<i>Glass Industry (1939)</i>			<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Linseed</i>	<i>Sugarcane (Gur)</i>	
	No. of factories	No. of workers				
Howrah	2	415	Bankura	839	618	5,021
24-Parganas	8	1,450	Burdwan	1,050	547	5,552
Dacca	2	415	Birbhum	732	681	3,617
<i>Soap Industry (1939)</i>			Hooghly	565	—	4,697
	No. of factories	No. of workers	Howrah	—	718	4,384
Howrah	2	169	Midnapore	736	440	5,018
24-Parganas	8	577	Bengal	788	556	4,446
Calcutta	1	67	India (Br.)*	682	270	3,029

From the above figures it can be learned that undoubtedly the Burdwan Division has attained a much greater degree of industrialization than East Bengal. But the industries that have developed up till now are concentrated mainly in the districts of Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan. No big industry has developed up to this day in the districts of Midnapore, Bankura and Birbhum. In view of this extremely uneven distribution of industries we can regard the industrialization of Burdwan Division to be insignificant.

Again if we examine the following table of growth of population in towns we can clearly see how unequal has been the expansion of different towns in this region :

Towns	Population in 1931	Percentage growth of population during 1931-41
Burdwan	39,618	58.7
Asansol	31,286	49.6
Bankura	31,703	47.0
Bishnupur	19,696	26.7
Midnapore	32,021	34.8
Contai	5,259	28.2
Hooghly-Chinsura	32,634	50.4
Arambag	7,461	20.5
Howrah City	224,873	68.7

The above figures point out that population in bigger towns is growing faster than that in smaller towns. All the excess growth of population in bigger towns cannot be accounted for by a higher birth-rate in those localities. Their population has largely increased through immigration encouraged by the development of their own trade and industries. We must note that the tendency of growing economic concentration in big towns at the cost of smaller ones is already manifest in the Burdwan Division with all its possible evil consequences. Urbanization must make progress along with the development of trade and industries ; but it is not a sound economic policy to allow wide disparity in the growth of towns just as it is not desirable to allow wide disparity between individual incomes.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Turning to agriculture we note that rice-cultivation covers the major part of total area under the plough ; but the soil of Burdwan Division in general is congenial to the production of some other crops also. This is evident from the following table of yield of some crops per acre (in lbs.) :

The above figures show that the soil of Burdwan Division is particularly favourable for the production of sugarcane. This is all the more true when we observe that the per-acre sugarcane yield of this region is larger than that in the sugar-provinces like Bihar and the U. P. where the maximum yield per acre is 4,937 lbs. and 4,000 lbs. respectively and the average yield per acre is 2,491 lbs. and 3,050 lbs. respectively.

Any expansion of sugarcane production in the Burdwan Division would open up possibilities for the development of sugar industry in this area. A planned development of sugarcane cultivation and sugar industries, therefore, is worth considering. It may appear that any extension of sugarcane cultivation may encroach upon rice production which is now a dire necessity. Under the present circumstances this is quite likely. It must be noted here that Bengal is the only province where the area irrigated is less than 1 per cent of the total area sown.⁸ There is no great necessity of irrigation in East Bengal where the natural water-supply is adequate, but natural water supply being scanty and uncertain in the Burdwan Division, it needs irrigation badly. By developing irrigation-works and applying scientific methods to cultivation we can increase very much the per-acre yield of rice and release land for sugarcane and other crops also. Besides, irrigation would lead to the reclamation of waste lands of which great possibilities exist in the Burdwan Division. This would make larger areas available for crops other than rice.

Apart from physical aspects of agriculture, when we devote our attention to its social aspects the problem of agricultural labour appears to us to be most conspicuous. Burdwan Division has got the largest number of agricultural labourers having no land of their own. They number 7,71,722 (earnors, principal occupation and working dependents) and constitute nearly 44 per cent of the total number of workers engaged in ordinary cultivation. They form the poorest strata of the society and their miserable economic condition accounts for the general poverty of Burdwan Division to a very large extent. Apart from the backwardness of agriculture the main cause of their misery is their exploitation by the non-cultivating owners of land. Those who work on the basis of crop sharing get only half of their produce and the other half is surrendered to the owners. Those who work on the basis of wages earned daily wage-rates during 1908-1925 as given below :

* 1943-44—from *Recent Social and Economic Trends in India* (Govt.), 1946.

8. P. N. Banerjee, *A Study of Indian Economics*, 1940, P. 271.

9. *Census Report, Bengal, Part I*, 1931, P. 12.

6. *Census Report, Bengal, 1931, Part II and 1941*.

7. *The Agricultural Statistics of India* (Govt.), 1938-39.

Average Rate of Daily Wages in Annas

	1908	1911	1916	1925
Bengal	—	8-83	9-84	10-38
Burdwan Division	5-14	4-41	5-34	9-48
Burdwan District	5-25	5-25	7-25	11
Birbhum	4-5	3-375	5	7
Bankura	4-875	3-75	4-75	9
Midnapore	5-375	4-25	5-25	8
Hooghly	5-375	5-25	7-25	12
Howrah	5-5	5-375	6-75	12

Though the above figures are not up-to-date, they are enough for showing how pitiable is the economic condition of the agricultural labourers and that the agricultural labourers of Burdwan Division are poorer than those of any other place in Bengal. The problem of agricultural labour in the Burdwan Division, therefore, is one of great magnitude. The poverty of agricultural labourers can be removed by a thorough land reform which would secure for them the fruits of their toil. But the securing of land for the tillers would seriously encroach upon the incomes of the vast middle classes of the Burdwan Division most of whom derive livelihood or subsidiary earnings from agriculture. Hence to carry out land reform it is necessary to undertake all-round economic development of the region so as to provide gainful employment for the middle classes whose members in the Burdwan Division are 144,990 in number.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PLANNING

While proceeding with the plan of economic development of the Burdwan Division it is necessary for the Government to note that Bankura, Midnapore and Birbhum must be given the first place in the order of priority for planning. The task of planning must begin in these districts, because it has already been demonstrated beyond doubt by facts and figures that these districts are most backward in the entire region of Burdwan Division. The districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah, particularly the last two, have been the only beneficiaries from whatever economic development has hitherto been achieved in the Burdwan Division. It is now time to devote our attention and energies to the rest—the most neglected and poverty-stricken areas. The districts of Bankura, Birbhum and Midnapore should now be first considered as places for the location of any new industries. This would achieve two objects at the same time: one is the prevention of excessive localisation with all its disadvantages and the other is the enrichment of the backward areas.

The tasks that are immediately necessary for the Government to undertake are the development of irrigation-works and reclamation of waste lands. The two tasks are closely inter-connected, because it is

impossible to bring many of waste lands under the plough without having previously made an arrangement for supplying water to them adequately. Land in West Bengal particularly in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum is extremely dry and natural water supply is quite inadequate. Yet up to this day no serious Government attempt has been made towards irrigation. It is high time to undertake this task. The fulfilment of the Damodar Valley Project alone would go a long way towards the prosperity of Burdwan Division. It is also worth considering whether other minor projects can be launched at the same time. Just at present the smaller projects are more important than the bigger ones because the smaller projects are capable of being completed within a very short period of time and can immediately lead to an increase in food-supply, while the bigger projects would just now produce only inflationary effects.

It has already been stated that vast tracts of land are lying waste particularly in the districts of Bankura and Midnapore. A soil survey should be immediately conducted to explore their possibilities in different directions.

Then comes the case for industrial development. Industrial development would be a great deal assisted by the reclamation of new lands which would ensure supply of raw materials like sugarcane, cotton, etc., for the newly started sugar, cotton industries, etc.

It is surmised that there are deposits of mica, manganese and other minerals in certain parts of Bankura. A geological survey must have to be carried out for estimating the amount of such deposits and ascertaining how far mining industry can be developed there.

Then the Government must be quick in carrying out far-reaching agrarian reforms for bringing relief to the long-forgotten agricultural workers. Newly reclaimed lands ought to be directly distributed among them—not through any non-cultivating intermediaries. The Government may well choose to try co-operative farming on those lands with the agricultural labourers having at present no land of their own. Those farms may be made model farms as well—conducted on modern scientific lines. The West Bengal Government should appoint a regional planning committee for the Burdwan Division to assist in the work of planning. Each of the districts also should have a planning committee of its own consisting partly of popular elements and partly of experts. A district-committee must have to be affiliated with the regional committee.

Enormous possibilities of development exist in the Burdwan Division. There is no reason why it should remain poor. Within a short period of time it can be turned into a land of prosperity. What is necessary is nothing but a determined leadership solely devoted to the cause of promoting social and economic well-being of the people.



THE NEW FLAG OF INDIA

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

PANDIT NEHRU gave an explanation of the change made in the old *charkha* symbol in the national flag in his speech at the Constituent Assembly when he moved his resolution for the adoption of the new flag of India. According to this explanation, the new wheel symbol stands for the *charkha* though the spindle has been omitted to obviate heraldic difficulty.

Besides artistic improvement, there was also another factor which influenced the choice of the new symbol that was to stand for the old. The choice fell on what has been described as the Asoka wheel "instead of just any odd wheel" because this wheel is regarded as a "symbol of India's ancient culture and of many things India stood for." Pandit Nehru said :

"For my part I am exceedingly happy that indirectly we have associated with this flag of ours not only this symbol but in a sense the name of Asoka, one of the most magnificent names not only in India's history but in world history."

That it was not a question of casually choosing the Asoka wheel instead of just any odd wheel appears clearly from what the author of *Discovery of India* with his strong historical imagination and feeling said next :

"It is well that at this moment of strife and conflict and intolerance our minds go back to what India stood for in those ancient days and what it has stood for, I hope and believe, essentially throughout these ages in spite of mistakes and errors and degradations from time to time. For, if India had not stood for something very great, I do not think that India would have survived and carried its cultural tradition in a more or less continuous manner throughout these vast ages."

Mr. H. V. Kamath wanted to move an amendment for the inclusion of the flag of the *swastika* symbol which he described as the ancient symbol of India but he withdrew his motion after Pandit Nehru's explanation.

Mahatma Gandhi does not yet seem to be quite reconciled to the change. He writes in the *Hindustan* under the caption "New Flag for Free India" :

"In my opinion nothing would have been lost if our councillors had never thought of interfering with the design of the original flag."

Of the two schools of interpreters he is in favour of the old *charkha*. For the school of historical interpreters he has a fling.

"In defence of the improvement some say that the spinning wheel was an old woman's solace and Gandhi's toy, but Swaraj does not belong to old women. It belongs to the warriors and, therefore, we want Asoka's disc mounted with lions and if the lions do not adorn the disc of the flag, the omission is merely for the sake of art, they can not be accommodated on it, but we will not be satisfied until they have found a place on the disc somewhere."

The Buddhists have congratulated the Congress on the adoption of the new symbol which represents in their view the *dharma chakra*. Though the wheel adopted on the flag does not appear to be exactly a copy of the wheel of Sanchi or Sarnath, the association of the name of Asoka with the wheel has prompted the Buddhists to claim the wheel as their own symbol. But Asoka used other symbols equally sacred to the Buddhists on his numerous *stupas*. It would seem that it is not for the wheel but for what Asoka stands for in the eyes of Indians that the association of his name with the new symbol has made it so popular.

The Great King, beloved of the gods, held sway over an India which from its natural northern boundary line, the Hindukush to the Kanya Kumari was then a united, undivided land. Missionaries of India's culture, of India's message of light and peace sped eastwards over the deserts and oases of eastern Turkestan to China and westwards across the vast western Asian empire of the Selucids and steppes of the nomadic borders of the north to the shores of the Caspian, Euxine and Mediterranean. As Pandit Nehru has said, at this moment people's mind naturally turns back to the past when India was one and undivided, when India was mighty and proud and glorious and yet she sent not her arms but her message of peace and love across the Hindukush and the Pamirs to her neighbours and the wide world. This is why the association of the name of Asoka with the new symbol on the flag of the Union of India has spontaneously evoked great enthusiasm.

But the wheel which Pandit Nehru has described as the symbol of India's ancient culture and of many things that India stood for, was not a creation of Asoka. It was an old symbol which Buddhism had adopted. In the Sanchi stupa the wheel is an object of worship as a hierogram. It appears as a sacred symbol also at Bharhut, Amaravati and Karlee caves (with four lions surmounting) and in other Buddhist and Jain monuments. On the famous Prasenjit pillar (Bharhut) the king is represented as paying his respect to the wheel surmounted by an umbrella and adorned with garlands. The wheel is described as *bhagavato dhama chakam* and represents *dharma* in the combination of symbols known as the Tri-ratna symbol. The prominence given to the wheel in the Buddhist religion has led the Buddhists to claim the symbol as their own. But it is a sacred symbol also with the Jains and Hindus and it is much more than that. Its history goes back thousands of years.

The special treatment of wheel by the Buddhists was an innovation based on old tradition. The wheel and its variant the disc appear on early Indian coins. They were regarded as solar symbols. The sun represented as a rayed disc appears on the devices of the coin of Suryamitra and Bhadumitra, dated in the 2nd century B.C. The wheel and its numerous variants appear on the early punch-marked coins of India. On some cast copper coins of the 3rd century B.C., the symbol is a

large rayed disc. The disc with other symbols appear on numerous series of early coins from 200 B.C. to 7th century A.C., including Gupta coins of Kanauj, Magadhā, Malwa and Saurashtra. A wheel-shaped cake was used as a sun symbol in the Vedic Maharashtra festival. According to the *Satapatha Brahmana*, a gold disc was used as a sun symbol. The wheel or discus of Visnu is held to prove the solar affinity of the god.

To turn to much earlier ages. The wheel and the disc appear among the finds from prehistoric sites in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan. On a paste stamp seal found at Mohenjo-Daro, the wheel appears in a pictographic legend to which sacred significance is attributed. It appears also as a motif on pottery. A large number of discs which have been described as solar symbols have been found at Mohenjo-Daro, in Western Sind and Baluchistan. Some of these discs are rayed with seven or ten arms. The rayed disc may clearly be interpreted as a representation of the sun though it is difficult to know exactly what use was made of the wheel and disc symbols in the Indus Valley in the chalcolithic age.

The wheel features in the early Egyptian, Persian, Assyrian, Greek and other religions as solar symbols. It may be mentioned here that some scholars have

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suggested that Aten worship in which Aten or the sun was represented as a disc and which was introduced into Egypt by Amenhotep IV (XVIII dynasty) who suppressed the old worship of Amun-ra, was probably borrowed from India. Whether this is true or not the discovery of the wheel and disc symbols in the Indus age would prove that these symbols were in use in India much earlier than elsewhere.

Thus for over 5,000 years the wheel or disc symbol has been known in India as a symbol of light. It is the deep yearning for light and truth in adversity and in happiness, in the hour of frustration and in the hour of exultation that has distinguished the Indian culture which though hoary with age still pulsates with life and vigour. The age of Asoka was an age of expansion and exultation and yet read the noble edicts of the Great King to know of the yearning that filled his heart. Very appropriately has Pandit Nehru described the new symbol on the flag of the Union of India, a symbol of light, as the symbol of India's ancient culture and all that India has stood for.

It may be added that *swastika* symbol which Mr. Kamath wanted to have on the flag is as ancient in India as the wheel-symbol.

BENGAL'S FOOD DEFICIENCY AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASK

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

PARTITION of Bengal is now an accomplished fact and in a few weeks the Congress leaders of Bengal will have unfettered sway, unfettered not only from the British but also from the influence of the Muslim communalists over the western part of the province. There is certainly a pang in the separation but we have got to content ourselves with the thought that circumstances beyond control have forced us to seek for our own dismemberment.

The task of reconstruction of each part of divided Bengal is extremely heavy and onerous. It is now superfluous to attempt at a guess of the shape of things in the Eastern part of Bengal under the rule of rank Muslim communalists, and woe awaits those who would not submit to the Leaguers' whims.

In the Western Bengal Province, the task of the Congress Ministers is heavier still. They have got to translate into action all the principles and theories which Congress stands for. Some of these, as experience has proved in the administration of provinces over which Congress Ministers have had continued control, are difficult, perhaps impossible, of application. Nonetheless, Bengal Congressmen along with their compatriots in other parts of the Indian Union must strive for attaining the ideal.

Corruption, nepotism, jobbery, waste, self-aggrandisement, communalism and communal preferment in thorough disregard of the interests of the common people, suppression of justice, in a word, a travesty of civilised government has permeated into the very fabric of the administration of Bengal. The Congress Ministers have to undertake the Herculean task

of not only removing all vestiges of communal misrule but also renovating the system in a manner that will be conducive to the welfare of all people irrespective of caste, creed, colour, age and sex.

The people are hungry and have not sufficient and nutritive food for healthy living. The few threads that men have, are insufficient for the purpose of protecting the body from the caprices of weather or meeting the demands of a decent society. Few of us have a hut to take shelter in. Most of us have no health and disease is rampant. The gloom of illiteracy is enveloping the whole country. Recreation is a misnomer and rest lies in the grave or on the funeral pyre. With the stern reality of hunger, nakedness, disease and premature death around us, the responsibility of the reconstruction of Bengal is very grave and let us entertain the confident hope that our leaders will not fail us.

The immediate task is to find food for the millions. Without clothing or shelter or other necessities of life, man may carry on his earthly existence for some time, but without food he cannot. Bengal undivided was deficit in rice, and with a divided stock and a larger number of surplus districts being included in the East Bengal Province, complications have multiplied. The Western Province has inherited a permanent legacy of scarcity and want.

The total of paddy land of eleven declared East Bengal districts, viz., Noakhali, Bakharganj, Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Tippera, Pabna, Faridpur, Bogra, Mymensingh and Rangpur, is approximately 1,26,54,000 acres and the total area of the rice field of the declared eight districts of West Bengal, viz., Jalpaiguri, Ban-

kura, Howrah, Birbhum, Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly and 24 Parganas, is approximately 61,78,000 acres. It is expected that of the 61,95,000 acres lying in six districts, viz., Maldah, Khulna, Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore and Dinajpore, about one-fourth, i.e., 15,48,500 acres may come to West Bengal through the findings of the Boundary Commission. Finally, the figures stand at 1,73,00,000 acres for the East and 80,26,000 acres of paddy lands in the West Bengal Province, or 68.35 per cent (with a population of about 55 per cent) goes to the East and 31.66 per cent (with a population of about 45 per cent) remains in West Bengal. While East Bengal will have a population which is a little larger than West Bengal, the latter province will include Calcutta with more than two millions of mouths to feed without producing a grain of paddy.

Normally Bengal imports 132,000 tons of rice (barring unrecorded imports from Assam and Arakan) and 249,000 of wheat every year from outside. This was for the whole of Bengal and naturally the strain will be more felt in West Bengal than in the East. The new West Bengal Province with a population of approximately 2.5 crores will have 33.3 per cent or 83,00,000 children, etc., requiring at least rice at 3 mds. per capita per year and 1,67,00,000 souls at 6 mds. of rice per year, i.e., roughly we will be in need of 12.51 crore mds. of rice. Calculating at the rate of 13 mds. of rice per acre of land we must have land to the extent of 96,20,000 acres in West Bengal. Against the present available area of 80,26,000 acres we are deficient by nearly 20 per cent for our immediate requirement.

It is not possible within a short space of time to investigate chances of increasing the area of land that would readily grow rice and will relieve anxiety on the score of deficiency of food. It is doubtful whether such a scheme, if ever undertaken, would materialise. The new province of West Bengal must look to other sources to meet as much of the total want as possible so that it may not be dependent on others for very huge quantities which the other provinces in the Indian Union may find difficult to supply.

The first attempt should be directed towards improvement of agriculture. We have heard so much of this process always under way of execution that one looks upon this measure as a huge joke. What has so long stood in the way is the want of knowledge in those who would initiate policy and see through its execution. Further, no officer of the Government has ever taken it seriously and the whole Government viewed it with complacency. If anybody means business, especially the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture, he should at once go into the root of the problem and come into grips with the real difficulties.

The resources that are necessary for the purpose of increasing the yield of land are (i) land, (ii) labour, (iii) livestock, (iv) farm equipment, (v) seed and manure, (vi) water supply, and (vii) transport facilities. While each of the above items is necessary by itself, most of these are the concern of the Government as well as the people, more of the former, and can be obtained by judicious expenditure of money. So far as livestock and irrigation are concerned, it may mean a bit longer period of time for their improvement, but certainly it lies within reasonable limits.

In my view, the greatest drawback in the whole scheme is the want of availability of suitable land for extensive agriculture. Intensive agriculture in Bengal

suffers more from lack of initiative than from anything else.

Uneconomic holding is the bane of agriculture in Bengal. The owners of extensive fields reap better returns for their labour than the small growers whose cost of production is larger than that of the owners of big plots of lands. It has been the common practice of denouncing the zemindary system for all our ills in agriculture and replacement of zemindary by a *raiyatwari* system has been dangled before the hungry millions as manna for allaying their yearning for food. Abolition of zemindary is, of course, one of the most important steps towards improvement of agriculture, but how it is to be effected is the problem of problems. Even if one is tempted to overlook the miseries of many thousands of zemindars and all classes of rent-receivers, (because that is the aim), and their dependents, the State must think of the cost it involves and the uncertainty it presupposes. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the Revenue Minister, who epitomises all the zeal of the Muslim League in its uninterrupted administration of Bengal for ten years, was constrained to accept in part the contention that barring a "few families that can trace their connection with the original proprietors with whom settlement was made, by far the greater portion of the zemindars acquired their estates either in revenue sale or by private purchase or payment of full market price, and it will be a grossly expropriatory and discriminating class legislation if the landlords are not to be paid full value of their properties." Considering the question from all aspects, the Hon'ble Minister declared his Government's policy of granting "a graded scale of compensation." He was of the opinion that "the State acquisition is not based on the ground that it may lead to financial gain." On the other hand, on a modest computation the compensation for purchasing the "net rent-receiving assets of 5.9 crores of rupees would be a capitalised sum of Rs. 118 crores."

Bengal as a whole has been showing during the last few years enormous deficit year after year and it is not probable that the two divided parts separately would be able to show any surplus. On the findings of the Assets and Liabilities Commission, it is not unlikely that the West Bengal Province will be burdened with a liability of Rs. 30 crores or more on the score of retaining in possession Government buildings, other properties and advantages. This sum will act as a halter round the neck of West Bengal's progress and it would be unwise to venture State acquisition of landed properties which would involve the State in an additional burden of Rs. 118 crores.

Expropriation is neither thought of nor is it desirable and considering all view-points the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union on May 2, adopted Clause 19 of the Fundamental Rights Committee Report to the effect that *no property shall be acquired for public use without paying compensation*. Now there is no escape from the liability of a huge sum in case my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Kalipada Mukherji, the Revenue Minister, thinks of abolishing the Bengal Zemindary system altogether.

Such a step is also of doubtful value in the present context where lands in large plots are of immediate necessity. Out of 46.3 million acres of land in Bengal, 15.2 million acres or 32.7 per cent is held by the proprietors and tenure holders, the rest, i.e., 31.1 million acres or 67.3 per cent is divided amongst the

raiyats and under-raiyats in the proportion of 60.5 per cent and 6.8 per cent or 28 million acres and 3.1 million acres, respectively. Most of the raiyats and under-raiyats are peasant proprietors and State acquisition will be unable to release any large area of land from their actual possession.

It must be a long-drawn affair and should wait for better days. The Government should proceed step by step with a view to ultimately socialise all lands together with all properties that might reorganise the vital productive and distributive processes in the interest of the community. The deep attachment which an average Bengalee evinces in his land will retard the progress of improving agriculture through State socialism and according to high authorities "there will be justification for his opposition to it as it does not seem proper that while owners and factors of production in other fields of industry should remain undisturbed in their ownership, he alone should be asked to part with his title deeds."

The immediate task is abolition of uneconomic holdings and consolidation of them into big plots with a view to facilitate application of improved agricultural methods. Such consolidation of holdings may be effected through legislation or through the efforts of the Co-operative Societies with the backing of the Government. It seems that Bengal is rather late in the field, because the Governments of the Central Provinces, the Punjab and the United Provinces have each to its credit a statute termed the Consolidation of Holdings Act passed by their respective Legislatures in 1928, 1936 and 1939.

From the Report of the Co-operative Planning Committee appointed by the Government of India on the Recommendation of the Fourteenth Conference of the Registrars of Co-operative Societies, better known as "Saraiya Committee," we know that

"The evils of fragmentation of holdings seem to be widespread and not peculiar to India. Throughout the European continent, sub-division of land among the heirs in each generation constitutes one of the major obstacles to progress in farming technique."

The Report further adds :

"The experience of France, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, and Denmark proves that voluntary consolidation of holdings among peasant-proprietors does not secure compact and reasonably-sized holdings and the remedial measure lies in legislation."

This seems to be an ideal measure for the National Government to adopt. It aims at "introducing a method of farming, without affecting any of the fundamental social institutions or customs and interfering with the

framework of private property" and is bound to give increased production.

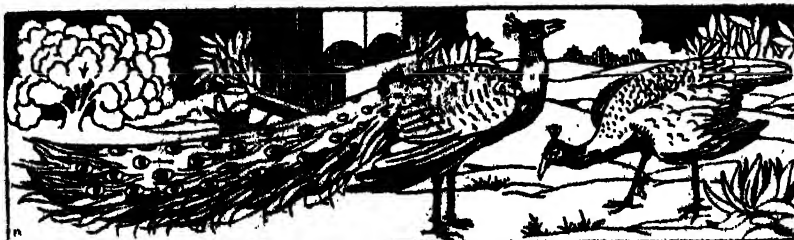
Under this system every owner of any interest will be paid from the produce of the land, while the workers are entitled to wages as well as the yield. He ceases to possess any specific piece of land and consequently he is debarred from letting it out to tenants in return for rent. Mr. Tarlok Singh, an expert in Co-operative Joint Farming System, has explained the position of proprietors of interest in land in the following lines very nicely :

"When all the land of a village passes into joint management, each owner will have the right to receive an income from the farm as a whole, according to the value of the contribution he has made."

The rest is the concern of the Government on whom ultimately rests the responsibility of preventing death of its subject from starvation. The State should be ready with a liberal supply of manure, preferably compost manure, and improved farm equipment. The Demonstration Farms, which are maintained at huge costs and are absolutely useless from the point of view of the agriculturists of the land, should be remodelled immediately under the supervision of those agriculturists who have been successful with their own cultivation and need a little of technical or special knowledge to make them conversant with the up-to-date methods.

Instead of circumscribing its activities within the boundaries of Demonstration Farms, the Government should take on lease or temporarily acquire 100 bighas of land in a central place of each district and 10- or 20-bigha plot in every thana and demonstrate the effectiveness of the improved knowledge and technique obtained through research of Government officials. It would demonstrate that most of what the Government takes pride in, is suitable for laboratory experiments or in a small field in Demonstration Farms and is quite useless for the purpose of its mass application. The tenants, whose lands are acquired, should be paid in crop of the land which he had to forego, in addition to any stipulated rent. He may also be induced to work in the field and gain practical knowledge of the new methods.

Make this experiment a success by all means. In its wider application each plot should comprise not less than 500 bighas and legislation should be introduced immediately to give effect to the scheme. Proprietors of lands or any other interest will, with their rights safeguarded, gladly join in such an experiment and Bengal may well produce anything between 10 to 15 per cent more in a year or two.



SHASTA DAM, WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST CONCRETE DAM, GIVES NEW LIFE TO CALIFORNIA

The great Shasta dam, world's second largest concrete dam, which has been under construction in California since 1938 is rapidly nearing completion. Erected at

drop 480 feet, almost three times the height of the Niagara Falls.

This huge concrete structure holds back the waters of the Sacramento, Pit and Mc-Loud rivers to a distance of 35 miles and creates a large mountain lake within the Shasta national forest.



Shasta Dam on the Sacramento River in the northern part of California

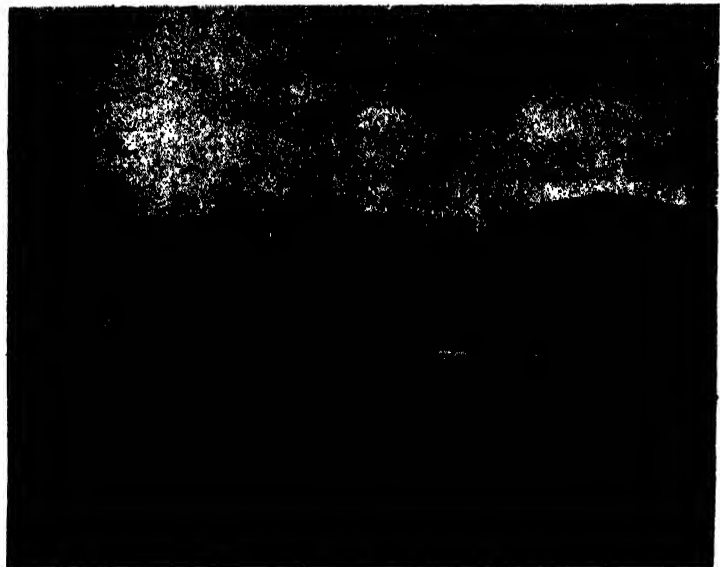
The function of the dam is to monitor the waters of the Sacramento river as it flows southward to the San Francisco Bay. Much of these waters were formerly wasted or lost through floods. Now over half-million acres of crop lands in the southern portion of the Central Valley are to be irrigated from this controlled source. There is now over half-million acre-feet of water in Shasta lake awaiting release for production of electric energy and irrigation.

The dam also regulates the flow of the Sacramento for purposes of navigation, flood control, salinity repulsion, and electric power production. Five main power units have been installed in the hydro-electric plant below the dam. Four 75,000 kilowatt generators of units are now in operation. Each is driven by 103,000 horse-

power at the headwaters of the Sacramento river in the northern section of the State, the dam is regarded as a dominant feature of the 300 million dollar Central Valley Project that has been undertaken by the Bureau of Reclamation of the United States Department of Interior in an attempt to solve the 100-year-old irrigation problems of the valley.

The purpose of the project is the development and use of the water resources of the Sacramento and San Joaquin river valleys which comprise the 500-mile long valley running lengthwise through the center of California.

The dam rises 602 feet from the floor of the northernmost section of the valley directly below the snow-covered cone of the 14,000-foot extinct volcano from which it derives its name. The dam is of the gravity type, its curved axis extending 3,500 feet across the valley. It is 580 feet thick at the base. Floodwaters power turbine and two station service units of 2,500 flowing over the spillway in the center of the dam kilowatts. Most of the power produced by these

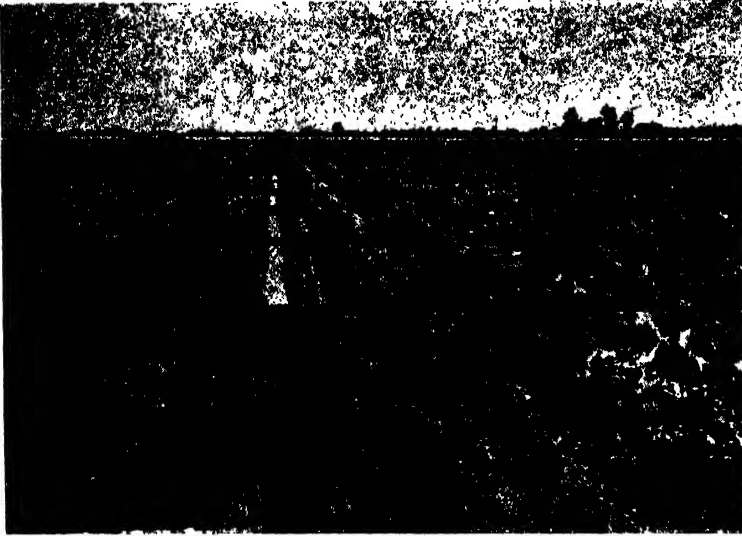


Shasta Dam is fed largely by water from the snows of Mt. Shasta

base. Floodwaters power turbine and two station service units of 2,500 kilowatts. Most of the power produced by these

massive generators will be distributed to industry and homes throughout the valley and in cities in the San Francisco Bay region.

The original contract for the construction of the dam and the power plant was for 35 million dollars and was to be undertaken by a firm of twelve construction companies. It is expected the entire cost will be about 87 million dollars.



Water for the fields comes from the Central Valley Project built by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation

Among the problems facing the engineers was the re-location of 37 miles of mainline railroad track and diversion of Sacramento river through tunnel during the period of the construction. A large double deck railroad and vehicular traffic bridge also had to be built 500 feet above the bed of the Pit River.

Despite wartime shortages of men and materials, the work has progressed with amazing speed. The construction began in September, 1938. In December, 1939, the work on Pit River Bridge got under way. By March, 1942, the bridge was ready for train service on its double line of tracks. Meanwhile concrete had been poured steadily into forms of the dam. The first million cubic yards was poured by May, 1941, and the final six million cubic yards of mixture was placed in the dam in December, 1943. This occurred two months after the first power has been delivered to the company having distribution contracts.

The prime purposes of the Central Valley Project are to provide supplemental water supply for large deficiency area in the San Joaquin Valley, ameliorate salt-water encroachment in the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, improve navigation along the Sacramento river, reduce floods and generate hydro-electric power.

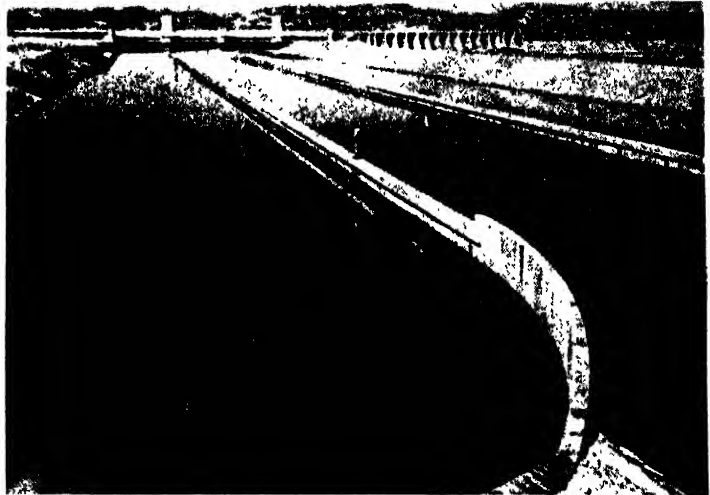
Conserved water from the Shasta reservoir is con-

veyed across the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, through the delta across the channel into the lower west side of the San Joaquin area, thence into the delta of the Mendota canal where it is lifted and conveyed 105 miles along the side of San Joaquin valley to the Mendota pool about 500 miles south of the dam.

There the other smaller dams and canals help preserve the rich agricultural land served by the project but in the main, Shasta dam and Friat dam farther south near Fresno will store water equal to seventy per cent of all the existing reservoir capacity behind the 600 dams in the other parts of the State.

The Central Valley Project contemplating equitable distribution of water and improved river navigation was first conceived in 1871 but it was not until 1933 that state and federal agencies were able to present the plan to the people of California who received it with a favorable vote of assent. Two years later, President Roosevelt approved the project and the Bureau of Reclamation was entrusted with the task of directing the huge undertaking.

Steamboats navigated the Sacramento river in 1850 during the days of the gold rush regular-



Part of a huge irrigation system in the State of California

ly operating up-stream as far as Redbluff, a community 150 miles from the river's mouth. But large-scale hydraulic gold mining before it was restricted by courts, virtually ended river navigation by choking river channels with silt. Early irrigation projects also diverted the river water making it necessary to confine navigation to the lower reaches of the river.

The Central Valley Project will operate the Shasta reservoir so as to maintain a minimum flow of

5,000 second-feet which will permit restoration of navigation above the state capital of Sacramento in a channel at least six feet deep.

This will result in dependable all-year river transportation for boats and barges and is expected to effect large savings in moving of commodities between the Sacramento valley towns and the San Francisco Bay region.



A vineyard in California is irrigated by pumping up water from a underground pipe of the Shasta Dam

Agricultural development in the semi-arid central valley has outstripped nature's plan of water distribution. Water resources became out of balance with the irrigable lands. Geographically, Sacramento basin watersheds produce two-thirds of the water but a greater amount of land which can be farmed with irrigation is found in the southern section of the valley where only one-third of the water needed is present. Seasonally there is a periodic drought and flood. Most rain occurs during winter and early spring and if not controlled runs into ocean through San Francisco Bay. Conditions existing prior to the establishment of dam control were extremely difficult. In southern San Joaquin Valley water extracted from the ground by pumping greatly exceeded natural replenishment by rainfall and stream flow. Almost 50,000 acres of highly productive land had to be abandoned because wells went dry or deeper pumping became too expensive.

Also, the extremely low summer flow of the river's permitted encroachment of salt water from San Francisco Bay upon the reclaimed cropland in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

To meet nature's challenge the Bureau of Reclamation has directed erection of Shasta and Friat dams, Keswick regulating and power dam, and a 350 mile system of irrigation canals.

The purchase of power generated at Shasta and Keswick dams—Fariat has no hydro-electric installations—is at uniform rate schedules for municipalities, irrigation districts and public projects. Power is sold at wholesale except where size or other service requirements make it advantageous to serve customer directly.

It is not anticipated that use of the project's power for irrigation pumping will in any way conflict with excess lands provisions of the Federal Reclamation Act. Under the powers of the Act water may not be served from federal project such as Central Valley to land under one ownership of over 160 acres.

Throughout the construction period of Shasta dam and other phases of the Central Valley Project the energetic campaign of public information was carried to hundreds of thousands of people who were to benefit directly from the new systems of water control and power production. The campaign was carefully designed to inform and educate the public by showing the inter-relationship of the entire project to individual needs of persons living throughout the valley.

Radio programs and news articles written with emphasis on both local and statewide benefits to be expected were released in all communities in the valley as well as major cities. As soon as the public became well-informed many early sectional misunderstandings regarding overall value of the vast waterways project were overcome.

The fine spirit of co-operation and intelligent approval which was bound to strengthen the future operation of the project has been evidenced among all groups.—USOWI.





Fresco-paintings from Lepakshi Temple
Coloured lino-cut by M. Leon

FRESCO PAINTINGS OF THE LEPAKSHI TEMPLE

By SUDHANSU KUMAR RAY,
Rural Craft Surveyor, University of Calcutta

THE frescoes on the ceilings of the Virabhadra Temple of Lepakshi (Anantapur District in Andhra, South India) represent a different school of paintings to that we see at Ajanta. The frescoes of the cave temples of

flora and fauna. They give us definite data for the 16th century folk-paintings of local traditional art. In my estimation, the frescoes on the ceiling of the inner shrine may be of earlier date, 14th to 15th century.

The most interesting features of these frescoes are :

(1) All the figures have protruding eyes, and particularly the earlier figures, with elongated eyelids drawn up to the ear, similar to the paintings we see in the later Gujarati manuscripts, especially of the Jain cult.

(2) Occasionally the intermediate figures are drawn iconographically in the style of Nepalese and Pala manuscripts illustrating deities of Tantric Buddhism.

(3) Some of the painted decorations resemble the cave decorations of Ajanta, and the figures bear the influence of 10th century bronze sculptures of the south.

Considering these points, it can be assumed that the local artists who had an earlier experience of



Fresco from Lepakshi depicting animals in various poses

Ajanta depict mainly Buddhist mythology (*Jataka*) and the life of Buddha in an art that is purely classical, whereas the Lepakshi frescoes depict popular stories, mainly related to Lord Shiva. They emphasise local tradition, local costume and the local

classical South Indian tradition of painting bowed to the inevitable local circumstances and produced the type of folk-art which led the way to the later Gujarati-Jain convention, as well as the domination of the iconography of Tantricism of Northern India.



Head of a princess from the frescoes of Lepakshi Temple, copied by the writer himself



Fresco depicting a local lady with protruding eyes and long eye-lines similar to Jain manuscript paintings

The copper-plates recently discovered from the floor of the temple show convincing evidence on this point, as these copper-plates are engraved in Nagari script but in the language of the locality, and thus record such intercourses between the North and the South.

Another point to be considered here is that the three famous Telugu folk-paintings we see in the picture-gallery of the Madras Museum (which probably came from the Cuddapah district) do not correspond in style or in method of execution with the Lepakshi frescoes, though they belong to a later period than these frescoes. Telugu paintings of the Museum do not show any Tantric or later Jain convention at all. Nor do we notice in them any influence of the classical tradition. On the other hand, at Lepakshi we see an eclecticism of different traditions of painting, which raises many problems for the student of the history of Indian paintings to solve.



Fresco depicting a Tantric God similar to Pala and Nepalese manuscript drawings

While that is the case with the frescoes, the architecture and the sculptures at Lepakshi are in no way puzzling, as they can be detected and classified more correctly to the different periods and schools of India. The temple itself had its root in the remote past, which is evident from some pillars and door-lintels, the symbols of miniature votive *stupas*, eschewing any figurative art. In this respect the earliest Lepakshi sculptures are allied to earlier Jain and Buddhist religious art. The conversion of this original Jain or Buddhist temple into a Saivite temple and the construction and re-construction of further structures, have given us exquisite bas-reliefs of medieval times,

which can be taken as the best specimens of our art. The dancing Shiva, Mahisha-Mardini, and other dancing male and female deities in the inner temple and particularly the "Shiva-Annapurna" at the Mandapa, can be paralleled with Mahabalipuram and the Ellora sculptures, and some of them are really superior in beauty and perfection. The huge rock-cut figures like the Bull (Nandi), the Serpent-God and Vigneswara are unique in the whole of India in respect of their simplicity and dignity.

We also see some sculptures of the Vijayanagara period which are not so good as those at Hampi and

other places of that age. But it is interesting to note that the sculptures of any period, old or new, of this temple do not correspond in style or technique with the fresco-paintings of the temple. Here is a unique example of artistic tradition of painting that might help us to understand more clearly the folk-art of South India and its contribution to Northern Indian paintings of a later age.*

* The writer is indebted to his friend Mr. Ramgopal for the three line drawings specially done for this article directly from the ceiling of the temple. One painting is copied and coloured by the writer himself.

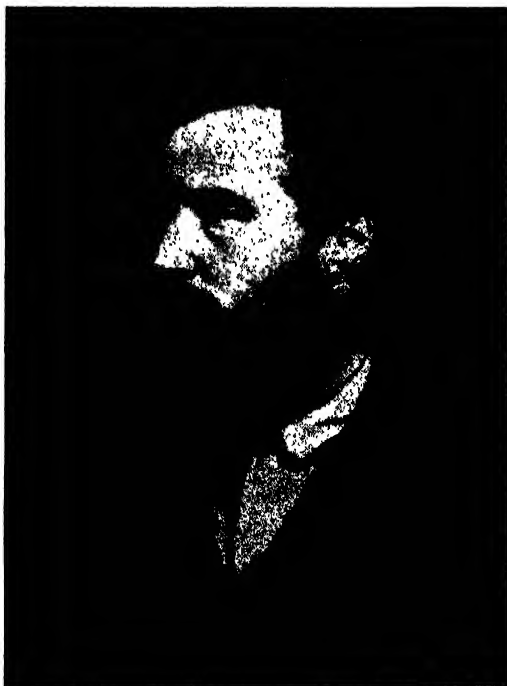
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WILLIAM MORRIS

An Artist Who Believed that Beauty is a Social Force

By NOEL CARRINGTON

WILLIAM MORRIS (1834-1896) was a poet, painter, manufacturer, designer, printer, publisher, socialist. He believed that beauty is a social force which should not be neglected, and as an artist and craftsman he had great influence, not only in Britain, but all over the world.



William Morris (1834-1896)

Of all the men of genius of nineteenth century England, few have had more profound influence than William Morris. Others, such as Lord Tennyson were giants in their day, but Tennyson's influence hardly outlasted the century. The movement started by Morris is not expended yet, and it spread far beyond the shores of the British Isles. As one might expect, many of Morris's ideas were in the air, so to speak,

before his day, the fruits of a reaction from triumphant commercialism, but as he seemed to personify them and put them to the proof of action with his own hands, it is small wonder that his name is regarded as that of a pioneer, a founder and a prophet.

William Morris's career has some parallels with that of Tolstoy, his great Russian contemporary. Both were born in comfortable circumstances, though Morris was not of the nobility. Both ended as socialists, and indeed as revolutionaries. Each was endowed with immense vitality and gusto for life, and though politically their careers seemed to end in failure, their faith found followers who carried their message through to millions.

What then were the ideas of William Morris? I suppose the kernel of his faith was his belief that man should find joy and satisfaction in his work.

"It is not," he said, "that men are ill-fed, but that they have no pleasure in their work by which they earn their bread, and therefore look to wealth as the only means of pleasure."

Plenty of his contemporaries also bitterly denounced the ugliness of buildings, the squalor of the slums, the shallow pleasures of society. Morris had a cure.

"Stop," he said, "making things for the sake of profit and to accumulate capital. Make what you know to be useful and believe to be beautiful."

To prove his thesis, he and his band of collaborators, including the artist Burne-Jones, set about designing and making things in a style that owed nothing to contemporary fashions and a good deal to earlier periods of craftsmanship.

It is surprising how many crafts Morris practised at one time or another. His insatiable energy and curiosity led him from one trade to another: furniture, weaving, wallpapers, dyeing, stained glass and finally book printing in his old age. And in general, he was successful. His business ventures were not always very well managed but his faith carried him through, and in the end Morris and Company survived him and continued to our day. But of course to Morris the propagation of the idea, the proof that beauty and pride in workmanship lay at any man's hand to be rediscovered, were then more important than a strong balance-sheet. And if there is added to all this the fact

that he was a prolific writer of poetry and prose, a translator of Icelandic sagas and, at times, a political organiser, one cannot fail to realise that if he was an eccentric in some ways, he was no escapist. He believed in living a full life in every sense.

To some extent the way had been prepared for him by John Ruskin, a critic whose words had a pro-

the Curwen Press or the renaissance in building and many domestic trades.

There was one aspect of Morris's creed, that has become a stumbling block to many today who hardly know what they owe to him. Seeing on all sides the shoddy products of commerce and the evils of the nineteenth century industrial system, he set himself

out to smash idolatry of the machine. In his Utopian novel, *News From Nowhere*, first published in 1893, Morris gave a picture of the ideal society as he then saw it. He put it a hundred years hence, well after the revolution which, according to his forecasts, was to take place in 1952. The only place accorded to the machine in his ideal state was for making of things which were not interesting to make by hand, so as to free mankind for the pleasures of real creative work—but not, be it noted, for unoccupied leisure. The anti-machine bias led the arts and crafts movement which Morris founded, to become more than somewhat impractical. The craftsworker made for a well-to-do client having a taste for the hand-made article, and as this taste began to permeate society, the astute manufacturer soon discovered methods for imitating the hand-made, a practice which would have horrified no one more than William Morris.

Twenty years after his death a new movement started which, while it accepted Morris's basic standard of values, insisted that the machine products must be honestly designed for the machine processes. From this can be dated the birth of modern industrial art. And it has been found that there is room too, for the artist-craftsman working on his own. Not only is their work of value to themselves, but it enriches the whole stream of production by their individual conceptions of beauty.

William Morris was a prolific writer. Not all his poetry is easy to read now, but his essays are well worth reading again, and they still challenge an answer. Morris saw where the unbridled competition for wealth was leading civilization and no thoughtful man or woman can pretend that the answer we have so far given, is one that will work.

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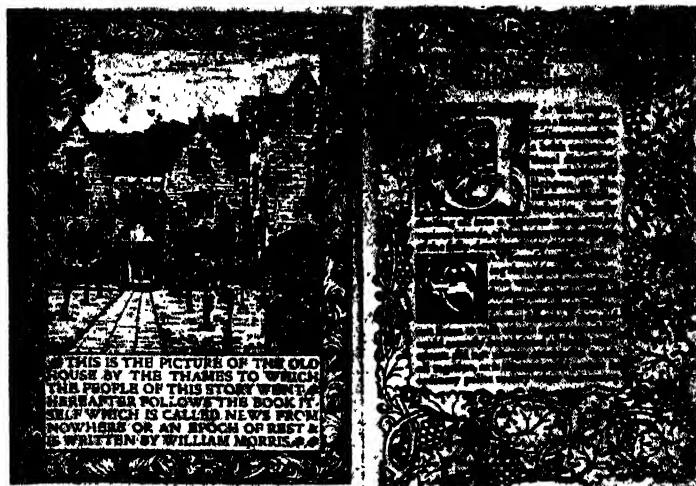
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

DR. MISS JYOTIRMAYEE SARMA, M.A., Ph.D. (Chicago) : Passing Junior Cambridge from St. Theresa's High School, Calcutta, she entered the University of Chicago in 1937. Receiving B.A. in Sociology in August, 1937, she continued for M.A. in Sociology with a minor in Anthropology. The title of M.A. dissertation (thesis) being "The Hindu System of Caste in the Province of Bengal in India." Received M.A. in 1942 and continued for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology with a minor in Anthropology. The title of Ph.D. dissertation being "The Social Categories of Friendship," a comparative study of friendship as related to the social grouping in six societies on a range of simple to complex. Did field work in Chicago and in a small middle western town of the U.S.A. and received the Ph.D. degree in June 1946.

During the course she studied with Professors Lloyd Warner, Everett C. Hughes, Robert Redfield, Ernest W. Burgess, William F. Ogburn, Louis Wirth and the others of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Chicago.

She was on the staff as a paid employee in several research projects in the University from 1943 to 1945. Further, she was a Reader and a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Sociology from 1941 to March 1947, and also taught a course in Social Anthropology for three months in 1945.

Born on September 14, 1922, in a progressive family in Calcutta, she is the grand-daughter of Kaviraj Satish Chandra Sarma of Behala and a daughter of the late Dr. Jagajyoti Sarma, M.B. of Sahapur, Behala.



Two pages from a book printed by William Morris in his own printing press at Kelmscott

THE VERSATILE HELICOPTER

After years of research and experimentation, the helicopter has now firmly established its place in the field of aviation in the United States as an aircraft designed for specialized uses. An auxiliary to the fixed-wing,

helicopter could transport and land personnel, equipment and supplies for mining and other field operations at locations inaccessible to conventional land and air vehicles.



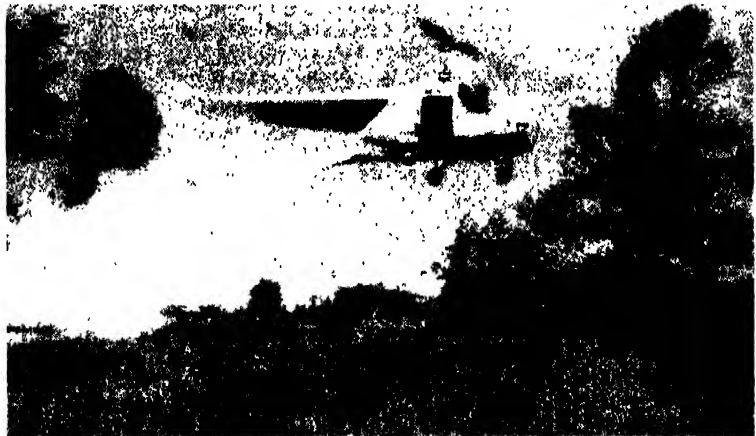
Helicopter mail delivery from Los Angeles, Chicago and New York to towns within a radius of fifty miles of the three cities proved successful in tests conducted a few months ago, and according to a Post Office Department official, the test showed conclusively that the helicopter is an answer to the essential speeding up of air mail delivery in metropolitan areas and in highway-congested suburban districts.

The Post Office Department believes that air mail will increase 50 per cent over current levels by the end of 1947 as a result of its speeded program. Regular helicopter service in the Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Philadelphia and Detroit metropolitan areas is planned. By the end of this year, the helicopter service is expected to

The versatile helicopter is a great help to a rancher long-range transport it solves many of the problems of short air travel, and its unique maneuverability enables it to perform service difficult or impossible for conventional air and land vehicles.

In demonstrations of its versatility the rotary-winged craft has been used in the United States for mail and merchandise deliveries, land and sea rescues, crop-dusting, covering news assignments, forest patrol and inter-urban commuting. The helicopter is a deadly weapon in the war against pests which plague the farmer and is an effective means of pollinating crops. Its value is measured in terms of time saved and tasks efficiently performed. The helicopter's ability to rise, descend vertically, hover in the air, fly forward, backward and sidewise, and land on or take off from roof-tops, farmyards, parking lots and small clearances in the wood makes it easily adaptable to a wide variety of commercial, industrial, agricultural and other useful purposes.

The rotary-winged machine has demonstrated its ability to navigate in areas where air spaces are narrow and the terrain rugged. Serving as a supply train, a



A helicopter washes insecticide spray or dust on crops and plants

be operating in all parts of the nation.

The helicopter will operate on circular routes from central airports in the metropolitan areas, picking up and delivering mail to outlying communities on regular schedules.

The helicopter is a new and effective means of protecting the vast forest of the U. S. The forest

-- ranger on aerial patrol could spot fires when they are small, return to the station to take fire-fighter and news coverage. Writers and cameramen find new vantage points when using helicopters on news and



A seaman is being lowered to the beach from a hovering helicopter

equipment aboard and fly to the clearing nearest the blaze. Timber interests would find the machine invaluable to facilitate timber count and surveys.

Helicopters are used in the modern approach to



A helicopter is used for inspection of high-tension lines by U. S. oil and electric corporations

magazine assignments. Because of the stability of the "flying windmill," the scene can be photographed from the open door in the nose of the craft.—USIS.

PLANNING AND THE CITY OF CALCUTTA

By PROF. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI and PROF. V. L. S. PRAKASH RAO

ACCORDING to the Census of 1941, the total population of India was 388,997,955 which shows an increase of 39.1 per cent over 1891. 87 per cent of the total population of India resides in villages, the remaining 13 per cent in towns. There are two cities with more than one million each, and 58 with more than one lakh each. That majority of this population live in ill-designed villages and towns, needs no special mention. There is a gulf of difference between the social requirements and the concept of life in the present century and the 18th and 19th centuries. People are keen after social and cultural amenities of life, totally different from those of the past. The character of siting factors has changed with the changing socio-economic and cultural conditions. These circumstances, coupled with the fact that there is an attempt to plan every other phase of man-environment complex, have led experts to think of planning of towns and villages, i.e., planning residential lands, both rural and urban. Another, even more important factor, necessitating planning, especially of towns, is the encroachment of residential land on agricultural land. Unfortunately in India, both the people and the Government are more town-planning minded: in fact, there should be also village planning. India needs not only planned towns but also planned villages.

"Every new village and every extension to an old village, as well as every new town, should be considered and planned as a unit and not as a collection of separate buildings."

The objective of planning a city or a village is to so arrange the physical plan and the lay-out, in which the people live and work, that it will minister to and promote rather than impede the social and economic welfare of the community.

H. A. Mealand, Town Planning Officer, Bath, in his *Memorandum on the Development of a New Town*, has jotted down general principles of lay-out. According to him, an ideal town plan should be prepared on broad lines without paying too much attention to the question of cost.

The main features of the plan should be:

1. Consideration of main lines of communication—these would include railways, highways and waterways if any.
2. Zonal distribution of—(a) industrial concerns, (b) general business and commercial activities and (c) residential quarters. Special buildings, e.g., schools, places of worship and recreation, etc., should be well located.
3. Allocation of parks, play-grounds and recreational centres on a basis of 6 to 7 acres per mile.
4. Acquisition of adequate land to make the town self-sufficient in fresh vegetables and dairy produce.
5. Preservation of features of architectural, historical and political interest.

The plan should, however, be elastic so that details may be fitted in, as occasion arises. Independ-

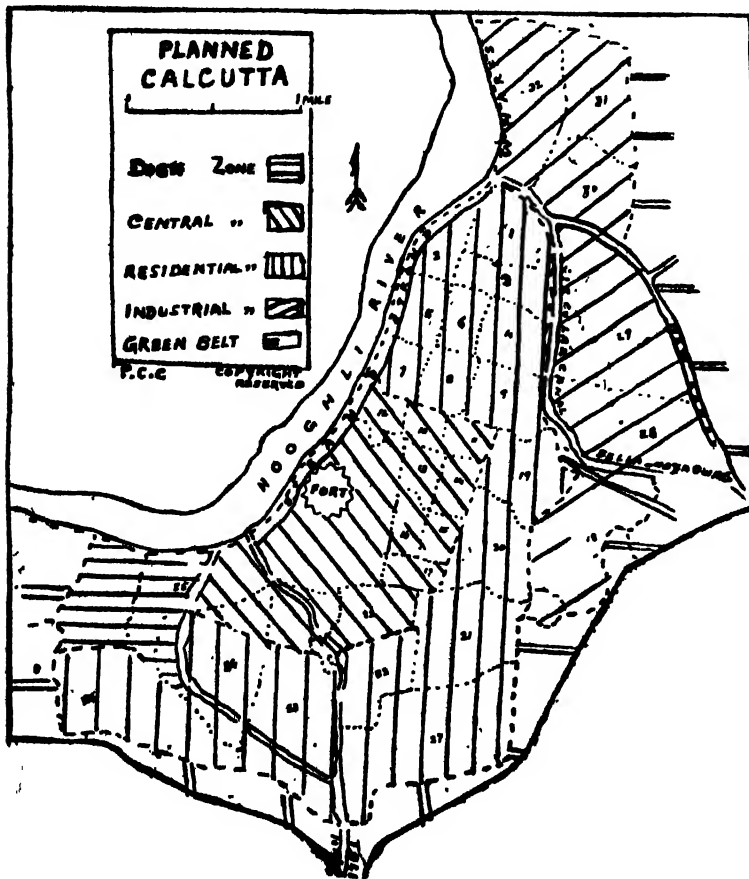
dence of India will undoubtedly bring many changes in our social and economic conditions. But it is difficult to foresee these at the present moment. It is sure that the standard of living will be increased and the cost of living will be cheaper. Besides, our occupations will bring us to a levelling of social status. There will be cosmopolitan outlook. In the urban centres of Independent India, there will be less class distinction. There will not be the working and leisured classes as distinct as hitherto. Various measures will be taken by the authorities to solve the problem of unemployment. Like other countries, India may develop new methods of transport and introduce aviation on a commercial basis. With the development of machinery,

borne by it. The town should not extend beyond the specified limits.

The administration of the new town or village forms an important problem. So long as the construction is going on, a committee consisting of Regional Planning Officer and other experts would administer by appointing officers, engineers, clerks, etc. All the officials would be on the spot to check the methods of execution and the general after-effects. Embellishment is a factor of importance. Architectural control should be strictly exercised. On the completion, the town or the village would be under the urban district council or the Rural thana or Firka Council or any other self-governing board. Planning department should be a

basic pool for factual data co-ordinating the work of different departments. It should be an independent advisory and research agency composed of experts and citizen members.

The character of rural settlements and the conditions determining their lay-out and house types differ from region to region. If in one region, hydro-graphical pattern exercises influence on the location of settlements and village form (e.g., Bengal), in another region, it may be economic, e.g., the availability of arable area and the cost of house-construction (e.g., East coast of India); in the third region, the degree of importance is shifted to cultural landscape factors like transport, alignment, nearness to urban and 'rurban' centres, etc. In the same way, the character of house types also differs from region to region. The objects behind the circular mud-huts (East-coast plain) is chiefly economic and traditional. In Malabar coast, the scattered farmsteads are in response to the factors like land-use, land-tenure and plenty of land holding per capita. The adobe (dried mud) houses and flat roofs of western sections of the United Provinces are the chief responses to climatic conditions. In Benpal, thatched cottages with high plinths are the

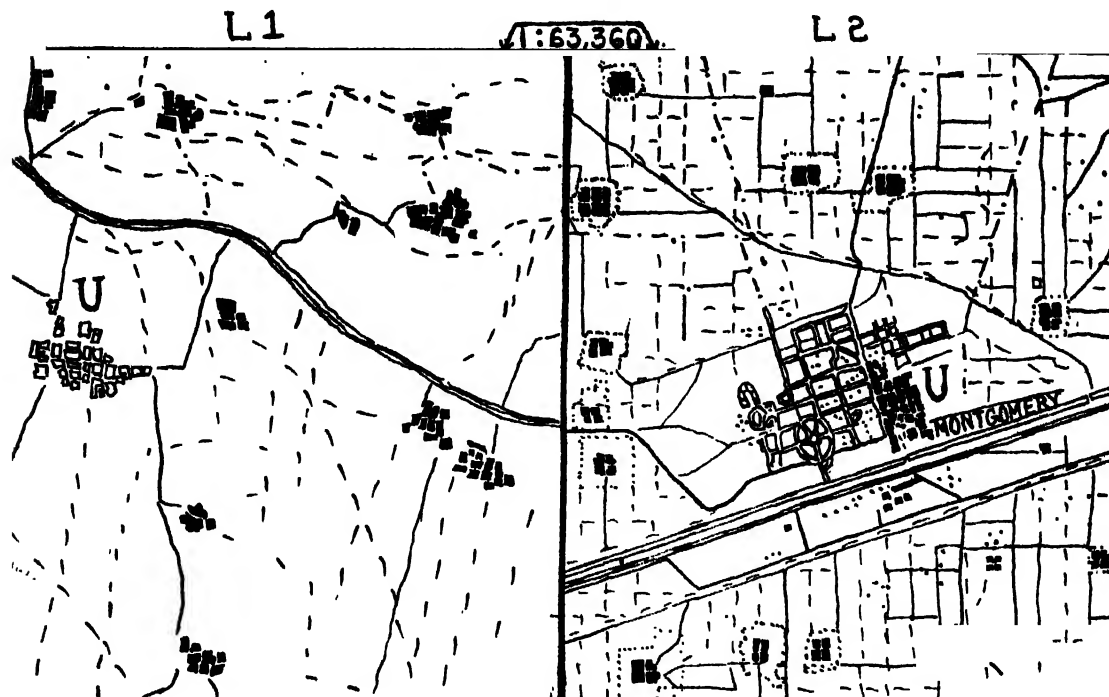


an improvement in the methods of manufacturing can be foreseen. This would curtail working hours, when planning for leisure will become an important factor. This may drive the people towards the thresholds of universities, technical institutions, high schools, etc., for education.

The revised social and political structure will affect the planning of a new town, if proper thought be not given at the outset. The most important factor to be borne in mind by the town-planner, is that a new town cannot be built up by private enterprise unless large sums are available to meet financial obligations for such a time till the town becomes self-supporting. Government-aid is essential. The land required for a town, should be purchased by the Government. The cost of roads and other public services should also be

characteristics in areas where flood is frequent. Whether the distribution of the circular houses of the Telugu region, the long shaped Oriya houses and the rectangular *charchala* of Bengali types have any correspondence with the limits of language, requires socio-geographical and cultural research. The bee-hive settlement pattern of alluvial plains, the linear settlement forms in the deltaic regions and in coastal fringes, the dispersed nucleated type of uplands, and the dispersed isolated type of arid foot-hills and of mountainous areas, possess their due significance. The village planner should give due consideration to the above factors. Villages should be planned on the basis of new social requirements and cultural standards but this does not mean that the grace and distinction of the villages of tradition should be ignored. The colony dwellings of

RURAL & URBAN RESIDENTIAL LANDSCAPES.



L1. Unplanned landscape

L2. Planned landscape

Lyallpur district represent efforts to plan villages where a standard-type of a colony dwelling has been prescribed after working out general lay-out and hygiene-regulations.

The town-planner should pay particular attention to the urban landscape—its character, evolution and morphology. A town is a growing organism, being shaped by internal as well as external factors. Towns should be planned and reconstructed in their regional setting. Gibson in *The Reconstruction of Towns* has studied various phases of development of COVENTRY in different centuries. While studying the unplanned and unhealthy way of the town, he observed its present state of unsuitability to modern social and cultural standards. Such is the case with Calcutta too. In the article "Geography of the City of Calcutta up to the 19th Century" by Prof. P. C. Chakravarti, the gradual development of the city from the 17th century, has been traced. In the first part of the 18th century, the city extended from the present-day Baghbazar in the north to Chowringhee in the south. The eastern boundary of the city coincided with the Upper and Lower Circular Roads. A comparative study of the development of the city in this century, as shown in *Municipal Calcutta* by Prof. P. C. Chakravarti, reveals rapid increase in population, and buildings, and development of trade and commerce. The development of the city took place in a haphazard way, in an unplanned and unscientific manner. The other industrial and commercial agglomerations like Bombay and Madras, of course, with the exception of the suburban developments which is also not exactly in tune with the modern town-planning standards, suffer from

defects which are often known as great slums. Delhi is a typical example, bringing about a clear-cut contrast between the planned and unplanned sections of the town. A sum of 6½ crores of rupces has been allotted for a five-year development plan of Delhi. It will not affect city's ancient monuments and landmarks. The contemplated 'Green Belt' and satellite town schemes stand out as models for the other growing towns in India. According to plan, the inner edge of the 'Green Belt' around the city will be 6 to 8 miles distant from the Delhi urban area.

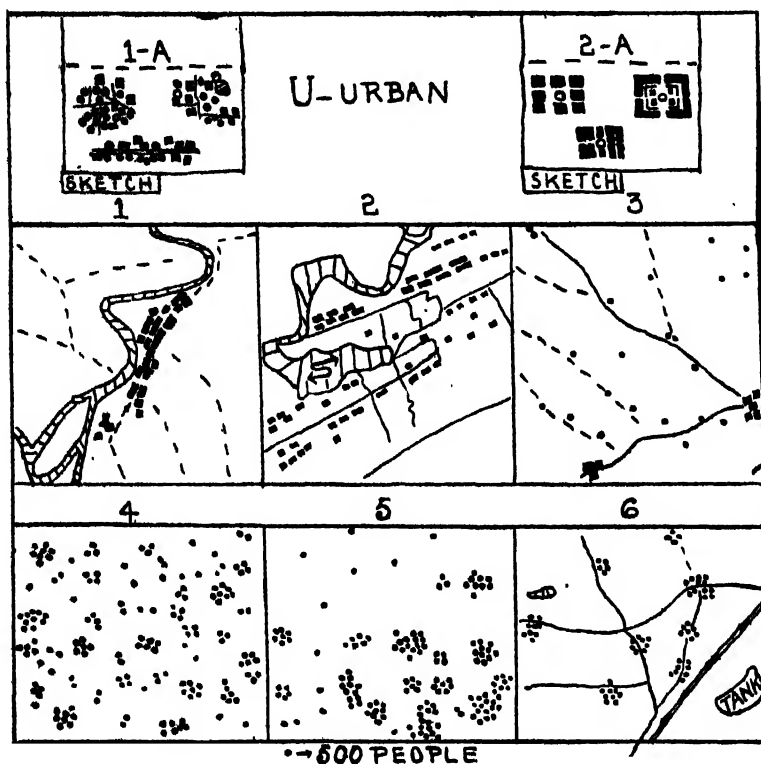
"The city plan has been developed on a series of equilateral triangles instead of the rectangular grid-iron commonly favoured in modern town-planning—obviously affording a more direct point to point communication."

Urban landscape planning is further illustrated by the canal colony towns of the Punjab, e.g., Montgomery. The lay-out of the town assumes a rectangular block plan form. Each town has its own "client area with a radius of about 12 miles."

The cities of India should be planned and built for living and working in the best possible way. There should be provision for ample sunlight, pure air, green spaces, museums, art galleries, cinemas, libraries, colleges, hospitals, clinics, etc. There must be good housing. All these must be systematically balanced to provide an environment wherein people can move and mingle freely and, develop radiant health and cultural mind. In one word, the citizens should be provided with a full life.

Now, to reconstruct a town, the planners should first of all survey the existing features with reference

to physical and social conditions. A knowledge of spatial distribution of the different land-use types in the city is essential. Problems of the city should be classified on the basis of priority. Then a master-plan is to be drawn for the redistribution of population and settlement. The master-plan "embodies the inter-relationships between the different functional classes of public improvements, streets, parks, river-front structures and locations of residential, business, industrial areas based on studies of the needs through a considerable period of time."



1-A Unplanned villages. 2-A Planned villages. 1 & 2 Linear settlements. 3 Scattered settlement. 4 Beehive settlement. 5 Transitional settlement. 6 Nucleated settlement

For planning the city of Calcutta whose present municipal area is 41½ sq. miles, the total population, on the basis of a typical town, should not exceed 10,00,000. According to the Corporation Year Book, the number of houses in 1945, was 80,210. In a typical town, the number of persons per square mile should not be over 24,000 and there must not be more than one person per room. The road pattern should be in the form of spider's web with radial and circumferential routes. The main roads reach up to the green wedges along the radial roads. These green wedges should extend from periphery to the central ring route. Secondary roads should connect the interior with radial roads. The central area of the present Municipal Calcutta including the present Municipal Wards 11 to 16 and portions of 22 to 25, should be meant for essential services which cannot be shifted to suburbs. These include Municipal Offices, Law Courts, Police Headquarters, Government Buildings, office buildings of business, Commercial Museum, Art Gallery, Technical Schools, Adult and Youth Education Centres

and Civic Centres. There may be a shopping centre containing retail shopping facilities. This area forms a semi-circle around Fort and Maidan area. The Fort may be retained but the maidan can be utilised in housing some of the features of the central area. A portion of the Fort-garrison may be shifted to the boundary line in the east. Beyond this central zone, the residential zone would be formed covering an area which is now occupied by Ward 1-to-10, 19, 21, portions of 22, 25 and 23, 24, 26 and 27. In this belt, housing should be grouped in units of about 20,000 persons. In such a

unit, there should be community centre comprising shops of different orders, schools, cinemas, branch library, health clinic, recreation grounds, etc. Housing should be of two types. Towards the central zone, flat and terrace type housing should be preferred, while towards the outer ring houses with gardens should be constructed. Zone for factories where industries would develop, should be located in areas comprising Wards 30-32, 28, 29 and 18 where communications by roads, rails and waterways have already been established. This factory zone should be within the easy reach of workers. Care must be taken that these factories are run by electricity in order to avoid smoke-nuisance which has so long been a problem especially in winter. This industrial zone would be close to other industrial zones of the adjoining areas. The growth of the city should be limited by preserving a rural zone on the boundary. This rural zone consists of agricultural areas with isolated farmsteads. The agricultural belt would supply the city with market gardens and dairy products. This is the green belt (*vide*, sketch, 'Planned Calcutta'). For the maintenance of

peace and order, there should be Police and Military barracks and houses, well-distributed throughout the length and breadth of the planned city. Another important development should be made in the localisation of the Dock area and wharfs. The present docks may be considered to be sited at a convenient place in the south. But the wharfs in portion are to be shifted to the south close to the dock area and the rest to the northern central side. This canal side would be close to the industrial zone. The present wharf-area would release some area, which, coupled with the Port Commissioner's land along the Eastern Bank of the Hughli river, may be utilised for a broad walk having sitting arrangements, parks, recreation spaces according to health principles.

The planning of the present Municipal Calcutta in the line of a typical town, would require decentralisation of population which would necessitate the redistribution of population and settlement. The population of the present city is about 40 lakhs. The excess population (i.e., 20 lakhs) may be re-distributed in

adjoining satellite towns which are in formation in the suburbs, mainly in the districts of 24-Parganas and Howrah. Again, other typical towns should be constructed in the Burdwan Division, which would, in no time, be provided with all the amenities of life on the completion of the Damodar Project. All these satellite towns should maintain affinity and relation with the mother town. This would be possible with the development of communication facilities. It is hoped that in the suburban area, railways would soon run by electricity. If the network of railways be increased to connect the remote villages and better highways constructed, distance is no longer a limiting factor. Regarding re-distribution of population and settlement, Arthur E. Smailes has rightly suggested :

"In urbanism, moreover, nodality is a geographical value that is persistent and relatively permanent as compared with other values called forth by the prevalence of some particular culture or technology. It is true that nodality is not always a natural attribute but may be induced in a highly artificial manner. In the nature of the things, nodality is a function of route systems and these are man-made. . . ."

Decentralisation takes place even in the *laissez-faire* economy ; there may be natural centres of attraction for scattering industries. In the interests of people and environment, growth should be planned and scientifically directed. Decentralisation is necessary to relieve congestion and over-development, and satellite towns act as receiving centres. The disposition of housing and industrial quarters along-side or even detached, may be the ideal form. Planning thus takes into consideration conditions of location, concentration of population and position in relation to neigh-

bouring centres so that regional development may be balanced.

Independent India needs planned towns as well as villages. Rural and urban residential landscape planning is one of the ways of ensuring maximum of health and welfare to the society. It gives no scope to repeat the mistakes of the past, because everything is done consciously in accordance with a pre-laid out programme, approved by a team of experts. India requires a central Institute of Town and Village Planning with branches distributed all over the different geographical regions. The Institute should be composed of Town Planning Engineers, Health Experts, Regional Planners, Geographers, Architects, Lawyers, City Fathers, etc. A systematic rural and urban residential landscape survey should be launched with the special help of Educational and Public Institutions.

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North-West Frontier Province

INDIA'S MOST HISTORIC RIVER

The Indus and Its Valley down the Ages

By D. B. VOHRA

Five thousand years ago, the basin of the Indus was alive with a highly developed civilization. Agriculture, dairy, farming and weaving were practised and many handicrafts flourished. The remains found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa show that the common town-man lived in well-built and well-planned houses and was well cared for. It is not known who were the originators of this civilization, but unmistakable evidence has been produced to show that they had close affinities with the ancient Sumerians. For example, the peculiar pictographic handwriting on the seals discovered in this region had its parallel in Sumeria.

The history of the Indus Valley in those days was in fact linked closely with that of the Iranian plateau and the Euphrates-Tigris basin. The Indus then separated India from the West in a very effective way and the changes that befell the inhabitants of its valley were almost always connected with happenings in the region lying between the Mediterranean and the Indus. About 2,000 B.C., for example, the old-established civilizations in Babylon, Persia and the Indus Valley received simultaneously the impact of those barbaric nomads from the heart of Asia—the Aryans. This invasion provided yet another link between these civilizations, as recent finds have shown. The Kassites, for instance, who were the Aryan rulers of Babylon, adopted the local gods; yet Shuriyash, their sun-god, has a distinct family resemblance with the Sanskrit Suriya and their god Maruttash is obviously akin to the Indian Marut. In Mittani (Asia Minor), the Aryan rulers bore names which could easily be mistaken for Indian, and they worshipped the Vedic gods, Mitra, Indra and Varuna. Most remarkable of all the Indian Brahmi script of those days was derived largely from Babylonian and Assyrian sources. Culturally, therefore, the Middle East was in those ancient times a fairly homogeneous region. Settling originally in the Upper Indus Valley, the Indian Aryans gradually spread southwards and eastwards. They were a pastoral people, cattle providing their main wealth. Early Vedic literature contains no reference to city life or to truly urban activities. However as time passed, towns grew up. Of these, Taxila and Pushklavati (the modern Peshawar) acquired great celebrity. The former was a University town and produced some splendid scholars, pre-eminent amongst whom was the grammarian Panini.

Relations between Persia and North-Western India were very close at this period. While the Vedas were being written in the Punjab, a very similar religious literature, the *Zend-Avesta*, was coming into existence in Persia. So strong are the resemblances that according to one school of thought the Persian Aryans were only a branch of the Indian Aryans and colonized the Indus valley before migrating into Persia; and legend has it that the Indus itself was dug up by the Persians, who are given credit for creating the Euphrates and Tigris rivers also!

Be that as it may, a strong tradition persists that the semi-historic Kayanid monarchs of Persia held intermittent sway in Sind. A town called Meharjan,

is said to have been founded by them in this country, and it is tempting to link this fabled town with the old name of the Indus-Mehran. One of the Kayanid monarchs, Kai-Behman, is believed to be the founder of Bahmanabad, the extensive ruins of which can be seen today a few miles away from the town of Shahdadpur.

The first historic occupation of the Indus Valley by the Persians, however, took place in the 6th century B.C. in the reign of the great Darius who was already master of Syria and Egypt. Darius marching *via* Balkh reached the upper Indus at a place called Caspapyrus which has been identified with the modern Jahangirabad. From here he despatched a naval expedition down the Indus under Admiral Skylax, a Greek by birth. There is no extant memoir of this daring voyage by Skylax himself but there is reason to believe that the observations made on India by Herodotus in the first written history of the world drew their inspiration and authority from Skylax, who was a countryman and contemporary of Herodotus. These observations make rather amusing reading to the modern reader though there is little doubt that Herodotus never consciously allowed himself to swerve from the truth. Apparently Indians have always been blessed with fecundity, for Herodotus says:

"The Indians are more in number than any nation known to me, and they pay a greater tribute (to the Persian Coffers) than any other province, namely 300 talents of gold dust."

Food, clothing and shelter were, if Herodotus is to be believed, not much of a problem for these Indians of old, for,

"Some dwell in river marshes and live on raw fish which they catch from reed (palmyra?) boats. Each boat is made of one single length between the joints of a reed. They wear clothes of rushes, which they mow and cut from the river, then plait crosswise like a mat and put on like a brassplate. . . . Other Indians to the east of these are nomads and eat raw flesh. They have intercourse openly like cattle and are all black-skinned like the Ethiopians. Their genital seed too is not white like other men's but like the Ethiopians' black!"

Somebody's imagination had obviously run amuck. Even so, it is not difficult to guess that the Ethiopian-like people were the original inhabitants of India, the Dravidians or as the Aryans called them the Dasyus. The bulk of the population however was Aryan, though this did not preclude the existence of distinct and often mutually hostile tribes amongst them. The protracted feuds between the Jats and the Meds in the valley of the lower Indus in the later Vedic period were proverbial; the Jats persistently tried to monopolize the fertile right bank of the river by pushing the Meds across to the left bank. Both were very ancient races whose origin is lost in the dense fogs of antiquity. Other races had immigrated from Scythia, the Taks or Minas being pre-eminent among these. In fact, when Darius marched into the Indus Valley, he found it in the possession of a Scythian tribe.

For two centuries after the invasion of Darius, the Indus Valley remained part of the far-flung Persian Empire. However, Darius became involved in a war with Greece which continued into the reign of his successor Xerxes (more properly Kshayarsha), who, reinforced by an Indian contingent led a vast army into Greece and laid waste all the important towns. But he was cheated of victory by the Greek fleet which cut him off from supplies. This was the beginning of the end of the Persian Empire of the Hakhshamaniyas, for a few years later Alexander of Macedonia inflicted a crushing defeat on Darius III at Arbela.

Alexander then turned eastwards upon the disintegrating eastern provinces of the Hakhshamaniyas. Securing the submission of Afghanistan easily, he advanced towards the Indus, meeting with desperate resistance from hill chieftains. Alexander found two rival kings holding sway in the Upper Indus Valley. The King of Taxila, treacherous Ambhi, openly sided with Alexander and enabled him to cross the Indus at a point sixteen miles above the present Attock. The crossing was done quietly by means of a bridge of boats so that the operation that should have been the most bitterly-contested in the entire campaign became the merest incident, thanks to the machinations of Ambhi. Ambhi's rival, a Puruva King mistakenly called Porus, found himself utterly isolated but determined to give the invader a fight. He put a vast army on the field and confronted Alexander on the banks of the Jhelum. As always the famous "Macedonian phalanx" carried the day and Alexander found himself master of the Upper Indus. In celebration of the great victory, he founded the town Nikea on the battlefield and on the opposite bank Bukephala after the name of his beloved horse who was killed in the battle. The site of the modern Jhelum coincides with that of Bukephala.

Advancing down the Indus, Alexander met with persistent opposition from the "Philosophers"—in other words the Brahmins, and Piton, his Viceroy in the Lower Indus, had to deal sternly with these adversaries. Patala was founded at the head of the delta and after thorough investigation of the deltaic region sea was sighted. At both extremes of the delta ports were founded. It is obvious that the aim of Alexander was not merely to establish political sway over the Indus Valley but to exploit its commercial resources. How far he might have succeeded in this objective, had he not died so early, no one can guess. As it was his death disrupted the empire which his daring genius had brought into being and his Indian Governors Philip and Piton had to make a hasty exit in the turmoil that followed. Alexander's empire was partitioned between a number of generals and the Eastern provinces fell to Seleukos Nikator. The Seleucid overlordship of the Indus Valley, however, was very brief, for the great Chandragupta Maurya obliged Seleukos to cede this territory to him in exchange for a few hundred elephants.

The rest of the Seleucid empire did not prove very stable, either, for first Parthia and then Bactria detached themselves. In Bactria Euthydemus was acknowledged as an independent sovereign and under him and his successor an eastward expansion began, for the Mauryan authority was weakening. Demetrios penetrated as far as Pattalene (the Patala of Alexander) and thence southward into Surashtra. The

entire Indus Valley was thus subdued and Sagala, the modern Sialkot, was made the capital of this territory. It received the beautiful name Euthydemia.

Internal divisions together with pressure from the Parthians and the Scythians made short work of Bactrian dominion and in the course of a few decades the Indus Valley became the scene of spectacular disorder with about forty Bactrian princelings competing for ascendancy. There was, however, one final and brilliant resurrection of Bactrian ascendancy under Menander, who repeated the exploits of Demetrios. He seems to have accepted the Buddhist faith and is known to Buddhists as Milinda.

From the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. the Indus Valley was dominated by the Sakas and Pahlavas or Parthians. Though they are usually treated as distinct dynasties there is little justification for doing so. Both were driven south by the pressure of the Yueh-chi tribes, occasioned in turn by expansive thrust of the Huns. The region between Iran and the Indus came to be occupied by the Sakas and was associated with them to such an extent that the Iranians referred to it as Sakastan and the Indians as Sakadvipa. Advancing eastwards they eventually established two satrapies, one at Taxila and the other at Mathura. The Indus Valley region was however soon wrested from them by the Parthians who were at this time becoming very powerful, establishing their sway over all Iran and further west. When the author of *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* voyaged up the Indus Valley towards the end of the first century A.D., he found Sind under the Parthians. The capital was Minnagar (City of the Mins or Sakas), probably on the same site as the modern Thatta; Barbarike (near the mouth of the river), Patala and Bekker were other important market towns. It is known that the territories of the great Parthian King Mithridates included Sind, and in fact, Parthian dominance in Sind continued till the conqueror Kanishka came on the scene.

Kanishka belonged to the Kushan tribe, which acquiring the leadership of the Yueh-chis swept downwards into the Indus Valley on the wake of the Sakas and Parthians, and expanding both eastwards and westwards created a great Middle East empire. The Sakas were expelled from Mathura and the Parthians from the Indus Valley.

Once again, as after the influx of the Greeks, an Indian dynasty—the Guptas—asserted sovereignty over the Indus Valley when the hold of the Kushanas weakened, and once again history proved that this region had very weak links with the rest of India and was prone to be influenced by the course of events in the West. For when the Sassanids resurrected the might of Persia in the third century A.D., they did not find it difficult to establish some sort of authority over the Punjab and Sind whenever they chose to do so. Bahram Gor, who is supposed to have visited India on a hunting expedition, actually made that expedition politically very profitable, securing a portion of Sind and the port of Deval. Much later, in the sixth century, during Khusrow Anushervan's reign, the Persians again enjoyed a brief paramountcy in the Indus Valley. However, this was a very confused period and little is known as to the political upheavals that led to the rise of the Shahi and Rao dynasties in Upper and Lower Sind respectively. The Shahis were probably a branch of the Kushanas who had established

themselves in the Punjab. Acquiring ascendancy when the might of the Guptas declined they remained in power more or less continuously till the tenth century when a Brahman dynasty assumed control after a palace revolution. Jayapala, with whom Mahmud of Ghazni came into conflict, belonged to this Brahman Shahi dynasty.

The origin of the Raos of Sind is also difficult to trace; though they had ties with the Rajputs of Marwar. Anyhow they ruled from Alor (near the modern Rohri), a vast territory at one period extending right up to Kashmir and Kandahar.

Curiously the Raos, like the Shahis, were also overthrown by a palace revolution. The moving spirits of this revolution were the Brahman Minister Chach and the Queen Suhandi, whose paramour he was. Chach was a successful administrator but his son and successor Dahar apparently lost control over the vast kingdom. A ship bound for Mecca was forced by a storm to seek refuge in Deval where its cargo was looted and some female slaves destined for the harem of al-Hajjaj, the Governor of Iraq, were carried away. The infuriated al-Hajjaj demanded restitution of the cargo, but Dahar, being powerless to bring the marauders to book, was unable to satisfy al-Hajjaj. The result was Bin Kasim's invasion and conquest of Sind.

The Arabs in Sind and the Hindu Shahis in the Punjab continued in power till the Ghaznavid hurricane swept them away. There followed for the Indus Valley yet another phase of turbulent politics. The Punjab eventually settled down to a fairly ordered existence under the Moghuls after being subjected for more than four hundred years to the military despotism of various Turkish dynasties. But Sind had a more chequered existence. Both the Delhi Sultans and the Moghuls found it neither profitable nor easy to sub-

jugate this distant land, with the result that it came under the sway of a succession of dynasties—Rajput, Afghan and Baluch—until the British conquered it. The chaos of this period was heightened by two pronounced shifts in the bed of the lower Indus. One occurred during the regime of the Rajput Sumeraas, causing the capital Alor to be left miles away from the river. Local tradition attributes this shift to the immorality of the reigning King Dilla Rao. It is said that a Muslim merchant Saif-ul-Mulk accompanied by his beautiful daughter was voyaging down the Indus to Deval whence he intended to proceed to Mecca. Dilla Rao demanded the hand of the girl in marriage and meeting with refusal ordered her to be seized and brought to him. Nature herself was scandalized and saved the honour of the lady by carrying her on the lap of the river far beyond the reach of the dissolute King.

Another shift took place in the eighteenth century when the main stream moved eastward near the site of the ancient Nirunkot and a subsidiary stream, the Fuleli, came into being. The two enclosed the Ganja Takar hills and the site being ideal for defence, the reigning Kalhora ruler established his capital here and called it Hyderabad. Other minor shifts occurred from time to time each taking a heavy toll of life and property. This was the period when Sind earned for itself the title of the Unhappy Valley.

The taming of the unruly Indus is a problem of great importance which is now engaging the attention of experts. Its shifts have been so unpredictable and sudden that scores of towns lie buried deep in its many valleys waiting to be identified by future archaeologists. Much light is bound to be thrown on the history of the Indus Valley by systematic archaeological research, for this wayward river has scattered the debris of past civilizations far and wide.

O:—

MY EXPERIENCES OF FIELD WORK

A Plea for Multi-Purpose Rural Economic Research Based on Random Sample Survey

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DEFECTIVE ORGANISATION OF STATISTICS

VERY limited and merely sporadic attempts have so far been made in our country to undertake first-hand study of rural economic problems of India. The acts of omission have been particularly glaring so far as Bengal is concerned. It has been the misfortune of many Indian, as also of Bengalee, scholars in the field of rural economic research—whether covering a province or India as a whole—to be mostly dependent on the scanty, halting and haphazard statistical material emanating from official sources. The organisation of relevant statistics has as yet remained the monopoly of the administrators of the land who have no special equipment for a branch of enquiry that is every day becoming more and more precise and specialised. Hence, the published data are not only inadequate, but undependable, too. The method of compilation of the available data also is stereotyped and unplanned, and the official questionnaire, that is, the forms of official statistical enquiries, often are such that they practically

exclude valuable information that is indispensable in the light of recent developments, or lack of developments, in the agrarian economy of India. The crowning disadvantage for a writer on Agronomics is, however, the complete unreliability of the data that are collected and published. In most cases, as in Bengal, these are make-believe figures whose source proves to be, in the ultimate analysis, the illiterate village Choukidar's personal prejudices and inclinations, trimmed and buttressed, of course, by convenient check-ups at the desk of the local officials' conservative head clerks or personal assistants.

A CHRONICLE OF ATTEMPTS AT FIRST-HAND STUDY OF RURAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIA

While there remains in the official quarters an unlimited scope for the planning and organisation of statistics, individual initiative or private, non-official endeavours to organise economic research from a statistical-economic approach has remained a long-felt



These thriving orchards of grapes and oranges in the State of California are the result of irrigation provided by Shasta Dam



Idaho's newest man-made U. S. lake, behind 456-foot-high Anderson Ranch Dam



The helicopter needs no airport. Here a U. S. helicopter descends slowly on a square at Portsmouth, New Hampshire



The flat roof of a post-office or a farmyard may serve as an air-port for a helicopter

want. Investigations by private bodies in obedience to an official fiat or subsidised by, or in support of, a vested interest are, however, to be discouraged. Independence of outlook and disinterestedness must be the code of procedure for a research scholar. Perhaps, the beginning of an attempt at the first-hand study of rural problems in India was made by Colonel Read in his maiden survey, in 1792-99, about family budgets, cost of agricultural farming, systems of cropping, etc., at Baramahal in Salem of the present Madras Presidency. Col. Read's investigation is an isolated experiment in the field, and it was followed by a long gap of over a century, after which we have Major J. C. Jack's Survey of Fardpur district in Bengal between 1906 and 1910—an undoubtedly magnificent pioneer work, if not for anything else at least for the magnitude of the scale of operations involved. To Mr. Jack we shall return later in the following paragraphs. Dr. Gilbert Slater, the then Professor of Economics of the University of Madras, made his pupils undertake an economic survey of twelve villages in the Presidency in 1916-17. Nine of these villages were re-surveyed in the middle of the thirties under the guidance of Professor P. J. Thomas of the same University. Meanwhile, Dr. H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture, Bombay, conducted an economic investigation in "A Poona Village" in 1917, which was supplemented by a study by the same author of the "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village" in 1921. The Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry has done some useful work towards promoting direct and primary rural economic investigation, and has brought out a number of pamphlets on a variety of subjects, such as, Size and Distribution of Holdings in the Punjab, Different Systems of Farming in Canal Colonies, Farm Accounts in the Punjab, Punjab Village Surveys, etc. A list of the accounts of this nature of research work pursued within the province of the Punjab and in other provinces of India, which have been consulted by this writer, need not be produced here. But some of the more important publications based on direct field work may be named. For instance, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee's monumental work, *Land Problems of India* (1933), must set a research worker in the allied field to serious thinking. *Economic Organisation of Indian Villages*, Vols. I (1926) and II (1929), by Mr. N. G. Rangar, has undoubtedly promoted statistical and inductive research into economic problems. Works of a minor nature have also been undertaken by a host of other writers, which have, from time to time, been published in the form of pamphlets and in current periodicals; and these have also been used as reference by this writer. The Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry has made half-hearted attempts at studying economic problems of Bengal districts and has published pamphlets of which only three pamphlets on Faridpur, Bankura, and Pabna are available. *Some Bengal Villages*, edited by Messrs. Bhattacharya and Natesan, is altogether a weak demonstration of the statistical method of first-hand rural investigation. A solid effort has, however, been made by the Visva-Bharati Institute of Rural Re-construction at Sriniketan, Bengal. The book entitled *Land and Its Problems* (1943) by Dr. Sudhir Sen is an attempt at a systematic study of the conditions of agriculture in 15 villages of Birbhum district. Dr. S. G. Panandikar's *The Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta* is, strictly speaking, not a study in the statistical method. It appears to have been based less

on figures collected first-hand, than on Reports on Settlement and Survey Operations in the districts concerned, extracts from which have been freely drawn upon. The book throws a flood of light on some aspects of material conditions in those parts of the Delta that he chose to look into.

ORIGIN OF THE AUTHOR'S FIRST-HAND INVESTIGATION

These first-hand studies in rural economics, as mentioned above, may appear to be quite extensive as sources for further enquiry; but in comparison with what is needed, what has been done is indeed very meagre. The present writer, before he undertook his study, had been thoroughly aware of the difficulties of rural research owing to the paucity of reliable statistical material. When, in 1939, he was employed as a Lecturer in a College at Calcutta and was called upon to lecture on rural economics, his first move was to complete a thorough perusal of the available literature on Indian rural economics, with particular reference to works of first-hand survey in the allied sphere. During 1939-42, substantial progress was made. And, then came the Famine of 1943.

In the summer of 1943, when countless famine-destitutes began to trek into the city of Calcutta, the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University availed itself of the opportunity to conduct a Sociological Enquiry among the families of destitutes flocking to relief centres. The present writer contacted the Department, looked closely into its method of collecting data and took out the questionnaire. In the Autumn of 1943, he launched his own scheme of field-work among handloom weavers in Madhabdi Union of Norsingdi in Narayanganj Sub-division of Dacca District in Bengal. The plan was mainly suggested by Dr. R. G. Kakade's "Survey of Weaving Communities in Sholapur with special reference to Padmeshis," which was the latter's subject of research for the Doctorate degree of the Bombay University, and completed in 1942. In course of the writer's investigation in the villages in the Madhabdi Union, he found the weavers steeped in the darkest economic distress resulting from the Famine then raging in full fury. In addition, therefore, to the questions on the normal economic conditions of the weavers, a number of specific supplementary questions relating to the Famine were included in the author's questionnaire. The questions relating to the Sociological Enquiry Scheme of the Anthropology Department, which formed a part of the questionnaire adopted by the present writer, were used but were varied to suit local socio-economic conditions. Apart, however, from the investigation regarding weavers, a thorough enquiry was made concerning 112 destitute families selected at random from about a thousand such families daily visiting the local official Gruel Kitchen at that time. Many useful data were obtained from a study of these destitute families.

To compare the results obtained from the Famine-Survey in this area, the author had to visit, early in the winter of 1943, a number of villages in the districts of Jessore, Nadia, 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah, the selection of site being determined either by the ease of access to the area or by the alleged severity of distress in consequence of the Famine in that area. In all, 49 villages comprising 979 families were covered. While the more fundamental economic data regarding the weavers of the Madhabdi area remained, and still

remain, unutilised, the statistical material relating to the socio-economic conditions of the destitutes and the general victims of the Famine in these 49 villages of the six districts mentioned above, was tabulated and put into shape as the nucleus of a thesis entitled "The Consequences of the Famine of 1943 in the rural areas of Bengal." It was submitted to the Calcutta University in 1944, for reasons that need not be discussed here.

In April, 1944, the writer was formally attached to the Department of Economics, Calcutta University for carrying on his investigations. At this stage the writer's questionnaire was enlarged so as to include within the scope of his later investigations appropriate questions on some aspects of Land Transfer and Rural Credit in Bengal, and many other allied economic topics.

THE NECESSITY OF COMPARING AND CORRELATING THE PRESENT TO THE PAST

The writer was, however, all the while feeling the necessity of correlating and comparing the results of his enquiries into current socio-economic problems to results of similar enquiries, if any, in the same area, whether in the recent or in the remote past. For, he argued: just as we cannot build for the future unless we plan the present, so also, we cannot plan the present unless we know the past. It was, however, apparent to the writer that the available literature on the first-hand study of Agronomics in Bengal afforded no clue to the unravelling of the past in such a comprehensive manner as contemplated by him.

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF MAJOR J. C. JACK'S ECONOMIC ENQUIRIES

At the same time, however, his eager notice was attracted to the Foreword by Major J. C. Jack to his own book entitled *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* (i.e., of Faridpur district) where the following extract appears: "For these reasons the statistics remained buried treasure waiting to be revealed . . . I could not hope in so short a time to do justice to the figures . . . If any student is sufficiently interested in the investigations which were made, he will find in Faridpur all the original papers to the extent of a hundred volumes and the detailed tabulations to the extent of a score. They are always open to examination and they contain information in detail upon many phases of the economic life of the district with which I have no time to deal." The writer naturally, therefore, desired to see if this "buried treasure" could be "revealed." "Treasure" indeed! For, as Jack himself points out, "no similar enquiries have been made in India or elsewhere over so large a tract of country and so large a population . . ." The total population which was brought under Jack's economic review proved to be 1,961,183 included in 342,108 separate families, which meant, practically, the entire population of the Faridpur district at that time (i.e., in 1906), the district then extending over an area of 2464 square miles. Major Jack's enterprise has naturally received most liberal appreciation and has elicited its full quota of praise from almost all writers of any worth, on rural economy of India. Even the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1927) are found to have made anxious enquiries into the fate of the unpublished records of Mr. Jack's Survey. And the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, 1940, have

made pointed reference to some of the consolidated tables given in Jack's published monograph, *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*. Dr. S. G. Panandikar, in his book entitled *The Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta* has even administered a mild rebuke to scholars for having failed so far to take up the thread where Jack left it. Jack's manuscript records remained in the dark till 1927, when Mr. L. B. Burrow, the then Collector of Faridpur District, in his oral evidence to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, told us their whereabouts. On page 502 of Volume IV (Evidence) of the Report of the said Royal Commission, the following extract appears:

"23826. There was an economic enquiry conducted in Faridpur district by the late Major Jack. The detailed figures were never published?—No.

23827. Where are those figures?—They are in my Record Room . . .

23828. We have evidence that all the figures were handed over to the Collector of Faridpur in 1912?—That is right; they are reputed to be under seal in my Record Room."

AUTHOR'S DECISION TO MAKE A FIRST-HAND SURVEY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF FARIDPUR DISTRICT

Thanks to the letter of introduction given by the University Professor of Economics and the efforts of Mr. Y. A. Choudhuri, M.L.A. (now M.L.C.) of Bengal the present writer was permitted by the then District Magistrate of Faridpur to search the Collector's Record Room, and was also given all other facilities of research within the district. For, in the meantime, the writer had decided to survey the district first-hand.

PUBLISHED WORKS ON FARIDPUR DISTRICT

CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR

The decision was, of course, taken in the hope that Jack's manuscripts, if available, would give the present writer, the scope for a Comparative Study of the same District in two different periods. But, as it happened later, much more material on different aspects of the economic life of the District was, from other sources, collected by this writer than was really necessary for a single subject of study. As for published works on the District itself, the following were of greater help to this writer:

- (i) Rennell's *Survey Map* (1769);
- (ii) Colonel Gastrell's *Geographical and Statistical Report of the District* (1860);
- (iii) Sir William Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (1875), Vol. V;
- (iv) *Imperial Gazetteer: Eastern Bengal and Assam* (1909);
- (v) Jack's *Final Report on Settlement and Survey Operations in Faridpur District* (1904-1914);
- (vi) *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* by Jack (1916);
- (vii) *Bengal District Gazetteers: Report on Faridpur* by L. S. S. O'Malley (1923);
- (viii) *The Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta* by Dr. S. G. Panandikar (1926);
- (ix) *Written Memorandum and Oral Evidence of L. B. Burrow to Royal Commission on Agriculture in India* (1927);
- (x) *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Vol. B (1900-1931);
- (xi) *Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry—Bulletin on Faridpur* (1924); and
- (xii) *Censuses of India, Volumes on Bengal* (1911-1941).

Again, much useful, although unpublished, yet up-to-date, material on different aspects of the economic conditions of the district was later supplied to the present writer from the office of the Revised Settlement operations in the District during 1940-42.

JACK'S UNPUBLISHED RECORDS HANDED OVER TO THE AUTHOR

But on arrival at Faridpur all hopes of recovery of Jack's records seemed lost for a while, for the Record-keeper and his staff vehemently asserted that these had been destroyed. Several days' efforts to collect together old, even retired record-keepers and clerks and bearers to elicit the information as to when, why and how, the said records were destroyed, produced the desired result, and, an old clerk literally leapt forward to discover from the midst of a huge mass of rubbish and old papers dumped in a corner—Jack's "Buried Treasure"! On an application forwarded by the District Magistrate, the Divisional Commissioner allowed these papers to be handed over to the recent writer, and, later, it was found they weighed several maunds.

PERIOD OF SURVEY-WORK BY THE AUTHOR

It should be noted that between February, 1944, and December 1945, about 22 months were spent by the writer in collecting the necessary statistical material from official and non-official sources. About 15 months were taken to complete the field work; a year was spent amidst villagers in different parts of the district. But for the full co-operation of countless persons whose names are not mentioned here, the writer's enterprise would perhaps have been a failure.

DIFFICULTIES OF A FIELD-WORKER IN RURAL AREAS

But the difficulties of a field-worker in securing co-operation and confidence of strangers in diverse walks of life, specially in the context of the changing political, social and communal situation in Bengal, should not be overlooked or minimised. It may, however, be observed that difficulties are far more numerous in the case of a student worker than in that of a lecturer like the present writer. Even if we assume that there are between a student and a lecturer a similar maturity of outlook and aptitude and the same comprehensive grasp of the subject of enquiry, and similar tact and presence of mind while gathering necessary informations, etc., the very status of the latter inspires greater confidence in, and draws more liberal appreciation from, the persons interviewed. This is a fact. Particularly is this the case with the officials that may be approached and also the village elders. It may, therefore, be suggested that in the event of like enquiries in the future being made in this province, the teacher should, as far as possible, personally accompany the student or students working under him, straight to the field of investigation itself.

For, the situation in Bengal, as it obtains today, is rather peculiar. Particularly, since the outbreak of the War (1939-45) and, then of the Famine, villagers in Bengal have so frequently been disturbed by being repeatedly asked to declare their stock of food, quantity of land, of crops harvested, and so on; and, so often have officials promised them relief in kind and cash and in terms of many other good things of life—only to break such promises in the end—that

they are now loath to give out facts and figures regarding the economic and social conditions of the village or of the families concerned. It may be noted that when a stranger enters a village, the people there either take him to be a friend or a foe. If he was a friend, why should he not stop asking questions and rather arrange to send some rice and cloth or a quantity of salt and kerosene, or, again, help to restore the land or homestead that was lost in 1943? If, again, he was a foe, then, he might be any one of the following: (i) a relation or a friend of the zamindar (this is the reaction of the exploited peasantry); (ii) a recruiting agent of the military department (for, then the war was on); (iii) a propagandist on behalf of the "Hindu"-Congress (such is the reaction of the biased followers of the Moslem League); (iv) a spy from the Intelligence Branch; (v) a secret agent of the Supply Department with the avowed object of seizing the stock of food material or the surplus crops, if any; (vi) an Income-tax Officer or an Officer deputed by Central Excise Department, in disguise, to explore the possibilities of imposition of fresh taxes on tobacco, betelnut, etc. This visitor might as well be the representative of the District Magistrate who was forcing multipurpose co-operatives on the unwilling villagers at the time. If, however, the investigator was none among these alleged categories of foes, what, on earth, it would be asked, was the need for an "educated" person to rush to the villages? Could not a book on rural economics be written from such a mighty city as Calcutta where books abound? Even if there was any real need for personal survey of villages, what tangible benefit was likely to emerge from such a survey either in favour of the surveyor himself or of the family to which the questions were put? And, many other similar odd questions.

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED BY THE AUTHOR

And the scholar must have to give satisfactory answer to each and every question put (1) in meetings of village elders, (2) in the centres of group discussions on *para* or zonal basis, (3) in the sectional meetings of people of different occupational classes, such as rural craft or trade or labour or agriculture, etc., and (4) by every individual villager interviewed singly. For such was the procedure followed by the present writer to contact the villagers effectively.

HOW TO COLLECT RELIABLE STATISTICS

It should be remembered that in order to extract any accurate and useful data from the suspicious, yet simple, village folk, the investigator must not only have infinite patience, energy and tact, but he must command the manner and address of a dignified gentleman, frank yet firm, simple yet intelligent. Earnestness and simplicity of personal habits, together with unbounded sympathy for the rural poor and for the particular class about which enquiries are being made, are the key to winning the confidence of the people interviewed. In fact, the attitude of the investigator should be one of humility and of service to the people or the nation. Then, again, on entering a village, the investigator must not rush to put questions or to reduce the answers immediately to writing. All haste is to be avoided. To mix with the villagers, to sit with them, to gossip with them, and to become one among them, are the only sure steps to inspire trust in them. Letters of introduction from

their own influential leaders, far or near, should, of course, be the very first step to get himself introduced to the villagers. After a preliminary familiarity has been established, he should start stray talks on stray economic and social affairs regarding the village. He may collect people at *hats* (weekly or by-weekly fairs) or bazaars and take care to explain ceaselessly the object of his visit. Then, a list of village elders and youths who are ready to help him and to take him personally from door to door, should be prepared. If it is a case of Random Sample Survey of families, a list of all the families in the village is to be made and individual families should be chosen according to the method explained later on. Statements given by the head of a family, entered in the enquiry form, should be checked up later in the midst of group meetings of villagers, and, also by approaching, if possible, the reporter's next door neighbours who are likely to know his conditions. Where the reporter feels shy to state facts before others, the investigator should question him in private or confidentially. In course of the interview, as soon as any doubt about the utility of the enquiry is expressed or any suspicion about the bona fides of the enquirer crops up afresh, he should at once down his pen, and must not write a single word, but harangue till the reporter or the person questioned softens down and his doubts are dispelled. It will be noted that sometimes the reporter, illiterate and unsophisticated as he may be, tends to make wild guesses about facts on which figures are wanted. He should be gently but severely cross-examined by the investigator and mildly warned about the apparent absurdity of the replies given. Also the statement should be corrected by evidence from more responsible elements present on the occasion. It is, still, very difficult to make a correct census of family assets and income and crops, etc. which are invariably under-stated, while, on the other hand, the figures of liabilities are often exaggerated. The special advantage, however, of a group meeting is that the villagers often promptly check one another. Again, it so happens that in every village, or at least, in each *para* (zone) of a village, there are a number of village leaders who know every bit of facts regarding each of the villagers, or each family of particular zones of the village. It is advisable, therefore, that every individual statement should, later, in the presence of the giver of the statement himself, be read out and finally corrected by such a leader or groups of leaders. In the absence of written records or accounts, these are some of the best practical and practicable methods of arriving at the truth. In the case of educated middle class people, their accumulated written accounts should, wherever possible, be copied or borrowed or purchased; when, of course, no written records are available, their verbal statements should be entered, taking care, however, to dispel their misgivings by omitting their names or addresses from the enquiry form and clearly explaining the statistical methods of averaging, squaring, grouping, etc., where personal identity is completely lost.

WHEN TRUST CAN BE INSPIRED

It has been noticed by the present writer that when the confidence and sympathy of the rural people are evoked, they take the investigator to be one of them, lay their hearts bare, so to say, and place before him all their cards, face upwards. It has throughout

been the good fortune of this writer to have ultimately secured the fullest measure of co-operation from the villagers: for, he succeeded in rousing abundant goodwill in the people he visited: so much so, that their initial suspicion and reluctance were converted into unbounded enthusiasm and a sense of duty, as it were, to tell the writer the minutest details about their personal woes and sufferings as well as gains and expectations. Facts suppressed at the initial stage of the enquiry were often later given out voluntarily by the reporter. And it often happened that when the present writer, late in the solitary evenings, was, perhaps, comparing the data in his host's bed-room, the reporter would stealthily enter the room and then express his regret and rectify the mistakes in his previous statement. Or, perhaps, when under the mid-day sun of the mellow autumn, the writer was about to cross a field, a rustic would, suddenly, burst forth from the midst of the yellow flowers of mustard plants to tell "our Babu" that he had deliberately misstated a fact about his recent land-transfer; for, was not the Mahajan-buyer staring at him all the while at the group meeting?

Thus, between University authorities and M.L.A.'s; between District high officials and the village poor; between professors and school-children; between Pir Sahibs and Maulavis and village elders; between high leaders and public life and illiterate peasants in rural areas; and between Relief Co-ordination Committees and Gruel Kitchen volunteers, there intervened, in behalf of this writer, a chain of letters of introduction and personal escort by people; voluntary help to minimise his risks and difficulties and personal discomforts; unstinted support and full co-operation and praise in the wake of melting suspicion, nay, grateful appreciation, and the wishing of all success to the author and even blessings conveyed in right Indian style. Such has been the lot and the luck of the present writer. Though many faces have completely faded out of the picture, many are still remembered by him with gratitude and thankfulness.

METHOD OF RANDOM SAMPLE SURVEY

It will be seen that in a previous paragraph, the expression "Random Sample Survey" has been introduced. As used in the science of Statistics, the word "Sample" stands as the pattern for a class. If, for example, in a district which is predominantly agricultural, a number of villages are chosen, where, in each case, the technique of agriculture is found to be defective, it may fairly be supposed that the agricultural technique of that district is backward or defective. If, again, in a region the income of a number of cultivator families, as opposed to trading or weaving families, for example, is, in each instance, found to be meagre, or, the family debt to be heavy, then, the conclusion that the agricultural families of that region are poor, or heavily indebted, seems probable and legitimate. Thus, as statisticians suggest, the idea of a sample pre-supposes a fundamental uniformity in the midst of diversity. This uniformity-in-diversity notion may be explained briefly as follows:

The technique of cultivation, as in the former example, or, the size of the family income or of indebtedness of cultivators, as in the latter example, may, of course, vary from place to place or from family to family in this imaginary "district" or "region." But the villages of the "district" under the

former example possess a degree of commonness, too, relatively to villages of, say, a predominantly non-agricultural district. So, also, the cultivator families of the "region" under the latter example possess, as a whole, a kind of 'togetherness' among themselves but a sort of 'separateness,' too, relatively, so to say, from trading families, even within the same "region." A sample, therefore, of villages in the "district" would speak for all the villages of that district, or, a sample of agricultural families of the the region—provided, of course, the villages are chosen from all kinds of villages of the "district" or the agricultural families are taken from all types of cultivators of the "region" according to a proportionate representation. Such a proportionate representation, if sought in exact number, would require a complete census and classification of all the villages in one case or all the agricultural families in the other. This may, however, prove prohibitive or even unnecessary in view of the broad tendencies alone to be studied by the investigator. Representative samples may, therefore, be chosen. The Random method of selection of such samples is suggested by statisticians as the nearest approach to exactness. Randomisation implies the elimination of the unreliability of the human factor—the elimination of the investigator's bias, prejudice or personal considerations. This means, in practice, the preparation of a complete serial roll of the villages as in the first example; or, of cultivator families, as in the second; and taking one village or one cultivator family, in every two-hundredth, if a sample of, say, 5 per cent is decided upon. The method is to show the percentage with reference to the total number. Obviously, the bigger the size of the sample, the smaller will the range of probable error tend to be.

HOW TO EMPHASISE THE REGIONAL PECULIARITIES OF BIG AREAS TO BE SURVEYED

If the investigator is to survey the economic conditions of a district or of a bigger area it is advisable and more convenient to divide the whole area or the district into zones either on the basis of its physical characteristics, such as, dry or marshy or riverine, etc., areas, or on the basis of economic characteristics, such as, jute-growing zones or paddy-growing zones, and so on. Take, for instance, the district of Faridpur, which was chosen by the author and which is fairly big in size. If, in regard to this district, the investigator's purpose is to study the general economic conditions of the people, he will have to prepare a huge serial roll of all the villages or of all the families of the district as a whole, and, then, embark upon his task of investigation after randomising the samples of villages or of families, as the case may be, on a proportionate basis. But, as the writer has to point out here, the district consists of three distinctly separate geographical regions, namely, the "dry" region in the central and northern parts of the District; the "marshy" area in the South-West, and the new "alluvial" tracts in the South-East which is mainly a riverine area. Again, an additional geographical feature in the East and South-East parts of the district is the chain of alluvial islands called *chars* rising from the beds of swift-flowing small and mighty rivers changing their directions at will and continuously performing alluvial and diluvial operations. Suppose the investigator is not aware of the existence of such natural regions and proceeds to randomise the samples of villages or of families as

described above in this paragraph, then it is likely that the investigator will fail to bring into sharp relief the peculiar economic features of each of the natural regions of the district, specially if these regions are uneven in respect of size and population. If the district, as a whole, is the unit, then, the proportion of villages or families chosen will include only a meagre number of samples from the sparsely populated or small-sized regions, while the number of samples from bigger areas will be quite large and may totally overshadow or conceal the peculiar regional economic features of the smaller zones of the district. Let us suppose that the *char*-area consists of only 200 villages and that 5 per cent samples are decided upon, thus including only one village from this *char*-area. Now, *chars* display very interesting economic and sociological characteristics. But these characteristics will fail to be adequately exhibited and may, in fact, be submerged in the midst of the large samples from the *dry* region, for example. If this latter region is supposed to comprise, say, 2,000 villages, then, in this imaginary example, the *char* villages as compared with 'dry' villages will have the chance of representation in the ratio of one to ten which means in practice, that 'dry' villages will engulf the peculiarities of *char* villages at the time of final tabulation of the data as a whole.

METHOD OF "STRATIFIED" RANDOM SAMPLE SURVEY

One of the effective scientific approaches to the study of the economic conditions of the district of Faridpur on a zonal basis should, therefore, be to lay the investigator's emphasis on the importance of the natural regions as such, and to place necessary 'weight' while randomising the samples of villages from the smaller areas among these natural regions. The whole process may, in a sense, be described as the "stratified" random sample process, the emphasis being placed on the regional or zonal aspect of study. This means that the investigation proceeds on the basis of physical 'stratification' of areas within the district chosen for survey. Another way to follow this 'stratified' random sample process is as follows: The investigator may wish to emphasise the aspect of occupational "stratification," that is, within the periphery of the district as a whole or better still, of each natural region separately, he may prepare the rolls of families of each occupation severally, and then, on a suitable proportionate basis, randomise the samples of families (family being the unit of investigation) in each occupational class. It should be noticed, however, that the task of the preparation of rolls of families from each occupation over a large area might well prove to be impossible, specially in Bengal, in view of the absence of reliable records of exact occupational classes even over so small an area as the village or the Union. It is advisable, therefore, that samples of villages within each natural region should, at the outset, be randomised; and, then, as the selected villages are approached, all the families there should be listed on the occupational basis, after, of course, careful enquiry has, in this regard, been made by the investigator himself, and, samples of families within each occupation should, thereupon, be randomised. But, if the samples of villages chosen are rather small in number, the best practical method under the circumstances is not to pick up samples of families within these selected villages, but, to take a complete census, that is, to undertake a comprehensive survey of each of the

villages as a whole, that is, of all the families in each village from end to end.

AUTHOR'S METHOD OF SELECTION OF SAMPLES

In a limited sense, the present writer combined all the processes or methods described above. Sample villages were selected on the basis of natural regions in the district, and samples of families within some of the villages in each zone were randomised on the occupational basis; but, in most cases, the writer decided to take a complete census of all the families within the selected sample villages. Thus the idea of randomising samples of families in the villages chosen was abandoned. The scope of randomisation of the samples of villages in each natural region was, however, limited, because, as it should be confessed, the present writer decided to randomise the samples of villages from only among ninety-nine villages (out of 3338 villages in all) in the four natural regions of the district taken together; because it was found that all of them (99) were surveyed once by Major Jack between 1906 and 1910 and again by the officer in charge of the Revised Settlement Operations between 1940 and 1942. Clearly, therefore, the present writer cannot claim to have fully and strictly followed the rules and procedure laid down by the Statistical Random-Sample method of investigation. He may, however, claim that his first-hand complete survey of about 0.5-1.0 per cent of the total number of villages of the district, coupled with the enormous mass of statistics collected from other sources,—official, semi-official and non-official—are expected to yield approximate results needed for his investigations, namely, for studying certain trends of economic life of the district.

AUTHOR'S ENDEAVOUR MARKS A NEW ENTERPRISE IN BENGAL

The endeavour made by this writer is indeed modest, for, it does not cover the Province as a whole, but only a zone within it. Be it, however, noted that it is the beginning, not the end, of his efforts, and, as he claims, it is a new enterprise in the sphere of first-hand rural research in Bengal, for, no similar enquiries have ever been made in Bengal, by any alumnus of the Calcutta or any other University single-handed, or, by a lecturer by himself alone, over so large a tract of country and so large a population on so many aspects of rural economic life.

Faridpur district comprises an area of 2821 square miles with a population of 2,888,803 as per census of 1941. The relative strength of the different communities is as follows:

Muslim	..	..	64.8 p.c.
Caste Hindus	..	..	16.2 "
Schedule Caste	..	..	18.2 "
Others	..	..	0.4 "

SAMPLE SURVEY METHOD VERSUS COMPLETE CENSUS METHOD

As a comment on the method of enquiries adopted by the present writer, it may be observed, finally, that the sample survey method of investigation that he has tried to follow offers a distinct advantage even over Major Jack's complete census method. For, in the latter case, the difficulty of ensuring accuracy of primary enumeration can be easily imagined. As statisticians point out, this, indeed, is the great snag in a complete census. Major Jack had to depend on "labour by many hands", on "young and eager graduates of the universities," as he admits in his

Foreward to *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*. Where the dependence of the investigator on others is so exclusive and where such large-scale operations as his, are involved, not only can the unreliability of the human factor be eliminated, but, it is not, also, possible to ascertain whether the work has been carried out accurately or not. And this writer will have the occasion, when Jack's manuscripts are tabulated, to point out that gross exaggerations, entered into the forms of his enquiry, lead to much absurd conclusion.

UTILITY OF REGIONAL SURVEY

It is hoped by this writer that his findings would indicate the lines on which a regional planning should begin. A regional survey or study has indeed this peculiar practical advantage that the special features of a region may have a prominent display and thus lead to a thorough and comprehensive grasp of the local problems, and, then, these problems may be attacked sharply and tackled quickly and effectively. While the chances of inaccuracies creeping into the formulation of the plan itself are fewer, the prospects of success in carrying out the plan are greater. For the financial and administrative problems involved in the execution of a small-scale regional plan are obviously simpler.

ASPECTS OF THE AUTHOR'S SURVEY AND UNIVERSITY'S ROLE IN ORGANISING MULTI-PURPOSE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENQUIRIES

It was the writer's intention to make a wide and comprehensive survey covering almost all the important aspects of rural economic life of the district. Major Jack's unpublished data will, of course, form, by themselves, the subject of a separate publication. Secondly, the data on Land Transfer and Rural Credit will be utilised to prepare a separate thesis. Thirdly, the numerous data on rural family Budgets will have to be tabulated as a distinct subject of study. Fourthly, figures on some aspects of Crop Planning with special reference to jute cultivation will be used elsewhere. Fifthly, the data on Agricultural Wages and Rural Un-employment will form the material for another publication. Sixthly, the data on Middle Class Family Budgets and Indebtedness may, by themselves, mark the beginnings of a new line of Research in Bengal. Again, a mass of statistics has been collected which relate to the systems of Tenancies within the district; to the incidence of taxes on rural families, to the conditions of Public Health and Expectation of Life in rural areas, and such other topics. Full justice cannot, however, be done by this writer single-handed to all the statistics collected so far, far less to the pursuance of similar investigations in other areas of Bengal. The task is, however, very important, but it is too mighty for a single individual. It is hoped that research scholars will come forward in numbers to see through the task begun so modestly by this writer. It is hoped, further, that Universities, specially in Bengal where the field remains so largely unexplored, will extensively and liberally help scholars to organise multi-purpose socio-economic enquiries carried on by the method of sample surveys. In fact, the University, as distinct from an individual or any official agency, is the body which is more competent to carry on an impartial primary research into such basic subjects of applied economics as are mentioned here. For, on the one hand, the University, unlike an individual, has, at its disposal, resources that are more plentiful, and, on the other, it is, unlike an official agency, free from bias and the influence of passing phases of propaganda.

THE PLIGHT OF MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

By H. L. MANSUKHANI

A quaint situation faces the Sind Minorities servants of the Sind Pakistan Government. The Government resolution circulated a couple of months ago ordained that none of its officers should be permitted to apply for the posts outside this province. On declaration of this policy all the responsible officers were informed that they should refuse to forward the applications from the officials, both Gazetted and non-Gazetted, under their control, for posts both temporary or permanent, outside the services of the Government of Sind.

Subsequently an improvement has been effected on this policy. It has been laid down that no Government servants be allowed to apply for posts under different administrations merely to better their prospects. The sole criterion in such cases should be whether or not the individual could be spared.

The Pakistan prospects brightened after the February 20th announcement of the British Cabinet and one immediate effect to this announcement in this sphere of services in the province of Sind was that from the common clerk right up to the man at the head of a department a ruling mentality set in. The obedience and common courtesy have come to have an easy exit from the back-door and now no Hindu would even dare to enforce the code of propriety and efficiency where the subordinates happen to be Muslims.

Side by side with the adoption of the resolution of Aga Baddrudin, a prominent member of the Sind Muslim League and Deputy Leader of the Sind Legislative Assembly, fixing up the communal ration in the services on population basis, adds to the complexity of this difficult situation which the Sind minorities have to face.

In the result today the Hindu community in particular and the non-Muslims in general, are the political pariahs in Sind.

It is in this context that almost every Hindu servant is keen to leave the service of the Sind Government. He envies Central Government servants, who have been given fair option of choosing for themselves and get an opportunity of serving in the Indian Union. Thus while they get a fair field they also get the opportunity of shaking the very dust of Pakistan off their feet, and enjoy the citizenship of the Indian Union. In the Pakistan Plan with its details of the division of assets and liabilities this is considered to be its one bright facet.

These are the too coercive instruments employed by the Government of Sind, the one limiting the educationally major community to only that much

share in the services in proportion of its population figures, thus in effect barring all the prospects of the present and future generations of earning and living on the public services, and the other, preventing those who wish to migrate both to get rid of the obligations of the possible Islamic theocratic Government and enjoy fruits of their labour.

It is interesting to note how the Government of Sind have proposed working in accordance with the details of the scheme to fill up 70 per cent of posts on the Government services by Muslims.

A sufficient number of Sind Muslims is simply not available to fill up the various technical and special posts whereas the proper number of Sind Hindu talents is available in abundance. But the spacious Islamic principle is enunciated that the Pakistan Provinces will not observe the geographical boundaries as barriers and that all Muslims in Pakistan would enjoy the fruits of the new kingdom bestowed by Britain in a mood of its age-old imperialist generosity.

By a circular, recently issued to all the departments of the Secretariat and all the Heads of the Departments and offices, the Government have communicated to them its decision to entertain applications of Muslims from Bihar and other provinces and also to take into consideration the relaxation of the conditions as regards age and domicile.

Again by another circular the Government have communicated its decision to all the departments and heads of offices that domicile certificates be granted to Bihar Muslims on declaration

- (1) that the applicant is a refugee from Bihar,
- (2) that he declares that he will reside permanently in Sind, and
- (3) that he bears good moral character.

Such certified Bihar refugees are to be considered for employment *pari passu* as candidates possessing Sind domicile.

The necessary corollary of the enunciation of this Islamic principle is that the very foundation of the Pakistan State shall be based on religion.

All the non-Muslims thus become aliens in their homeland. They must, therefore, choose either to serve as serfs or migrate outside the boundaries of Pakistan areas.

It also means that we shall have no political rights and the Equation of Taxation and Representation that the American War of Independence has enshrined in the annals of the recent course of the history of mankind, has no meaning for the Islamic Government of the Pakistan of tomorrow.



TAGORE'S CHITRA

By MAYA GUPTA

THIS lyrical drama of Tagore was written in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The original story of Chitrangada in the Mahabharata has been inserted in the preface, but Tagore's drama as can be well-imagined is not only this. The poet has taken the main story and has recast it into a delicate fabric of lyric. He has taken liberty with the theme so far as the complications of the dramatic plot go. The simple contract of marriage between the prince and the mountain-princess has been turned into a magic pool wherein their flaming passion bathes and renews its youth. The poet has done away with the classical simplicity of the original story in order to enhance the dramatic perfection.

This is no more the story of the old days when romance had but little to do with life. Out of a simple, love-story is fabricated a plot revealing the greatest aspiration of the human heart. The action of the drama is confined more to the mental world than to the events of the outer world. But curiously enough the rhythm is never lost in sheer nothingness of romance. An equilibrium of realism and idealism is maintained throughout, wherein the modern man's quest of life and love finds relief.

One important point prominent in Chitra is that the poet has not given the least scope to his readers to brush aside anything as mystic, if ever mysticism was his. There is a bold expression of different emotions which react on the common day-to-day events of life, which the normal man feels but can neither express nor define. Tagore's realism is something unprecedented in our literature. We have not learnt to relish the whole of it, that is why we prefer to leave aside something as mystic, as too sacred to be subjected to intelligent scrutiny. Tagore's idealism has ever sought to glorify reality as no other poets did before him in Bengali literature. Others before him, always as a rule, had humoured the connoisseurs either with idealism beyond human reach, or open display of love emotions as attributes of the super-human. The artist in Tagore accepts the reality, the objective is presented with such delicate but true colour that the common and petty have revealed the beautiful in them that is apt to be overlooked by the untrained eye. He has relieved reality of its too familiar outer garment and laid it bare in its natural beauty.

Some time back it used to be insinuated that the drama exhibits something morbid, but now it is generally agreed that it is flawless so far as its form or poetic ethics is concerned. According to another class of critics, the fault lies in its central theme, i.e., in its main conception of life. According to this class of thinkers, Chitrangada's love is more the love of a man than that of a woman. According to them, her love is incomplete as she is too proud to forget that her beauty worshipped by Arjuna is alien to herself, her soul and even her body, and her love is overshadowed by her pride.

As a matter of fact, this very pride adds glory to her love. She resents her borrowed beauty not because she hated what she herself was denied, but because she had to borrow it to win her beloved, and her womanly pride suffers humiliation. What she resents in her moments of ecstasy is the alien beauty and not her body. There is absolutely nothing in the drama that can reasonably be censured as failure on the part of the dramatist. He has raised nature to a pitch, and has brought it to a sphere where the limit imperceptibly extends to infinity by his magic perception, as if nature has been given a rebirth! Its delicate grandeur often seems to be beyond the common grasp, and yet somehow it has limitless power to touch the depth of consciousness.

It is a realist's contribution. The poet never makes a distinction between spiritual joy and corporeal joy, the joy of the soul and that of the sense, but it is the borrowed beauty that carries the whole burden of tragedy in the drama. He points to the central source of tragedy in Chitra's realisation of her failure to attract Arjuna without beauty's garb, on which the tempo of the drama rises and falls.

The poet has himself said that the idea of the drama occurred in his mind during a train journey in late spring. He saw colourful blossoms on the road side, and the idea of coming summer brought a foreboding of the end of these blossoms in his mind; side by side another picture of mango groves was ready, which would have the fruitful season during the very summer. The poet had an idea that a beautiful woman might come to realise also that her tempting beauty was her rival. Beauty of a woman was her upper garb while her real self lay beyond her beauty. She might realise also that her real possession was within, which could offer the greatest boon to her lover, which only could make life move towards perfection. That was the outstanding revelation of the real self which had no ultimate fatigue, no devaluation through daily use.

The idea seems to be, that the poet moves towards the depth of human understanding; and beauty, if anything, is only a canal that joins the oceans of love emotions. Love in literature or in actual life may or may not be dependent on beauty, but the poet in this particular drama has made a demarcation between the beauty of the body and the beauty of the soul. The question of love in its different aspects does not arise.

In the first scene the poet introduces the heroine, here she has been made to relate her desire, the first awakening of a woman's heart. There is no conflict of passion and resistance as yet. We see a woman who has not been tempered with the hopes and disappointments of life's drama. Here the poet presents her in classic beauty. The woman untaught of feminine art tastes her defeat, she is unknown to the bewildering play of light and shade of this world. She knows not how to win, she folds her hands before

the supernatural power and with its aid tries to win Arjuna. But at the same time the pride of a woman is awake. "Had I but the time needed. I could win his heart by slow degrees and ask no help from the gods" and she submits herself to the humility of adopting the inferior method. She appeals, "Give me the power of the weak and the weapon of the unarmed hands." In her first blinding passion she cries before the gods,

"Take from my young body the primal injustice, an unattractive plainness. For a single day make me superbly beautiful, even as was the sudden blooming of love in my heart. Give me but one brief day of perfect beauty and I will answer for the days that follow."

The borrowed garb of beauty matters little to her in the beginning as she is painfully aware that Arjuna failed to know her true self.

In the second scene the heroine appears in her life's duplicate role. The god of love has made her beautiful but could not henumb her woman's pride.

"She beamed with a glad surprise—so, if the white lotus bud on opening her eyes in the morning were to arch her neck and see her shadow in the water, would she wonder at herself the life-long day.—But a moment after, the smile passed from her face and a shadow of sadness crept into her eyes."

In this scene the artist slowly unwraps the seeming lack of recognition between Chitra and Arjuna. The scene is beautifully laid. Now Chitra is no more "the shameless woman" come to court Arjuna as though she were a man, now she has come well equipped with 'the power of the weak'. Here also the classic beauty is striking. The heroine chooses the surest and the simplest path to lay her heart open before the hero. Now she is feminine enough to detect the feelings of her lover, "Hermit, you are jealous of other men's fame." But as soon as she conquers Arjuna her own self shrinks from the deceitful path. Her painful utterances, though they convey another sense to Arjuna, are none the less plain truths about herself.

"What have you seen in me that makes you false to yourself? Whom do you seek in these dark eyes? Not my true self, I know."

And again,

"Surely this cannot be love, this is not man's highest homage to woman. Alas, this is frail disguise, the 'body' should make one blind to the light of the deathless spirit."

Here lies the true self of Chitrangada, the woman who is entirely human,

"no goddess to be worshipped nor yet that object of common pity to be brushed aside like moth with indifference."

Even in the bliss of complete union she cannot forget the foreign beauty that aided her in her achievement, and the very shiver of joy, which runs through her body and her soul, is marred by the sense of a painful defect.

In the third scene, we find her wavering under conflicting emotions. Her inherent dignity is writhing in agony. "What fearful flame is this with which thou hast enveloped me: I burn and I burn whatever I touch." And "though a limitless life of glory can bloom and spend itself in a morning, like

an endless meaning in the narrow span of a song," yet she remembers what she used to be, and runs away like a deer afraid of her own shadow through the forest path.

"The daughter of the mortals for whom the fragrant wine of heaven is stolen from the divine store-house and filled with it one earthly night to the brim the cup is placed in her hand to drink,"

She still utters a cry of anguish. Many have sung the grace of humanity but this creation of Tagore surpasses even the rarest song. "Who drank it?"

"This borrowed beauty, this falsehood that enwraps me, will slip from me taking with it the only monument of that sweet union, as the petals fall from a over-blown flower, and the woman ashamed of her naked poverty will sit weeping day and night."

She curses her precious beauty which 'companions her like a demon robbing her of all the prizes of love.' She prays, "O God! take back thy boon." Can she stand before her lover bereft of her borrowed beauty? She prefers to reveal her true self to him, 'a nobler thing than this disguise.'

As the drama advances her restless spirit finds repose. She adapts herself to her transient beauty, even her love is ennobled and she has found herself.

"Joy turns into pain when the door by which it should depart is shut against it. Take it and keep it as long as it lasts. Let not the satiety of your evening claim more than the desire of your morning could earn—"

Now we see a woman resigned gracefully to a fate she has called upon her. Through her pathetic notes her inner self glows on. The year of bliss is no more the nightmare of the day but the calm resignation and the preparation for the day of awakening. Now she is strong enough to stand the test. The eternal aspiring soul remains unsullied by the joy that could only be received through deception, and 'burns through the vest which seems to hide it.'

As the drama advances towards completion, so does the love of Arjuna and Chitrangada. Arjuna now seeks what is beyond the beauty of the woman. A love that was really born of sight is to reach its perfection by recognizing something deeper than the sight can reach. As the drama swiftly moves towards its inevitable consequence of recognition, the hero begins to reveal his own self.

"Give me something to clasp, something that can last longer than pleasure, that can endure even through suffering."

"When with the advent of autumn the flowering season is over, then comes the triumph of fruitage. A time will come of itself when the heat-cloyed bloom of the body will droop and Arjuna will gladly accept the abiding fruitful truth in thee."

Here lies the consolation that gratifies not the ego of a selfish heart but the dignity of a beautiful soul. The poet does not disparage the flowering season when comparing it with the 'triumph of fruitage.' 'Abiding fruitful truth' is not only love's present which is nursed by Chitra for Arjuna, but the woman herself. This truth is related to her whole personality, which is striving to reveal itself through every act of hers, and for which Arjuna pines.

When the hero is made to compensate his first

injustice towards the princess by praising Chitrangada in presence of her beautiful 'counterfeit,' "in valour she is man, and a woman in tenderness," she answers, "that indeed is her greatest misfortune. Could you have seen her only yesterday in the court of Lord Shiva's temple by the forest path, you would have passed by without deigning to look at her." This is a revelation of the sensitive heart of a woman and not that of a man, even though she is "not the woman who nourishes her despair in lonely silence feeding it with nightly tears and covering it with daily patient smile—a widow from her birth. 'The flower of my desire will never drop into the dust before it has ripened to fruit.'" When Arjuna covets the real Chitra, we are presented with a picture which, whatever it may be, is surely not that of a Tomboy as some critic has said. "What has she ever had the unfortunate creature? Her very qualities are as prison walls, shutting her woman's heart in a bare cell,"—is a strong reproach to a man's love and only a woman can utter it. Arjuna dreams of her as 'a watchful lioness protecting the litter at her dugs with a fierce love.' Admiring critics of the medieval romance fail to appreciate this bold colouring of a woman's picture, but this beautiful conception of strong womanhood will light the path of creative genius for the days to come. The admirers of Cleopatra who eulogise her in the following manner :

"No more but e'en a woman and commanded
By such poor passion as the maid that milks
And does the meanest chare,"

for some unknown reason overlook this, "Could I but exchange my youth with all its aspirations for the clod of earth under his feet, I should dream it a most precious grace." This characteristic of the nature of the two best lovers in literature is revealed, not as an outstanding feature of their characters but as remarkable for their likeness; only Chitrangada is more perfect, being more human than the 'serpent of the Nile.' Chitrangada is also different from the heroine in the Vaishnava lyrics. Her individuality stands prominent all through and her love is glorified by her very individuality which defies sufferings and says :

"Give me but one brief day of perfect beauty,
and I will answer for the days that follow."

Now it is difficult to know definitely whether the artist has in view the espousing of the cause of women, but if there is any intention of doing so his art transcends his purpose, it does not suffer as does the artistry of even a first rate propagandist. And if it is a pure creation of art, Tagore's art defies escapism. He accepts life as a whole and receives inspiration out of it.

"I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of life, then you will know my true self."

This comes from a strong human heart and this strength together with a grasp of the vital truths of life serves the cause effectively.

Coming back to the scene where the heroine tries to shake herself free from her less strong part with which she was persuaded, to conquer Arjuna, she stands once again in her own glory.

"Arjuna, tell me true, if, now at once, by some magic I could shake myself free from this voluptuous softness, this timid bloom of beauty shrinking from the rude and healthy touch of the world, and fling it from my body like borrowed clothes, would you be able to bear this? Would it please your heroic soul if the playmate of the night aspired to be the helpmate of the day, if the left arm learnt to share the burden of the proud right arm?"

She seems to him to be a goddess hidden within a golden image, sometimes in the enigmatic depth of her sad look in her playful words mocking at their own meaning he gains the glimpse of a being trying to rend asunder the languorous grace of her body, "to emerge in a chaste fire of pain through the vaporous veils of smiles."

At last the hero comes in view. It is a fact that all through the drama, he remains like a glass through which the magnificence of the heroine is manifested, but when the man is approaching, it is the whole man and not an incomplete conception of an idol. He is neither an intellectual bodiless being of the modern drama nor an embodiment of clownish vituperative heroics. The hero who says, "You have dissolved my vow even as the moon dissolves the night's vow of obscurity," is strong enough to say, "Illusion is the first appearance of Truth. She advances towards her lover in disguise. But a time comes when she throws off her ornaments and veils and stands clothed in naked dignity. I grope that ultimate 'you,' that bare simplicity of truth." Only the strongest heart can boldly await the dawn of bare simplicity of truth, the ultimate being. If Arjuna gives himself up in pursuit of beauty, he also can accept the naked truth unhesitatingly. The hero acquits himself with majestic grace when at last the bare simplicity of truth is presented to him. "Beloved, my life is full" a single sentence justifies the man who wants to clasp something that can last longer than pleasure, that can endure even through suffering! Even before the year of bliss is over the hero says,

"My heart is restless, fair one, like a serpent reviving from his long winter sleep. Come let us both race on swift horses side by side like twin orbs of light sweeping through space. Out from this slumberous prison of green gloom, this dank, dense cover of perfumed intoxication, choking breath."

Chitrangada has sometimes been criticized as incomplete, as a lesser woman, because though beauty was denied to her yet she hankered for it as a means of achievement. Lesser woman she is not. The borrowed beauty could never be one with her own self.

"Alas, this is a frail disguise, the body should make one blind to the light of the deathless spirit."

In the struggle of her life when at last she comes out a conqueror, her indomitable spirit glows. A woman taking to deception for the fulfilment of her desire now 'emerges in a chaste fire of pain.' Now that the struggle of honour and passion is over, she is completely composed. Now from the depth of her heart she can say,

"Look at your worshipper with gracious eyes. I am not beautifully perfect as the flowers with which I worshipped. I have many flaws and blemishes. I am a traveller in the great world path, my garments are dirty, and my feet are bleeding with thorns. Where should I achieve this flower beauty,

the unsullied loveliness of a moment's life? The gift that I proudly bring to you is the heart of a woman. Here have all pains and joys gathered, the hopes and fears and shames of a daughter of the dust. Here love springs up struggling towards immortal life. Herein lies an imperfection which yet is noble and grand."

This picture of Chitrangada is neither that of a 'tomboy' nor of a 'freak of nature.' She belongs to a type where neither the inactive idealist nor the sophisticated intellectuals are known. A classical type has been introduced anew which can stand the test of time and place.

She ever remains above her borrowed beauty. "The unaccustomed dress clings about her shrinking shame," she can say, "that shameless woman came to court you as though she were a man. You rejected her, you did well my Lord. I am that woman, she was my disguise." The deception falls away from her glowing personality. The fire of her own soul burns the 'unsullied loveliness of a moment's life,' her beauty cannot hide her under its magic charm, which attracts Arjuna as fire does a moth. She is not soiled by the dust which she treads on. Thorns that bleed her feet are themselves turned into flowers with the touch of her bleeding feet.

Chitrangada is a challenge to the traditional valuation put on a heroine. When compared with Labanya of *Sheser Kavita*, which the poet wrote some thirty years after, the emotional touch in Chitrangada's character is apparent. But the striking grace in both is remarkable. The similarity of their nature flashes into view only at the last stage, when both stand detached from their action and its consequence, they appear enveloped in human grace, one in a superb revelation of her self and the other in mute elegance. Love in both the cases is free. The hunger and urge of the soul ultimately realise the truth, that nothing must soil this truth; it is to be protected either with something greater than illusion, or treasured in the mind—away from the troubles and tribulations of daily and hourly living. Love in Chitrangada is healthier than the love in *Sheser Kavita*, which, however, is inevitable in the surroundings in which the artist has brought his men and women to play their respective parts.

The creative genius of Tagore knows no bounds but Chitrangada is one of his best creations. Here we find perfect womanhood, with a soul free from the touch of timidity and yet full of grace and tenderness natural to a woman.

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ROLE OF A CRITIC

By PROF. SOMNATH DHAR, M.A., I.L.B.

CRITICISM is indispensable as breathing. Curiosity and interest give rise to criticism. It arises when we accept certain things and reject others, that is to say, when our mind acts upon and analyses the work of others. So long as there is art, there will be criticism. Due to the singular make-up of the English mind, there is little difference between best criticism and literature. No sharp line divides the two as it does in classical languages. Criticism is, in the main, the praise of literature, as Robert Lynd would have it. By its very existence a work of art or literature posits criticism. It attracts an audience that, if moved by it, appreciates its excellences and other merits, and points out the defects and drawbacks. From among those interested in the work, the one who, in the words of Byron, "learned to think and sternly speaks the truth," is the critic.

The professional critic, skilled in the art and technique of criticism, is of comparatively late growth. He made his appearance when the reading public wanted him. He occupies an important position in society. It is interesting to throw some light on his role and its importance.

The art of the critic is evinced in a thorough understanding of the work as well as the creator. Whether the critic evaluates a piece of art or literature or music or drama, he must know the work through and through, and, in the process, he has to liquidate his own prejudices and preconceptions. Therefore, to help the reader to see things as the creator does, the critic must needs cultivate the sympathetic understanding that makes him discipline his conceptions and cranks. This has to be emphasised, for, to quote Harindranath Chattopadhyaya :

*"The critics need no pardon
For wasting hours and hours
Within the poet's garden
And beating down the flowers,
Since critics very often
Have hearts that take so long
To lose their pride and soften
Before the poet's song."*

True, the critic must overcome his 'pride.' Whether he estimates poetry or drama, painting or music, he must 'seek the depths of the work' dispassionately, through finding the creator's urge of a deeper life, the sense of wonder and mystery commingled with the impact of life upon the creator and he must also endeavour to interpret and analyse the individuality that pervades the work. In doing so it is incumbent upon the critic to be dispassionate and at the same time he has to display, what T. S. Eliot calls, "a highly developed sense of fact," for that provides the broad-basis of criticism that simultaneously informs and interests the reader. It should have something of the nature of a "literary recreation," to borrow the title of Edward Cook's delightful critical series about books and authors. That obtains when the critic gives us a lucid exposition of that side of art which is sheer play of the irrepressible and expansive spirit of man.

The author, painter, producer and every other creator is, at a stage of creation, a critic himself when he selects, constructs and synthesises the broken threads of his imaginative material. Furthermore, a trained author can be an excellent critic of his own work, after he has accomplished it and detached himself from it. Contrariwise, the critic is and should be a creator himself to a great extent, for, in the significant

words of Ben Jonson, "To judge of poets is the faculty of poets." Then alone he can catch the very spirit of the work of art and evaluate it from the artist's point of view, as nearly as consistently possible. Of course, he is not as free as the creative artist in the manipulation of his material. But whether the critic is the quiet appreciator, the sympathetic interpreter, the restless explorer, the laborious definer, the literary propagandist, the constructive historian or the skilled aesthete he should never be far too distant from the point of view of the artist. Then he is best in a position to compare the actual achievement of the poet, the dramatist, the painter, the sculptor, the musician, the dancer, the actor and so on and so forth, with the ideal achievement that he has in view.

The ideal should be fairly understandable by the critic's readers and must be put forth not in pontifical highbrow utterances but in the clear and terse language of, say, Addison, Hazlitt, Shaw, Chesterton, Sir Edmund Gosse, etc. The ideal critic is the artist who exercises a high faculty of criticism upon his own work, because here, for once, criticism is one with the object. Such a happy blend, rare though it is, of creative and critical faculties the world witnessed in Baudelaire and in Swinburne, though in a much less degree in the latter. The implication, however, is not that the great artist is the great critic, necessarily.

Criticism being a human activity, even the best critic's endeavours are bound to fall short of the ideal of perfect criticism. And then so much of criticism is, what we may call, temperamental. The three dispositions, creative, scientific and poetical, afford us three different kinds of criticisms and critics inasmuch as the critic evaluates a work of art through his own disposition. Much of the critic's work is determined by his circumstances, the prevailing cant and the social milieu which he cannot escape. In a very restricted sense, therefore he is the arbiter of taste.

It is the privileged function of a critic to establish the "Biography" of the work of art—its genesis, its effect on and reception by the audience at the time of its appearance and the factors that led to its popularity and otherwise, its lasting value, that is to say, its importance outside the time when it was created. As Lucretius saw the works of nature, the critic wishes to "see everything in its causes." Most critics estimate writings as products of individual characters of the writers. In doing so, the critic may not quite emulate Saint Beauve's laborious and long-drawn method of tracking the man in the creator though much is to be learnt from the biographical approach. The opposite view is held by T. S. Eliot, who supports the purely intellectual or classical element in the critic's art.

What should the critic then concentrate on? Matthew Arnold provides the admonishing answer: "A true critic ought to dwell upon Excellences than Imperfections, to discover the Concrete Beauties of a Writer." Arnold postulates the critic to be disinterested and yet not indifferent at the same time. Endowed with sympathetic understanding and intellectual honesty, the good critic will also attempt to be just and fair, even when his instinct impels him to be otherwise. T. S. Eliot, himself poet as well as critic, observers, rightly, "The critic must not coerce and he must not make judgments of worse or better. He must simply elucidate; the reader will form the correct judgment for himself." According to him, the critic must not be swayed by his own emotions—much

the same dictum that he has for the poet. Thus it is that he, a highbrow classicist, is poles asunder from Middleton Murry, whose criticism vibrates with emotional sensibility. Eliot thinks Coleridge to be the greatest critic but finds fault with his critiques when he is carried away by his personal feelings.

To the modern critic emotional equilibrium is possible only when he is not too much swayed by, say, the Economic Man of Karl Marx on the one side or the Sex Motivation of Freud on the other. Or, as Basil Worsfold would have it, "The critic must distinguish between the rules which are partial and the principles which are permanent." When this is successfully accomplished the critic becomes not only enlightened but also attains a lasting reputation. We admire Mona Lisa and we will always love this great painting by Leonardo de Vinci, but we will also continue to appreciate Walter Pater's inimitable criticism of it. In the very best and apt language Pater estimates the work at the touchstone of lasting principles of art and himself produces a permanent contribution to art criticism.

Study of such great critics is helpful to the critic. Prof. Saintsbury, Arnold, R. A. Scott James, Percy Lubbock will teach him principles of literary criticism. The accepted authorities on dramatic criticism are Hazlitt, Shaw, Montagu, etc. Much can be learnt from a study of A. E. Housman, T. S. Eliot, Lascellas Abercrombie, Henry James, Lytton Strachey, Middleton Murry, etc. It is instructive to read Dr. James H. Cousins advocating international cultural unity and his researches on Asiatic cultures. There is much to be learnt from the interesting blend of gossip and criticism as practised by Sir Edmund Gosse, Arnold Bennett, or Robert Lynd, whose broad humanity lends a peculiar charm to their writings. Plato, Aristotle, Longinus, as they are re-stated by modern writers, give the critic a fair idea of the classical tendencies in criticism.

But the critic, like the creator, should not have too many models, lest he lose his individuality. Neither the biographical approach of Lytton Strachey, nor the moral 'humanism' of Murry, nor T. S. Eliot's highbrow 'seriousness,' nor the scientific approach of Percy Lubbock, nor the philosophic vein of Prof. Santayana, provide the faultless model to the critic of the present day. In the words of Mr. Eliot, he has to "bring the forces of the past to bear upon the solutions of present problems of art." This is no easy task and the few who succeed in this, deservedly, rise above their professional rut, and are accepted as the great ones who set and establish traditions and, simultaneously, check the modern tendencies to heedless expansiveness, artistic aimlessness and crude emotionalism in literature and art. Still, we must conclude that a fair modicum of study of great critics is necessary. Such study, to be progressively beneficial, should be continuous and developing. Should the critic read books only? Murry provides the sensible answer when he says that the critic must not only possess knowledge of books and facts but also of the mind and soul.

The critic shoulders heavy responsibilities as the guardian of present-day culture and the harbinger of a better age wherein cultural activities are fostered and encouraged not only as ends in themselves but as essential factors that bring closer the nations of the world: Film industry having become one of the premier and progressive industries of the world, the duties of a film critic have correspondingly increased. The film

critic should not cater to the advertising needs of the producer, as is observable in many Indian film magazines and other journals. Rather he should point the way to better social conditions that will give the filip to films of a better standard. Let truth be his yard-stick as it also should be that of the dramatic and art critics. The critic of the periodical press, in general, should not please the well-known writers or film producers or painters, simply to flatter them, and run down the second-rate ones.

In whatever sphere of art the critic works, his appraisal should be concrete, and never artificial. In short, he should never lose contact with life. His criticism must have a positive aim. It should never be mere fault-finding, picking holes, slandering or putting to ridicule, for instance, in the manner of Dr. Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*. The critic's predisposition may play its part, a minor part. It will act, in so far as criticism is also a creative activity. But it should triumph over personal bias, prejudice and irrelevance and become interpretative and appreciative. If he manifests contact of a sensitive, well-informed mind with a living though imaginative thing, whose very depths he fathoms and lays bare, his critical writing will stimulate and educate people's interest in art and art movements and, incidentally, provide the necessary incentive to artistic impulse. His aim is to give to the reading public a general and lucid estimate of the work of art. He instructs, entertains, reassesses the old and educates the public taste, to a great extent. Therefore, he should not be rhetorical or insular, say, in the typical English way, as manifested more in the last century than in the present, when criticism all over the world is changing by the impact of the world forces and trends. His business is to dilate upon the worthwhileness of the work before him.

Is the critic as important in this century as he was in the last? In the early nineteenth century, a critical article in the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, and other such periodicals was considered very important. It was seriously debated after the death of Kents whether a few harsh critical articles had hastened his untimely end. In the present day nobody thinks that the pedant can point the way to Parnassus.

nor are reviews in periodical press so epoch-making. According to T. S. Eliot, the present age has been rather uncritical, for the commonest critic is the reviewer, i.e., "the hurried amateur wageslave." But many do rise above that level, and our words are addressed to those who do not sell their soul at the altar of Mammon.

Through encouraging the production of first class literature, music, films, sculpture, theatre, etc., it is the critic's business to usher a new and better era of art and culture. Tempering his judgment by sweet and reasonable society, the critic may not praise and eulogise what is individual and original merely because it is so, nor should he lash with fury at a bold experimenter like James Joyce or a conscientious artist like George Moore. Having found that essential individuality which gives its distinctive character to the work of art, he may then, as we have discussed already, analyse its form, treatment and subject, in the context of social and other conditions of the artist's time and the future. As in the U. S. S. R. he must go down to the people, determine their needs and, accordingly, give the stimulus.

Also, the critic will continue to educate the reader, the spectator and the amateur alike. All this is possible in a society where the critic's expression of opinion is unhampered and quite free. Over and above educating the general public as to how to appreciate and admire products of art, the critic will, more intensively than before, perform his supreme function in informing the creative artist where he lags and how he will best improve.

Ours is an age of transition. In the so-called atomic age, that was so dramatically and catastrophically heralded at Hiroshima, cultural and artistic activities will alone act the saviour, if mankind is to be saved from destructive tendencies of man. The march to progress will, therefore, be guided by the critic. In his simple and sage way, Radhakrishnan says, "The spirit of man can change the direction of the march." Surely, the critic can fulfil and justify his great role as the herald of a better age, if he properly and progressively performs his function.

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PUZZLES OF HISTORY

By PROF. SUDHANSUBIMAL MOOKERJI, M.A.

RABINDRANATH has labelled history as a "Vendor of lies" (*Mithyamaye*). To Carlyle history is but distilled rumour. It is said that when Napoleon required a volume of history, he would cry out, "Bring me my liar."

Sir Walter Raleigh during his incarceration in the Tower of London one day heard an uproar outside. He sent one of his guards to ascertain what the matter was. His report did not satisfy Sir Walter. Another man was sent. He gave a wholly different report. Several men were sent one after another on the same errand and Raleigh was treated to a new story by each. The reports of the same incident by different eye-witnesses thus varying from one another, the illustrious prisoner lost all faith in history and thought of consigning to flames the manuscript of the *History*

of the World, written by him. He was convinced that any attempt to ascertain historical truth was not a whit wiser than chasing the wild goose.

Evidence may be adduced in plenty to show that story sometimes passes for history. Personal sentiments, sympathies and antipathies have lured many a promising historian away from the path of truth. Fancy again counts many victims among the students of history, whose works can hardly be distinguished from fiction. Macaulay and Froude, for example, had no scruple to sacrifice truth on the altar of their pet theories.

We propose to expose in the following paragraphs some widely prevalent historical myths—a few selected at random out of a whole galaxy.

Works on Indian history are almost unanimous that

Harshavardhan was the last great Hindu Emperor of Northern India, that the withdrawal of his strong arm was the signal for the flood-gates of anarchy being opened in India. Some historians assert that history will repeat itself when John Bull quits India.

What are the historical facts? True it is that the death of Harshavardhan was followed by a period of anarchy in Northern India. Followed the Palas of Bengal and the Gurjara-Pratihara of Rajputana, each of whom ruled over the destinies of an empire more extensive and for a period much longer than that of Harshavardhan.

Vincent Smith aptly remarks :

"The Pala dynasty deserves remembrance as one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties. No other royal line in an important kingdom save that of the Andhras, endured so long for four and a half centuries. Dharma Pala and Deva Pala succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India, and although later kings had not the control of realms so wide or possessed influence so extensive, their dominion was far, far from being contemptible."^{*}

Harsha's Empire rose and fell with him; but a scion of the Pala dynasty founded towards the close of the 8th century ruled as far as Benares in the 11th century.

From evidence available—literary and epigraphic—it would not be wrong to conclude that Harsha's kingdom extended over the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, together with Bihar and a part of the Eastern Punjab, a small strip in the Northern Punjab being outside.[†]

As to the extent of the Pala empire. It would not be wide of the mark to conclude from the Khalimpur inscription of Dharma Pala that the King of Bengal exercised considerable influence, if not sovereignty, over Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira countries. In the same inscription the King of Bengal is said to have proceeded as far as the Himalayas in the north and Gokarna in the south. His son Devapala is described as the lord of the whole of India and is specifically referred to as having conquered Kamrupa and Utkal and defeated the Hunas, the Gurjara and the Dravidas.

The Pratihara Emperor Bhoja (836-90) ruled over the whole of Northern India, west of Magadha with the exception of Kashmir and Sind, and probably also of Chedi. His son Mahendrapala added to the empire a considerable portion of Magadha. Here again was an empire larger in extent and longer in duration than Harshavardhana's.

It is absurd to assert in the face of all these that "the death of Harsha gave free scope to a host of petty local dynasties and we cease to feel interest in the history of India till the appearance of the Muhammadans."

The truth is that Harshavardhana had, fortunately for him, an overzealous admirer and an obliging court-poet, whose 'blatant' Harsha was to present an over-drawn picture of his life and doings, while neither the Palas nor the Pratihara had any such to tell their tales.

"It is," says Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "one of those

accidents of history which have succeeded in all ages and countries to destroy the true perspective view of events, at least for a considerable period."

But truth defies death.

To come to our own times. Will the true causes of the 3rd Afghan War ever come to light? The India Government's version widely differs from that of the Afghan delegation to the peace conference. Which is true? Do both contain elements of truth? What again led to the Amritsar massacres and the Punjab atrocities? Was there really a rebellion in the Punjab? Will these massacres and atrocities find their proper place in the history of India written by Britishers? The Hunter Committee Report makes us diffident.

Enough has been said and heard of a 'prosperous British India.' But what is the truth? Let facts and figures speak. India, the land of proverbial plenty, the land once "flowing with milk and honey," has become, under British rule, a favourite haunt of famines. From 1770 to 1943 India has been visited by 22 famines and 7 'scarcities.' Today, in 1946, we are on the threshold of the greatest mass starvation of history, the shadows of which become longer everyday. During the same period (1770-1943) Bengal has been a victim of famines in 1770, 1783, 1866, 1873-74, 1897 and 1943.

The Indian standard of living today is among the lowest and the Indian death-rate and infant mortality are among the highest in the world.

If India's poverty is appalling, her education is negligible. The percentage of literacy after about two centuries of British rule is 9.5. India with a population of 400 million has only 19 Universities whereas the United Kingdom with a population of 41 million and the United States with one of 130 million have 12 and 1720 Universities respectively.

Can anybody seriously challenge Mahatma Gandhi's indictment of British rule in India? In the historic letter which he wrote to Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy, on the eve of launching the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, Mahatmaji pointed out :

"And why do I regard the British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the dumb millions by the system of progressive exploitation and by the ruinous expenses of the military and civil administration which the country can never afford. It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture and by the policy of disarmament it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking in all inward strength we have been reduced by all but universal disarmament to a State bordering on cowardly helplessness."

We have been told *ad nauseum* that the greatest blessing of British rule has been that it has given unity to India. But what do the cries for 'Pakistan,' 'Sikhistan' and all sorts of 'etans' indicate? Rabindranath pertinently points out in his last message to the nation that the failure of the English in India

"is nowhere more apparent than in the cruel way in which they have contrived to divide the Indians amongst themselves. The pity of it lies in the fact that now perhaps they want to lay the blame at the door of our own society. This ugly and savage culmination of Indian history would never have been possible, if communalism and provincialism and lack of mutual faith were not sedulously encouraged to grow to their present vicious form, by some secret conclave, holding the highest responsibilities in the system of administration."

* *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p. 417.

† *Ibid.*, Article by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1932.

How will history interpret the recent Sino-Japanese War? A struggle for existence to China, it was but an 'incident' to the Japanese Foreign office. What will be the verdict of history on Chiang Kai-shek? Will he go down to history as the saviour of China—her Man of Destiny—at supreme crisis? Or, would he be branded as the lackey of Anglo-American imperialism, who did not hesitate to sacrifice his country for personal ends, the stern re-actionary, who ruthlessly stifled all popular and progressive forces in the country when they ought to have been harnessed to the service thereof? We have our misgivings.

How will posterity size up Hitler the erstwhile

German Fuehrer? Will he live as a lover of humanity, one who was "truth personified" and "the greatest personality history has known?" Will he go down to history as the Devil as he appears to the Jews or the anti-Christ incarnate, as he seems to his Christian enemies? Or, will posterity ditto the verdict on him given by Konrad Heiden in *One Man Against Europe*, "Adolf Hitler as a man and politician, is a leader, an enemy and a mirror of our European civilisation"? Let us wait and see.

* Cf. Extracts from the article of Dr. Goebbels in the *Das Reich* quoted by the *Nationalist*, Calcutta, 3-1-45.

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COMBINATION MOVEMENT IN INDIAN INDUSTRY

By PROF. G. L. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., B.COM.

IN the present industrial era, a tendency towards the formation of industrial combinations is increasing in importance. This tendency is more in the nature of large-scale organisation than large-scale production. This system of large-scale management is found in the Trusts of the United States of America, Kartels of Germany and similar other combinations of Great Britain. India too is not lagging behind in this respect, and the formation of Cement mergers and Sugar syndicates in the field of distribution, however, indicates the direction in which the wind is blowing. The aim of an industrial combination is to regulate the competitive system and to eliminate its evil effects on industry through mutual agreements between concerns engaged in similar or different branches of industry. The objects may be to fix the price of the product and the terms of its sale, to regulate output and to control its supplies over a large trading area. This feature of modern business organisation is noticeable not only in the field of production but also in the field of distribution.

Among the factors encouraging the growth of combinations, the desire to secure economies of large-scale production and distribution, and to control the raw materials and markets is of special significance. Truly speaking, combination is a natural outcome of unfettered competition. In the case of manufacturing industries, owing to the operation of the law of Diminishing Cost, efforts are made by competing firms to increase production which results in over-production and a fall in prices, with the result that profits are reduced and a period of trade depression becomes inevitable. Consequently manufacturers combine themselves into one large organisation in order to avoid the evils of a trade slump and to escape from the effects of wasteful competition. Tariffs, too, sometimes stimulate the growth of combinations. Competing producers may combine to reap the high profits secured through high prices rendered by protective duties, and to maintain these benefits by presenting a united front and by securing control over the supplies in the market. Other factors, like rapid means of communication and transport with their special reduced rates for large consignments, improvements in the methods of marketing, particularly in the sphere of storage, grading and standardisation, international character of commerce, industry and finance

have also encouraged the development of combinations. War conditions too help to strengthen the movement. For example, it is now considered imperative that in order to organise our post-war foreign trade, we should have some form of monopolistic trading organisation which should be in a position to study and develop foreign markets through its representatives, and to establish contacts with foreign merchants. Such an organisation will naturally be in a better position to withstand the foreign cut-throat competition, to quote the cheapest price, to standardise the quality of the product and to come to agreement with such similar organisations in foreign countries regarding the matters of mutual commercial interests.

The advantages of combinations depend to a great extent in the form in which a combination is organised. Further, apart from the advantages which accrue from large-scale production, there are some special advantages which are enjoyed by combinations. Considerable economies can be effected by reducing expenditure on duplicate advertising and selling organisations. Savings can be made in the transport charges as the goods can be despatched to customers from the nearest producing centre. A combination is able to make use of all trade secrets, knowledge and experience of each member firm. Greater specialisation in production and management is possible as each manager or organiser can be entrusted with the work for which he is best fitted. Similarly, the work of production can also be distributed among the various units according to their respective proficiency. It is further claimed that a combination is in a better position to regulate production and adjust the supplies in relation to probable demand, which may be expected to promote price stability and steadiness of output in the industry.

However, from a review of the above advantages, it should not be concluded that a combination is the most efficient form of business organisation. Combinations have been found suffering from speculation, cut-throat competition, price-cutting, price discriminations, secret agreements, over-capitalisation and political corruption. Prices have been manipulated to the disadvantage of consumers. In some cases the management and control becomes difficult due to the gigantic sizes the combinations have attained. Therefore, in order to put a restraint on the anti-social

practices of business combinations, various repressive measures, such as Anti-Combination Laws, granting of subsidies and levying of taxes on firms, and the fixation of maximum rate of profits and prices have been taken from time to time in various countries. As these methods have been found defective, some writers have proposed the nationalisation of all those industries which have reached the stage of complete monopolies.

The movement has not been so powerful in India, for here the development of large-scale production has been much later than in other countries. Broadly speaking, combinations have been classified as horizontal and vertical combinations. The most predominant type of combination that exists in India may be termed as financial integration in the form of managing agency system. Cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad, E. D. Sassoon United Mills Ltd., which is an amalgamation of six mills, and British India Corporation Ltd., are the examples of horizontal variety where several enterprises of the same kind combine under one management. The object has been to enjoy high profits, to avoid cut-throat competition and to reduce certain expenses in management. On the other hand, it is also common to find a combination of firms in different lines under one managing agent; e.g., Andrew Yule & Co. are the managing agents of several jute mills, cotton mills and tea gardens. The Tata Iron & Steel Co. is an example of vertical combination where different steps in the processes of production carried out by different companies, such as coal mining, iron ores mining, pig-iron manufacturing and steel manufacturing, are brought under one management. Such an integration of industries has resulted in the economy of management, elimination of profit obtained by each separate firm, reduction in the costs of selling and in the maintenance of regular supply of raw materials. These managing agents have not only to promote and manage the concerns but have also to finance them and, therefore, in the absence of such facilities in India, the services of these agency houses will still be needed—particularly at a time when our country stands on the threshold of her industrial advancement.

Sugar industry is subject to vertical combination which undertakes various kinds of activities like supply of raw materials, gur-refinery, manufacture of rectified spirit, denatured spirit, etc., and palmyra jaggery refinery as in Madras. In U. P. under the aegis of the Indian Sugar Mills Association, a Sugar Syndicate was formed to fix the minimum selling limits and quotas of supply for factories which had joined the syndicate. The Cement industry presents another good example of horizontal combination which arose as a result of foreign competition and unsatisfactory attitude of the Government towards the industry—particularly in 1924 when the Tariff Board refused to extend protection to the industry. Consequently, the Indian Cement Manufacturers' Association was formed in 1926 and later on to control the sale and distribution of cement, a Cement Marketing Company was formed in 1930. As this Marketing Company presented certain difficulties, an amalgamation took place in the name of Associated Cement Cos. Ltd., which purchased the businesses of many cement concerns, such as the Indian Cement Co. Ltd., the Katni Cement Co. Ltd., the Gwalior Cement Co. Ltd., the C. P. Cement Co. Ltd., and the Coimbatore Cement Co. Ltd., etc. The Indian Sugar Syndicate and the Cement Marketing

Board of India are the examples of Kartel variety of combinations. A greater degree of combination is noticeable in the paper industry with the formation of Indian Paper Markets' Association. The association has been successful in fixing and maintaining the prices at an agreed level. It is further gratifying to note that new mills are not reluctant to join the association.

The Indian Match industry presents a peculiar case of its own. In 1922, a high import duty no doubt eliminated the fear of competition from Japanese concerns, but the industry could not enjoy the benefit for long, for the Swedish Match Co., which is an international combine jumped over the Indian tariff wall and thus ruined a large number of Indian companies.

The need of amalgamation in coal mining concerns is indeed very great in view of the fact that a large number of small companies have come into existence which are working on subsistence level. Further, these small companies are the result of the breaking-up of bigger companies which tendency involves great waste and leads to inefficient and uneconomic working of the mines. Among the few combinations, instances of Burrakur Coal Co. Ltd. and New Beerbhoom Coal Co. may be cited for reference.

In the case of oil industry we find that price of petrol is fixed by a mutual arrangement between the two big companies, viz., the Standard Oil Co., and the Burmah Oil Co. Further, a Kerosene Pool which consists of British Burma Petroleum Co., the Assam Oil Co., the Royal Dutch Shell group and the Burmah Oil Co. is another important combination that exists in the oil industry. The object of the Pool is to fix the price of kerosene oil for sale as well as for purchase from its member companies. The Pool has indeed acquired a dominating position exercising great influence over other oil concerns.

It is curious to note that in our cotton industry, only a few amalgamations have taken place, such as Madura Mills Co. Ltd. and Bangalore Woollen Cotton and Silk Mills Co. Ltd. Efforts were made in this direction in 1930, but the scheme did not materialise. However in order to face foreign competition and to capture new markets in foreign lands, the need for amalgamation seems all the more necessary. Combination in jute mills appears largely for the purposes of restriction of output and working hours in order to maintain prices. These activities are conducted under the supervision of Indian Jute Mills Association.

Another form of combination which is increasing in importance in India since 1913 is that of holding companies. The characteristic feature of such a company is to acquire control over the policy and management of other companies either by holding more than 50 per cent of the issued share capital of the other companies, or by controlling the voting power, or by holding power to appoint the majority of the directors of the subsidiary company. Examples of this type are to be found in Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Co. Ltd., Burrakur Coal Co. Ltd. and the Associated Cement Co. Ltd.

In the field of insurance and banking the position of the former is somewhat better than that of the latter. In insurance business mention may be made of Free Indian General Insurance Co. Ltd., Calcutta, Arya Insurance Co. Ltd., Calcutta, and Federal India Assurance Co. Ltd., Delhi. In the case of banking

business there is a greater scope of amalgamation of small units into bigger joint stock banks in order to present a united front to their competitors specially the Exchange banks. It would further lead to economy and efficiency in their working.

Here it may also seem desirable to give a short account of the various types of commercial organisations which, since the last war, have been organised in India for various purposes. Mention may be made of trades associations, such as the Calcutta Trades Association, the Madras Trades Association, the Grain Merchants' Association of Bombay and the Hides and Skins Shippers' Association of Calcutta. These organisations promote the interests of their particular trades and specifically look after the Indian aspects of trade and industry. Similarly a chamber of commerce is a voluntary association of merchants, manufacturers, businessmen and financiers, etc., which is generally organised in the form of public limited companies. Chambers of commerce are largely concerned with the establishment of just principles in trade, formation of rules and regulations to conduct business and facilitate transactions, and to collect and disseminate the commercial information among their members. These chambers of commerce represent the most advanced types of commercial associations in India and are established in big industrial centres like Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore and Lahore. Their other functions are the arbitration and settlement of disputes, provision of legal and technical advice on business matters and the making of suggestions and representations to the Government on behalf of business community. The first Chamber of Commerce organised by Indians was

founded at Calcutta in 1887 under the name of Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. Other such associations are the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Indian Chamber of Commerce founded at Calcutta in 1925, and the Indian Merchant Chamber and Bureau of Bombay.

Another class of organisations is the industrial associations of which the most important are the Mill Owners' Association of Bombay, Indian Tea Association of Calcutta, Indian Jute Mills Association, and the Indian Tea Planters' Association at Jalpaiguri. These associations have been organised by employers.

In the end, it may, however, be pointed out that combination movement in India is still in its infancy and in most cases combinations have been formed just to protect and safeguard the interests of certain industries, and, therefore, the question of control of monopolies does not arise to such an extent as it has arisen in other countries like America. In India, the need of combinations is still great in industries like cotton and coal. Control of business may, however, be desirable in the case of match industry in view of the evils that have entered into the industry. Further, control may also be thought desirable in the case of financial concerns like banking and insurance in order to safeguard the interests of the shareholders, investors and depositors; and this is why provisions were introduced in the existing company law by the Indian Companies Amendment Act of 1936, with a view to correct the abuses of the managing agency system. The Insurance Act of 1938, the Amendment to the Indian Companies Act 1944 and the Banking Bill are also expected to safeguard the interests of various parties in their respective spheres.

O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SHAH ALAM II AND HIS COURT: *A narrative of the transactions at the Court of Delhi from the year 1771 to the present time; By Antoine Louis Henri Polier. Edited by Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (London), S. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., Calcutta.*

Emperor Shah Alam II is one of the most pitiable characters in the tragedy of the Fall of the Mughal Empire unfolded before us by historians, medieval and modern. He is the central figure of a "Book of Lessons" (*Ibrat-nama*), a grand history written by Fakhruddin Allahabadi. An heir to the throne of Delhi, a fugitive in his own empire, a discarded tool of ambition of his own vassals, an Emperor seated on an improvised tea-table *masnad* at Allahabad for granting the Diwani of Bengal to the East India Company, a pawn in the game of chess of politics of Hindustan in the last quarter of the eighteenth

century, a prisoner in his own palace made to witness most horrible atrocities on the females of his harem, a groaning figure lying prostrate on the floor of Rangmahal of the Red Palace of Delhi with his former slave, Ghulam Qadir Ruhela, sitting tight on his chest with a dagger to take out his venerable eye-balls; and a trembling court-painter in a corner forced to take a faithful sketch of the whole scene; such was a phase but not the end of the tragedy of Shah Alam's life.

Antoine Louis Henri Polier, a French soldier of fortune, came to India in 1758 as a military Engineer in the employ of the East India Company. In the beginning of the year 1773 Polier's services were lent to Nawab Shuja-uddaula of Oudh, who put him in charge of superintending the construction of buildings and fortifications. But Shujauddaula without seeking the permission of Warren Hastings sent him with two battalions of sepoys and artillery ostensibly to assist Shah Alam's general Mirza Najaf

Khan in capturing the fort of Agra from the Jat Rajah of Bharatpur, but really with secret instructions to forestall Najaf Khan and hold out the Agra Fort till the Nawab should reach Agra with a larger army to instal himself as the Grand Wazir of the Empire.

Polier's *Narrative* begins with Shah Alam's affairs in 1771 and closes with the events of the year 1779. Though a contemporary witness of affairs of the Mughal Court, Polier's *Narrative* is rather disappointing. It is not because the author was incompetent for writing such a Narrative, but because he wrote under the shadow of political suspicion, and therefore had to conceal things that might go against him with the East India Company. Dr. Gupta remarks, "One fails to understand why the whole incident (the part played by Polier in the siege of Agra)—has been dismissed in one bald sentence..." However, Polier's *Narrative* throws considerable light on the character of the Emperor and his minister and, on the cross-currents of politics at Court.

Dr. Gupta has edited Polier's *Narrative* in a manner that leaves hardly anything to be desired. He has taken considerable pains to make the Narrative acceptable and useful to the scholars and the average general readers by adding Notes and Appendices. The volume affords a delightful reading. We come across only one doubtful point, namely, Dr. Gupta's identification of Pattergurh. He writes, "Pattergurh—fort of Najibabad, also known as *Najafgarh*". But as far as we know Pattergurh was never known as *Najafgarh*. *Najafgarh* is still a well-known place only a few miles west of Delhi whereas Pattergurh lies more than 100 miles north-east of Delhi.

We congratulate Dr. Gupta on the publication of an authoritative text of Polier's *Narrative* as a by-product of his learned researches in Indian history.

K. R., QANUNGO

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY. Vol. II, Part I (1944-45) and Vol. II, Part II (1945). Baroda, 1946.

Thanks to the able editorship of Dr. H. Goetz, curator of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, the second volume of its Bulletin fully maintains the high level of interest and instructiveness of the preceding one. Part I besides comprising an introductory motto and the half-yearly report, consists of nine papers with accompanying plates. These papers contain much valuable and original material, e.g., the regular sequence of terracottas on the Alichehliatra site (in *The Dawn of Civilization in India* by K. N. Dikshit), types of pre-historic tools and implements from Gujarat sites (in *Stone Age Tools in the Baroda Museum* by H. D. Sankalia), the symbolism of Nataraja Siva with other Hindu as well as Christian and Muslim parallels (in *A Chola Nataraja Bronze* by H. Goetz), the style of the Hamza-nama manuscript illustrations (in *An Illustration from the Hamza-nama, the earliest Mughal Manuscript* by H. Goetz), the six phases of the Kangra school of painting (in *Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi and the History of Kangra Paintings* by H. Goetz), the identification of three Buddhist metal images in the Baroda Museum by B. Bhattacharya, the characteristics of Chinese Buddhism and Buddhist art under the Wei dynasty (in *Three Early Buddhist Figures from China* by H. Goetz), the rococo art of Europe and its social background with parallels from 18th century India (in *A French Rococo Embroidery from a Costume of Mme. Pompadour* by H. Goetz), and finally, the role of France as the cultural centre of Europe by H. Goetz.

Part II similarly comprises eight well-written papers along with an introductory motto and the half-yearly report. The papers, illustrated as usual with beautiful plates, contain a number of interesting notices, e.g., the romantic history of Queen Isabella of Spain with an account of the first great Spanish portrait painter (in

Beloved Mystery Queen: Sanchez Coello's Portrait of Isabella de Valois by H. Goetz), the representation of preaching-halls of Jinas in sculpture, painting and literature (in *A Rare Jaina Sculpture from the Baroda Museum* by A. S. Gadre), the Gujarati school of miniature painting from the beginning of the 12th to the end of the 16th century (in *A note on Western Indian or Gujarati Miniatures in the Baroda Art Gallery* by M. R. Majumdar), the industrial art of the Deccan Sultanates (in *An Ivory Box of Chand Bibi, Queenregent of Bijapur* by H. Goetz), landscape painting in India and in Europe (in *A Modern Landscape Painter: Chhaganlal R. Jadhav* by H. Goetz), the symbolism of a type of Buddhist images (in *Two Metal Images of Hindu-Buddhist Composition from the Baroda Museum* by B. Bhattacharya), and lastly, Central European art between the two world-wars by H. Goetz.

We have noticed a few slips. The description of the imperial Cholas as having dominated Bengal and Pegu (part I. p. 25) is incorrect. The claim (Part II. p. 42) that the Hindus never disgraced any gods belonging to the alien faith is disproved by such statements as the Ramayana (Ayodhya Kanda, 109.34) reviling Buddha as a thief and an atheist. There are a few misprints, e.g., sculls and have (Part I. p. 4) and arts (*Ibid.*, p. 5).

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE FATAL CART AND OTHER STORIES: By C. Rajagopalachari. "The Hindusthan Times," New Delhi. Pp. 140.

It is very interesting to note that many of our great national leaders were also great reformers, and not infrequently, writers of great merit. C. R. Das and Mrs. Naidu deserve special mention because of their poetic genius, which is commonly supposed to be a gift of exclusiveness and which in spite of their energising social contact they were able to develop. C. Rajagopalachari's strength lies in his first-hand acquaintance with the society, to which the present volume of short stories is a glowing testimony. Written originally in Tamil and done into English by Dr. C. R. Ramaswami, these stories speak eloquently of the same zeal for social reform which characterises many of our national leaders, including Gandhiji, whose unceasing tirade against untouchability made memorable history. What Gandhiji has done through his life, C. Rajagopalachari, his follower, has attempted through his pen, namely, eradication of the evil of untouchability and championing the poor and the exploited. Almost all the stories hinge upon emotional complex created by this evil of all India, and especially, of South India. These are stories of emotion rather than of art. They insist that "the Pariahs shall be free," and announce "freedom for all, for all." The characters are varied and drawn in broad outlines. The author has not attempted art but has simply told his tales effortlessly. 'Ardhanari' has powerful tragic implications, and 'Devayani' has a deep charge of pathos. 'The Gods Arrive' is a highly interesting story, and 'Rebirth' gives some rare realistic pictures.

INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE: By K. R. Srinivas Iyengar. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 312. Price Rs. 6.

Indo-Anglian literature,—this being the name preferred by the author of this volume for the English writings of Indian authorship,—is no longer a shadowy something. Inspired by the fruitful contact with the West, Indo-Anglian literature grew, since the last century, with increasing momentum and deepening richness and variety. Starting hesitantly with some uncertain experiments of ambitious youths, it is now a full-fledged literature with outstanding achievements in creative as well as critical fields.

The present volume is one of the many attempts at the assessment of Indian contributions to English literature

whose worth until recently was a matter for great misgiving. Prof. Iyengar has treated his subject historically, not omitting, at the same time, critical evaluations of the works of the more important writers, whose number, however, is not small. A study of this volume will show that Indo-Anglian literature can justly claim superiority over the literature of any other colony or dominion. Following the Cambridge historians of English literature, who also have taken cognisance of India's significant contribution in this respect, Prof. Iyengar has adopted the widest connotation of the term 'literature', including within its purview even biography, history, philosophy, and journalistic and juristic works. He has also broadened the scope of the book by including Tagore who is a Bengali classic, and Gandhiji's autobiography, which also, technically, does not come within the purview of Indo-Anglian literature. There are many works on this subject, but this book is not superfluous. It is a welcome addition to the list. The great merit of this book is comprehensiveness, and while criticism is sometimes not deep enough, the general treatment is scholarly and illuminating.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

I. THE BUDDHA: By J. Vijayatunga. Published by Hind Kiabs Ltd., 261-263, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1-4.

WHAT IS BUDDHISM: By Prof. P. Lakshmi Narasu. Published by Mahabodhi Society, P. O. Box 250, Colombo. Pp. 96.

The author of the first book is a rising Sinhalese writer. His first books have received high praise here and abroad. In this book he gives a modernistic exposition of the Buddha's life and gospel. First six pages are covered by an introduction, and the rest by a single long chapter after which the book is named. In the introduction the date of the Buddha's nativity is discussed, and concluded that the date that is accepted by the majority of western scholars is according to the traditions current in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. Mr. Vijayatunga thinks that the Buddha preached no 'supermanity' as understood in western Europe. "Emancipation from the claims and affinity of a Body", observes the ultra-modern author, "is the perfection of all things—the desired end towards which all creation moves. That formless attainment I call Nirvan." Such daring interpretation is sure profanation of the Buddha's creed and goes dead against the orthodox view. But the whole writing sparkles with a ring of sincerity and floweriness of style, and is modelled as the soliloquy of the Buddha.

The second book is the revised edition of its first edition published in 1916. The whole book is contained in a single chapter—a formidable disadvantage to the reader. Hence it ought to have been chapterized. An index of Sanskrit and Pali works is appended. It is learnt from the introduction of Sri Devapriya Valisingha that the author is a convert to Buddhism and well-read in Buddhist literature, both Hinayan and Mahayan, through English, German, and French. Though the author draws extensively from the Mahayanistic works he adheres blindly to the orthodox views of Hinayan, his adopted faith. That Buddhist Mahayan is parallel and similar to Hindu Vedanta has already been revealed by the penetrative light of comparative study. It is a pity that the author who is so thoroughly versed in Buddhism has failed to notice this fact. That is why he says (in page 29) that the Buddhist denies the existence of all Absolutes. If that be so, why does he quote (in page 80-81) from the Udan to show that Nirvan is not a negative state of nothingness but a positive state "which is unborn, unoriginated, uncreated and unfounded; a state where there is neither earth nor water, nor heat nor air, neither this world nor another world." Is this description of Nirvan different from that of the Vedantic Absolute?

The truth is that the Buddhistic Bodhi is another name for the Vedantic Brahman.

The two interpretations, mentioned above, are diametrically opposite and convey the two extreme views—the ultra-modern and the traditional. Both miss the mark and grope in blind beliefs.

SWAMI JACADISWARANANDA

PRESSURE OF POPULATION AND ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN INDIA: By D. Ghosh. Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pages 109. Price Rs. 3-4.

The subject has been discussed in three parts, viz., (I) The Dynamics of Indian Population, (II) Population and Economic Activity, and (III) The Future of Indian Population and India's Future. Part I is a scientific and comparative study of Indian population and brings out in broad relief our position in relation to those of other countries of the civilized world. The growth of Indian population is not as big as those of Europe and America by counting of heads but considered in relation to the economic position of the country it is big enough to depress the optimism of any economist. In the second part, the author has shown clearly our very miserable standard of living ever increasing the pressure of population on the undeveloped resources of the country being one of the main causes of such plight. Our industry is progressing but slowly and our agriculture is out of date and as such we are moving onward in misery and despair. We have no planned programme of economic development. Of course, the author hopes that with the establishment of a truly National Government, things will change for the better. Even large-scale industrialism cannot solve our problem easily because that will throw out of employment a vast number of people, as all industrialism does at the initial stage. This is a serious situation for an agricultural country where a huge number are already underemployed. Revival of cottage industries is a bad solution of the problem judged by the Western standard of economic efficiency, but the author commends this Gandhian plan in the special circumstances of the country's economic development. Pressure of population of our land is another baffling question with the economists and administrators of the country. The solution lies in various reforms including those of law, agricultural technique, co-operation, etc. The author rightly stresses that population is an important factor in economic activity but the extent to which the number will be utilized depends upon efficiency. But the author is of opinion that India does not require a large and growing population to industrialize her economy. The author is definitely of opinion in the last part of the book that further growth of population must be checked, if necessary, by the wide use of contraceptives. But the difficulties in the way are enormous in a country where sentiment and prejudice rule and people are uneducated. Progress of primary education is an immediate necessity and here lies the responsibility of the new Government of India. We in India want full employment for our population, higher standard of living and more efficiency for all branches of our economic activity. To attain all these, we must have a planned national economy executed by a fully representative National Government. The author has done a great service to the administrators by presenting his study of the question of population with all its bearing on the economy of the country and as such this book deserves to be read by not only students of Economics but all persons who are interested in Planned Economy.

A. B. DUTTA

MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE: By Prof. Priyaranjan Sen of the Calcutta University. Royal Octavo. Pp. 160. Published by the Author. To be had of Messrs. Sen Roy & Co., Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

The author is a well-known scholar and litterateur. He has command over English, Bengali and Oriya languages and is thus capable of bringing to light the process of growth of the modern Oriya literature which is being nourished by the western ideas and thoughts. He attempts very reasonably to point out that the Bengalees and their literature helped much for planting the western forms and ideas on the literary field of Orissa—a fact not to be disputed.

Orissa is now a backward province and her sons have not been yet capable of exploring her hidden treasures. Though attempts had been made to construct the history of her old literature, the construction of the history of the modern literature remained so far neglected. It is now Prof. Sen who has done the pioneer work. In this volume he has told the story of the modern Oriya literature in all its aspects—prose, poetry and drama. Being a pioneer work omissions are apt to occur in it. We should not, therefore, resent the exclusion of Vikramadev Varma amongst the old play-wrights or of Ramaranjan Mahanty amongst the new ones.

The author has very cautiously warned some living writers against licence, but his judgments in some cases of past authors are not illuminative of their proper merits or demerits. We may agree with him when he says that Radhanath was not a born poet. But we are not inclined to accept his statement that 'Madhusudan had glimpses of a great poet's vision'. We would rather say that he had the vision of a great philosopher. In spite of such disagreement with the author we cannot help admitting that the work is highly illuminating and instructing to the students of Oriya literature. The printing and the get-up are very nice.

B. MISRA

THE SCIENCE OF PALMISTRY: By Devacharya M. A., *Tatwa-Sindhu*. A. Mukherjee & Co. 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 7.

Most of the books on palmistry in both English and Bengali languages are imitations of Cheiro's monumental work, *The Language of the Hand*. *The Science of Palmistry* by Mr. Devacharya, however, testifies to the author's original method of palm-reading. He has not only studied the works of his predecessors thoroughly but also has left no stone unturned to gain practical experience for which purpose he has widely travelled all over India and the volume under review is the outcome of his vast study and long years of laborious research work as well. Those who pooch-pooch palmistry supposing it to be mere guess-work will, if they thoroughly go through the present work, based on Mr. Devacharya's personal observations, be convinced beyond doubt that palmistry stands on strong scientific basis and it can be of immense benefit to humankind both from individual and social points of view. Mr. Devacharya is a highly accomplished palmist with a poetical bent of mind. He presents things in such a picturesque and fascinating manner which is rarely found in books on palmistry, supposed to be as dry as hard nut. After perusal of the book the reader is fully convinced that palmistry and psychology are closely inter-linked. The mental make-up of an individual can be ascertained to a great extent from the position and tendencies of the mounts, lines and signs of his palm. A fair knowledge of palmistry may, therefore, be of great help to a student of psychology in carrying out his researches successfully.

It will not be very difficult even for a beginner to learn the fundamentals of palmistry from the work of Mr. Devacharya as the significance of all the lines and signs has elaborately been explained with the help of diagrams in the simplest way possible. A good many palm-impressions

(most outstanding amongst them is that of Rabindranath) has enhanced the value of the book. The character-graph and notes on the palm-impressions included in the book will be greatly helpful to both professional and amateur palmists.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

GUJARATI

1. **PRACHINA** : By Umashankar Joshi. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 99. Price Rs. 2-8.

2. **ALOHANA** : By Ramnarayan Pathak. Thick cardboard. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3-8.

3. **GAGAN-NE-GOKHE** : By Niranjan Varma and Jaymal Parmar. Illustrated cover. 1944. Pp. 280. Price Rs. 3-8. All published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Ahmedabad and Bombay.

Looking to the scarcity of paper and dearness, the high prices of these books may be justified, otherwise they would have proved more popular, if the prices were kept low. The first book, *Prachina*, contains poems based on certain incidents in the Mahabharat and on Pauranic lore. Introductory notes and notes at the end are a great help in picking up the threads of the narrative, as the subject-matter of each poem is taken at random from the original sources. The inventiveness and poetic fancies of Mr. Joshi are at their best here and his studious habits are sure to make him soar to still loftier heights.

The second book, *Alohana* or review, contains about seventy contributions in the nature of critical dissertations by Prof. Pathak, who has already secured a high place in this branch of literature, on various literary subjects. Their scope is wide, they range over various subjects and are well thought out.

The third book makes a new departure altogether, so far as Gujarati literature is concerned. Its title means "On the balcony of the Sky". And the star-gazing night-watchers, the authors, have set down their first-hand experiences of star-gazing, both as the stars are, and as poets would view them. One is reminded of that admirable book in English by Sir James Jeans, *The Stars in Their Courses*. While reading this all charts of the Heavens and sky-maps have been given, in order to illustrate and elucidate the subject-matter of the text. Astrology has also been handled, and certain principles set out, which would interest the reader. The language in which the whole performance is clothed is typical, and at times it looks as if the authors were setting down legends and not facts. We welcome its publication most sincerely.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(1) **THE PRIMARY ORGANIZATION FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT**, (2) **FEUDAL AND EXTRA LEVIES IN ZAMINDARI AREAS**, (3) **LAND SPECULATORS AND ABSENTEE BUYERS IN THE TUNGBHADRA PROJECT AREA** : Forms of State Control in Madras and Abroad : By K. G. Sivaswami. Published by the South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Unions, 8 West Cott Road, Madras 14. April, 1947. Price (1) and (2) Re. 1 each and (3) Rs. 2.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND : By T. K. Cretchley. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 40. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. 1947. Pp. 32. Price six annas.

INDIAN PARTIES AND POLITICS : By S. Natarajan. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 41. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. 1947. Price six annas.

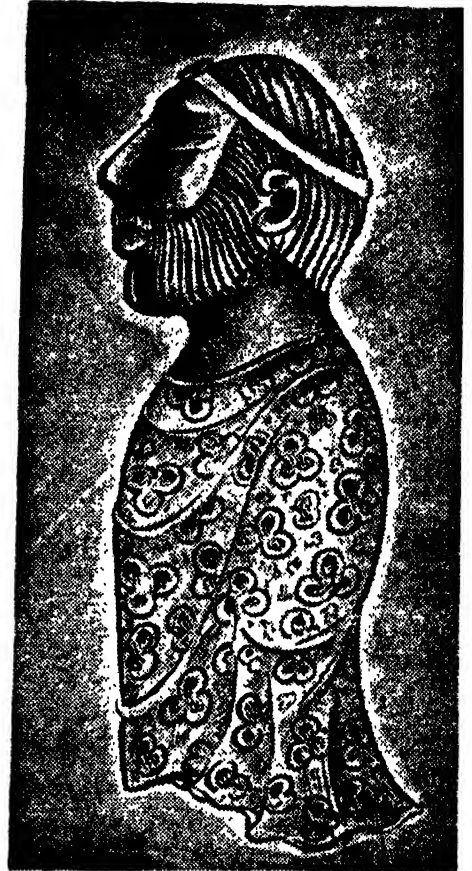
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Tagore : The Great Sentinel

Acharya Kripalani writes in *The Social Welfare* :

Rabindranath Tagore was not only a great artist but, like the ancient Kavis, he was also a seer. He was a man with vision—a vision of what the future should be like not only of India but of the whole world.

The tendency of renunciation implicit in the Indian character, especially the Hindu character, had to be curbed at various times in Indian history. From time to time, prophets provided us the philosophy of synthesis and taught us to reconcile "the here with the hereafter." This tendency of renunciation is to a large extent curbed by the teachings of the Bhagawad Gita. But the lesson of the Gita is forgotten in the political slavery that lay heavily upon India for many centuries. In recent times, however, there has been a tendency in India to go back to the teachings of the Gita and to reconcile the mundane with the spiritual. Gurudev Tagore was a force in this direction. He sought to reconcile the world of life with the world of the spirit.

Gurudev achieved this synthesis through the world of art and ideas. He reconciled nationalism to internationalism and the old to the new. He combined the East and the West into one harmonious whole. But Tagore was essentially a prophet of ideas and not a field-worker. Whenever he plunged into actual life, Tagore always found a deep conflict between his ideals and realities. Practical life is essentially a life of compromise and Tagore always shrank from the grossness of practical life. It needed the genius of Mahatma Gandhi, to translate the vision and the ideal of Tagore into reality. Tagore was "the great sentinel" of ideals which were worked out by Gandhiji in practical life.

Today the skies are dark, but in darkness the stars come out. Let us not lose our faith in our guides like Gurudev and Gandhiji, and if we do not lose it all shall be well with us.

August 15

The New Review observes :

At long last India's self-realisation is within India's grasp. Self-government is the right of every nation, and when this right is granted international recognition and embodied in real power, mankind registers a progress in brotherly solidarity and all genuine humanist should rejoice. Yet national independence is not so much the end of a national struggle as it is the beginning of national self-achievement. Our heartiest congratulations and sincerest thanks go to all who have prepared the political rebirth of India; our welcome goes in advance to all who will infuse a new life into nation.

The whole economic, social and spiritual programme calls for hard work and wholeheartedly devotion. August 15 marks only the end of the beginning. The day's celebrations will be tempered with the regret that the partition of the country could not be avoided. The speedy and peaceful manner with which it has been accomplished is a happy augury of future relations and fosters the hope that some sort of federation will not prove impossible.

India and Pakistan

The same *Review* observes :

The two new Dominions will celebrate the occasion in different moods. One, which is called India but is India without the Indus, feels like a convalescent who is allowed out of bed after a severe amputation. The other, Pakistan, feels like a girl leaving school and facing the big wide world with her hat set at a rakish angle. Her joy is buoyant, and her foster-father jubilant. The Congress, like an old warrior who fought the good fight, is unsteady in his gait and notices with alarm that nephews and grand-nephews are already discussing his demise and his legacies. Yet he may hope that the joint-family will remain united for a few months more. The Muslim League and its president scorn the small cracks showing in their new home; they are triumphant. They have established Pakistan, glorious Pakistan, with Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Grand Sultan of Sind, West Punjab, East Bengal and other Dominions beyond the Sands, Defender of the Faithful. Pakistan is his achievement, the Muslim League his instrument, and August 15 is his day more than anybody else's. Mohammedans find him dictatorial, but they admire and follow him blindly. He is a steady leader, a clever tactician and a silent politician. He has out-manoeuvred the Congress more than once. He got his men into the Interim Government and kept them out of the Constituent Assembly. He secured for himself the post of Governor-General of Pakistan and left the Congress keep the English Lord Mountbatten. No explanation has been published of this last out-flanking movement. Did the Congress feel that in order to maintain for a few months more some appearance of unity, it was necessary to have Lord Mountbatten as the chairman of the Joint Defence Council which is to last till March, 1948 or does it rely on his good offices to rally the Princes? It is a sign of stern realism that both states are keen on retaining the services of I.C.S. men and do not show any symptom of xenophobia. India and Pakistan are not at present in a mood to leave the British Commonwealth; foreigners are welcome to stay provided they be the servants of the country, and there is as it should be. On the other hand, the speakers who ended the debates in the House of Commons with sanctimonious speeches of mutual admiration and congratulations for their own sense of humanity, kindness etc., were pathetically ridiculous. The long and short of the story is that the harsh circumstances of the day forced the measures on the British politicians; the point in their favour is that they saw the disaster staring them in the face, before it engulfed them. Their merit is that they made virtue of necessity; should we expect much more in the world of politics?

PARTITION AND PARTIES

The late British India is partitioned; there was first what they called the 'notional' Partition (semi-administrative and conventional) and in a fortnight there will be the real legal partition. What is remarkable is that the real national partition will not come for some time. The people do not seem to realise what the partition entails. Even the Congress party and the Muslim League are not implementing the consequences. From what the Quaid-e-Azam and Gandhiji recently said, both parties intend operating on throughout the peninsula. Such a policy is tempting, yet it is hardly workable and it is fraught with

deadly peril. Political parties are organised to control or at least to influence the life of the state, and states which are naturally sensitive about their sovereignty never tolerate parties with headquarters in a foreign country.

Communists who are not much embarrassed with patriotic considerations and who are specialists in division have already broken up into Indian and Pakistan parties; but the idea of old warriors like Gandhiji and the Quaid-e-Azam show how unreal the partition remains in the mind of people: neither they nor tens of millions of others can make up their mind that they could be foreigners in any corner of the peninsula. Whatever statesmen or politicians may have said and done, there remains an all-India spirit; it shows naively in sign-boards like 'All-India Cycle Repair Shop' and it persists in the deliberate conclusions of the major parties. The masses will not take kindly to separation and for long the state-loyalty of Hindus in Pakistan and of Mohammedans in India will feel the strain.

Yet it is hard to prophesy about future developments. Economic and administrative drawbacks will foster the spirit of reunion and of federation which can only be made on a non-communal basis, and here one sees the opening this movement will give communism. On the other hand, administrative separation nurses mental opposition and local patriotism and a few decades suffice to challenge reunion. A clear case can be had in the provinces of Brabant and Limburg which in 1830 were prepared to join Belgium and which some decades later were more Dutch than Frisland. The problem of federating India and Pakistan should not be long left in abeyance.

Switzerland's Contribution to European Civilisation

There are few countries in Europe which can claim that they have made a double contribution to Western civilisation by their achievements in the two fields of political organisation and of true culture. Dr. E. K. Bramstedt writes in *The Aryan Path* :

In the course of more than six centuries Switzerland has not only developed a democratic, federative system, which today is the envy of many bigger, though less fortunate states; she has also become a focal point of cultural life on a European level, a clearing-house of the ideas and products of three major European nations: Germany, France and Italy. Switzerland has solved the two main political problems that have elsewhere proved again and again dangerous obstacles to a sane and practical political organisation: the problem of racial and linguistic minorities and the problem of making democracy a workable, effective system.

This small country, set between major passes of the Alps, the Jura and the Rhone, with a territory of about 16,000 square miles and a population of 4,200,000 inhabitants, is the roof of Europe, where many European contrasts fit together like the framework of a house-top. Switzerland is a large European watershed. Important rivers rising in the Alps, such as the Rhine, the Rhone, the Ticino, flow through Europe in all directions, reaching the sea in the north and south of the Continent. In ancient times the first immigrants followed the rivers upward, ascended the deserted mountain valleys and settled there. Thus the various languages and dialects are, to some extent, correlated with the course of the rivers from the Alps. Today Switzerland is a multi-lingual country; out of every 100 of her inhabitants 72 are German-speaking, 20 French-speaking and 6 Italian-speaking. Until 1937

German, French and Italian were the only three languages recognised as national and official; since then, as a result of a national plebiscite, a fourth language has been added, Romansch, spoken by only 44,000 people, in the Canton of the Grisons. This recognition was a gesture intended to emphasise the unrestricted equality of all racial and linguistic groups.

Instead of a common race or language, inter-racial co-operation, civic liberty and neutrality in international affairs have formed the bases of the Swiss Confederation.

There is no Swiss nationalism of any significance, and the half-cajoling, half-threatening attempts of Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1945, which for "racial" reasons suggested the incorporation of Switzerland's German-speaking portion into Greater Germany, of the French cantons into France and of the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino into Italy, fell on deaf ears. There can be no doubt that, if Hitler had attacked the country during the last war, the well-organised and well-equipped Swiss army would have put up a fierce resistance. Fortunately, this possibility did not materialise, and the Swiss record of peace dating back to the times of the Napoleonic wars remained unbroken. Moreover, through the International Red Cross, which gave practical aid to both camps, Switzerland did much to keep the small flame of humanitarianism alive.

The country has never known a monarchy nor has it experienced any form of absolutism or dictatorship. Even the President has by no means the strong position characteristic, e.g., of the President of the United States. The President of the Swiss Confederation is a member of the Cabinet, the so-called "Federal Council" and is elected as the first among equals, for one year only. This supreme office has been filled by representatives of all the three or four racial and linguistic groups. Tolerance towards all of them is taken for granted in a state, the officials of which are accustomed to answer letters from citizens in the language in which they are written. This tolerance is indispensable as the linguistic frontiers do not coincide with the frontiers of the twenty-two Cantons of the Confederation. There is a large French-speaking minority in the Canton of Berne, a similarly large German one in the Canton of Fribourg, and in the German-speaking Grisons there are islands, both of Romansch and of Italian. As a result of this situation, many people are bilingual, and newspapers often carry advertisements in any of the three main languages, without a translation being regarded as necessary.

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The strength of the Swiss federal organisation lies in the fact that it is a system of direct democracy.

This means that the adult male citizen—the vote has not yet been extended to women—has the right to take a direct share in the moulding of the affairs of the community. He can exercise this right on a threefold scale, in municipal cantonal and federal matters. Whilst in many dictatorships the plebiscite served as a mere instrument of camouflage, in democratic Switzerland it has become an unambiguous means of expressing the will of the people. The two institutions of the "referendum" and the "initiative" give the people the possibility of vetoing new laws as well as the power to force a discussion of any subject which seems to be of municipal, cantonal or national interest. The fact that, for instance, such important controversial subjects as the control of the private armament industry, measures against unemployment, the new National Penal Code—which has since replaced the former twenty-two Cantonal Codes—were voted upon by the people, has given the man in the street a feeling that his own affairs are at stake, not merely abstract ideas.

There are two other reasons why the Swiss have reached a comparatively high level of political maturity and wisdom. The one is the happy balance we find in their political system between centralisation and regional autonomy. Each of the Cantons has its own parliament, administration and civil laws, and each is sovereign in so far as its actions do not clash with the Federal Constitution of 1874. The other reason is the rather fortunate course of Swiss history. When the three so-called "Original Cantons" of Uri, Unterwalden and Schwyz concluded a league of mutual trust and alliance in 1291, they did so in opposition to the foreign rule of the Counts of Hapsburg, later the monarchs of Austria. This opposition was later amplified to an antagonism against any aristocratic hegemony as well as against the mighty German Empire. Already in the fourteenth century the Swiss Confederation, which soon extended to thirteen Cantons was rooted in the people—in peasants who would never know the meaning of serfdom, in burghers who did not acknowledge the claims of any nobility (though later there developed an oligarchic patriciate in some towns). The Swiss Confederation was a pact between rural Cantons and city-republics, such as Zurich, Berne, Geneva, a pact which after many ups and downs changed from a loose alliance between states into one state on a federal basis. It is true, there were feuds between predominantly Catholic and Protestant Cantons in the past, there are marked economic differences between agricultural and industrial areas today; but all these contrasts in the long run have been unable to endanger the basic unity of the Swiss nation.

A country of this structure has, like Holland and the Scandinavian States, a particular function as a mediator and a channel of exchange between the great European civilisations. In the book-shops of Swiss towns one finds an excellent selection of recent French, German, English and Italian books. The leading Swiss newspapers and periodicals are remarkable for their width of outlook and their fairness of judgement. The Swiss theatre, too, is at its best truly European.

At least five great European figures originated in Switzerland or found a spiritual home there.

Erasmus of Rotterdam, the leading humanist and pacifist of the sixteenth century, spent the last fifteen years of his life in Basle, which even then had an

outstanding university. About the same time Jean Calvin formulated the religious creed for a large section of European Protestantism and made Geneva a "Protestant Sparta." Two centuries later another, no less powerful, thinker was born in the same town. Jean Jacques Rousseau trusted in that goodness of nature which Calvinism had denied. Rousseau, who put forward most dazzling ideas on education, disposed of his own children by sending them to an orphanage. J. H. Pestalozzi, a much greater educationist and friend of mankind, on the other hand, gained an ever deeper insight into the needs of youth out of his experiences at his experimental schools in various parts of Switzerland, though he encountered as much failure as success. Finally there is Friedrich Nietzsche, who, side by side with the eminent historian of culture Jakob Burckhardt, taught ten years at Basle University. In spite of his anti-democratic leanings, he felt at home amongst the Swiss and coined the sentence: "All Europe must become an enlarged Switzerland."

From Hans Holbein the Younger to Ferdinand Holder, artists of first rank worked in Switzerland.

The country has also produced a valuable literature of its own, both in German and in French.

Though some of its leading writers were rather individualistic and kept "far from the madding crowd" (C. F. Meyer, Carl Spitteler), the works of most Swiss authors have an undercurrent of reformist, didactic tendencies in common. This is particularly true of two outstanding novelists of the nineteenth century: Jeremias Gotthelf and Gottfried Keller. Gotthelf, a country parson and a writer of considerable power, though with very conservative views, wanted to educate the peasants of his Canton, to expose their vices and follies and to make them useful citizens and happy human beings. Gottfried Keller, a native of Zurich, succeeded by means of an original poetical realism in depicting a wealth of German-speaking Swiss types of his time, average people and odd fellows, ambitious youths and capricious women. Keller, an outspoken opponent of all forms of hypocrisy and false pretence, was never tired of emphasising that eternal vigilance is the price of true democracy. Today the novels and stories of C. F. Ramuz, written in French, project the fascinating landscape of the Canton of the Valais between the Lake of Geneva and the Rhone Valley with a similar artistic intensity. The life of this region, the problems of its peasants and wine-growers have found in Ramuz a voice of such rare subtlety and beauty that some of his novels deserve a much wider reading public.

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Strangely enough, the works of another novelist and poet of genius, by birth a German, who has long found a more congenial home in Switzerland, are also comparatively little known outside the German-speaking countries. I mean Hermann Hesse, who at the age of seventy was last year awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. This refined, introspective mind combines the traditions of German romanticism with a penetrating modern probing into the depths of the subconscious and of the occult. He is the poet of the uncommon souls, of lonely tramps, of individualists who feel lost in the mechanism of an age of mass-production and mass-annihilation.

In some of Hesse's more recent novels the influence of the theories of the outstanding Swiss psychologist, C. G. Jung, makes itself felt.

Professor Jung, the author of the standard work on psychological types, plays a leading role in post-Freudian psychology similar to that which another Swiss scholar, Professor Karl Barth, does in the field of contemporary Protestant theology. Barth, in many ways a modern Calvin, has developed the system of "dialectical theology" directed against all attempts at minimising the distance between God and man. Even some opponents of this school acknowledge that it has contributed much to a deeper and more honest interpretation of the Christian creed.

Though it must be admitted that commercialism plays a big part in the everyday life of the Swiss, real achievements in the cultural field, particularly in scholarship and in literature, enjoy a greater prestige with them than in many other countries. The social position of Swiss university professors, for instance, is considerably higher than that of their American colleagues. Neither wealth nor birth are in Switzerland of the same decisive importance as in most other countries of the West. As the American writer Negley Farson recently observed after a visit to Switzerland:

"In Berne, which of all European capitals has preserved most culture, the aristocracy proper is not based on privileges of birth which have become obsolete and are seldom justified; nor is it composed of *parvenus* of self-made men of recent date, for whom money is the highest authority. The aristocracy which I got to know in Switzerland, is an 'aristocracy of talents.' This and one's character are decisive for the positions held by men and women."

True words, which help to illustrate the point that today Switzerland is in more than one respect a model for democracy, an inspiration not only for the European civilisation of today, but also for a better world-civilisation of tomorrow.

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India and The Right of Self-Determination

In an article on the above subject in *The Hindustan Review* Prof. D. N. Banerjee observes:

The Wilsonian theory of self-determination has, as was rightly apprehended by many of its critics when it was first proclaimed in 1918, been much misunderstood and misused. And, as a result, it has, so far as this country is concerned, already produced many unhappy consequences. What really did President Wilson say and mean when he proclaimed the theory of self-determination? In the course of an address delivered on 11th February, 1918, before a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, in reply to the address of the Imperial German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs at that time, President Wilson first declared:—"What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice,—no mere peace of shreds and patches... National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

He then laid down, without stopping here, the following four principles as the "foundations" on which "a general peace" could be "erected" and a new international order based:—(1) "Each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent." (2) "Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power." (3) "Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states." (4) "All well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism."

It is evident from these principles that the right of self-determination was not to be, even according to President Wilson, its chief protagonist, an absolute and unqualified right. It is particularly to be noticed that he laid down that peoples and provinces were not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game; that every territorial settlement must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned; and that all well-defined national aspirations were to be accorded the utmost satisfaction that could be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism. People often forget these limitations imposed on the right of self-determination by President Wilson himself, when they talk about this right, or base any claim on it. I need hardly point out that these limitations have, as I shall have an occasion to show later on, a direct bearing on our communal problem, particularly as it exists, for instance, in Bengal and the Punjab.

Insurmountable practical difficulties were experienced by the victorious Allies after the first World War in the application of the principle of self-determination to Europe.

After all, they were not, as it has been rightly said, dealing with "a blank map of Europe". As Dr. Alfred Cobban has observed in his illuminating work *National Self-Determination*, it is understandable that in practice President Wilson's ideas "led him into a long series of inconsistencies and contradictions in which he finally became inextricably

entangled. The vastness of the practical issues he was raising was perhaps hardly realized by him at first." And, according to the same writer, Wilson "confessed later, in weariness of heart, to the Committee of Foreign Relations of the (U.S.A.) Senate, that 'when I gave utterance to those words ('that all nations had a right to self-determination'), I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed, which are coming to us day after day.....you do not know and cannot appreciate the anxieties that I have experienced as a result of many millions of people having their hopes raised by what I have said."

This was natural and inevitable. It is almost impossible, as it was fully realized by the Allied and Associated Powers at the Peace Conference of Paris after the first World War, to alter the frontiers of states or to establish new states without creating new problems of minorities. Thus, practically everyone among the treaty-makers at Paris, including Wilson himself, adds Dr. Cobban, "recognized that self-determination could only be applied with due regard to circumstances". Besides, there is the great difficulty of finding a generally accepted definition of the conditions which a people should satisfy before it can legitimately claim the right of self-determination. As Professor Harold Temperley of the University of Cambridge has stated in his Epilogue to the Sixth Volume of the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris* edited by him, the objection to the principle of self-determination "is the difficulty of knowing what constitutes a unit of self-determination". "That the principle," he continues, "is a disruptive, as well as a cohesive, force goes without saying. The difficulty of deciding how large an area or a population must be before it has a right to self-determination seems fundamental....If self-determination is pushed far enough not only every town, but every hamlet, has the right to vote itself out of a state of which it may have been a part for five centuries."

It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that there was, as Dr. Cobban has shown, a sharp difference of opinion even among the members of the American Delegation to the Peace Conference of Paris on the question self-determination; that President Wilson's Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Lansing, was strongly opposed to the principle of self-determination; and that Mr. Lansing described the phrase as "loaded with dynamite", and said, "It will raise hopes which can never be realized. It will, I fear, cost thousands of lives. In the end it is bound to be discredited, to be called the dream of an idealist who failed to realize the danger until too late to check those who attempt to put the principle in force. What a calamity that the phrase was ever uttered! What misery it will cause!" Mr. Lansing further pointed out, and very rightly, that both Canada and the United States had only continued to exist because of their denial of the principle of self-determination; that if this principle had been accepted, the Southern States (of the U.S.A.) would have been allowed to secede and French Canada would have formed an independent state; and that considerations of national safety, historic rights, and economic interests, which would be overridden by it, should all have preference over the principle of self-determination. Apart from these considerations, there are many practical difficulties in the way of holding proper plebiscites necessarily implied in the theory of self-determination—particularly in countries where the masses are still steeped in ignorance, superstition and prejudice, and where, therefore, their worst passions can be easily overstimulated and inflamed by emotional appeals and skillfully directed propaganda.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Soviet Russian Colonial System in East Europe

Albion Ross writes in *The New York Times* :

The United States Army's newspaper here flatly accused the Soviet Union today of intending to set up its own colonial system in eastern Europe.

An editorial in the *Wiener Kurier* charged that the Soviet objections to the Marshall plan and the United States relief program in Austria were raised because these projects interfered with the Soviet plan in eastern Europe. The editorial was known to have been approved by top-ranking United States military and diplomatic authorities here.

"It is impossible to review the objections raised by the Soviet military command in Austria to the Austro-American relief agreement without reference to the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in the Marshall plan and the steps it took to prevent participation in the plan by any of its European satellites," the editorial said. "In both cases the Russians have protested that the respective programs constitute an infringement of national sovereignty. In both cases it is obvious that the Soviet Union's real concern has been that American help in eastern Europe would somehow extend American influence in the areas where the Soviet Union is determined to exclude it.

"Although the Soviet Union is equally committed with the United States and the United Kingdom to the re-establishment of a free and independent Austria, events of the post-war years have made it clear that there is a fundamental difference between the Russian conception of freedom and independence and that of the Western democracies. It is now obvious that while the Russians and their Communist hand servants were shrieking most loudly about the creation of a Western bloc they were themselves busy setting up an Eastern bloc.

"The meeting of the three Foreign Ministers in Paris to discuss the Marshall plan compelled (Soviet Foreign Minister) Molotov to admit it. The subsequent developments in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary proved it and it proved also that when the Soviet Union talks of infringement of the sovereignty of small nations it really means infringement of the exclusive rights of the Soviet Union in the areas over which it has established or intends to establish its own form of economic and political domination—in other words infringements of what the Soviet Union considers its colonial prerogatives.

"An appreciation of the characteristic of exclusiveness is essential to a proper understanding of the Soviet element's objections to the relief agreement. To a nation accustomed to think imperialistically, the actions of other nations inevitably are interpreted in terms of imperialism. To a nation habitually exclusive in its relationship with the outside world the policies of other nations are assumed to be similarly exclusive.

CHARGES SOVIET INVENTED CHARGES

"It is apparently as incredible to representatives of the Soviet Union in Austria as it was to Molotov in Paris that American help could be extended without political commitments and, since there are political commitments neither in the Marshall plan nor in the relief agreement, the Russians have chosen to invent them or at least to assume that they are there by implication.

"In the case of the relief agreement they have chosen to regard as infringements of Austria's sovereignty and independence stipulations obviously designed to do no more than grant reasonable assurance to the American taxpayer—who is the real donor—that his money will be expended in such a way as to make the utmost contribution to the re-establishment of Austrian political and economic independence—a mission shared equally by his Government and those of the three other occupying powers."

Meanwhile, Austria's Eastern European creditors are displaying eager interest in the dollars the United States offered to provide as part of the relief program. Poland turned up with a bill for about \$1,600,000, chiefly for coal, and Hungary wants \$700,000 in cash.

The bills represent Austrian indebtedness under the trade-clearing agreements she made with those countries. Both countries now are unwilling to proceed with further deliveries without being paid for the excess over receipts they have delivered up to the present.

Czechoslovakia, which also has delivered more to Austria than she has received under the trade-clearing arrangement, is reported to be planning to make similar demands next month.

There are two interpretations here of the sudden marked toughness of Austria's Eastern and Northern neighbours. One is the harmless explanation that they see a chance to collect some badly needed dollars from a debtor in arrears whose credit has not been very good anyway. The other is that as an Eastern bloc of nations they are making demands that Austria perhaps cannot meet as part of the Russian program of punishing her for having lined up with the Paris delegations instead of the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc.

There also are fairly reliable reports that indicate the Eastern bloc is seriously interested not merely in getting payment for past debts but making new deals with Austria that will bring them dollars. Economic authorities here do not feel such a drain of dollars necessarily would be contrary to the Marshall plan but, if anything, would tend to support it.

The dollars the Eastern bloc would get would have to be used largely for purchases either in Western Europe or in the Western hemisphere, which would keep East-West trade alive. Attention is drawn here to the fact that the United States policy now is to prevent the Eastern bloc from halting trade with the West.



The Soviet People Honour the Memory of Maxim Gorky

Once again, on the 11th anniversary of his death, the Soviet people honour the memory of their great writer, Maxim Gorky. His name has been given to the town where he was born and bred, Nizhni-Novgorod, and to Moscow's main thoroughfare, to one of the best theatres, the Art Theatre, and to cultural and educational institutions. The Soviet Government has deputed the All-Union Committee on Arts to erect monuments to the writer in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky and Yalta.

The monument to be erected to him in the square in front of the Belorussia-Baltic Station was designed by Ivan Shadr, who died a few years ago. He was a friend of Gorky's and was engaged on a bust of him during the writer's lifetime. He began work on the design for the monument soon after Gorky's death but had hardly time to finish it before death overtook him. It was carried out by Vera Mukhina, the noted sculptor, whose fine group was awarded at the Paris Exhibition.

A memorial to Gorky is being erected now in his native town. The sculptor, Vera Mukhina, says that she has based her portrait on the writer in his youth, as the Stormy Petrel of the Revolution. At a little distance from the tall figure, which has a feeling of swift movement, there is a sculptured bird, a stormy petrel in flight, the emblem of the approaching storm of revolution. The work is nearing completion.

The All-Union Committee on Arts announced a competition, which will close in August, for a memorial for Leningrad. Five of the foremost sculptors, Manizer, Zelensky, Levinson, Blinova and Isayeva, are entering for it.

Designs for a monument to Gorky in Yalta will be begun shortly.

The Gorky Institute of World Literature marked the anniversary in the traditional way, by giving readings of Gorky's works. Several volumes of the writer's archives have been prepared for the Press. The fifth, *Gorky and Korolenko*, includes their correspondence beginning from 1893. Practically all the letters appear for the first time in print. The book was prepared for the Press by Natalia Vladimirovna Korolenko, the writer's daughter.

The sixth volume, on Gorky and Chaliapin, will include the famous singer's autobiography as told to Gorky and written down by him, their correspondence and also Chaliapin's reminiscences of Gorky.

Gorky's works are published in enormous printings in the Soviet Union, and the principal things are translated into the languages of the nationalities of the USSR. *The Mother* and the autobiographical trilogy *Childhood*, *Out in*

the World and *My Universities* are republished in several editions almost every year. The great writer's books are more popular than ever. Before the Revolution they appeared in an edition of 1,083,000 copies. In Soviet years they came out in 66 languages, in an edition of 43,151,000 copies; the autobiographical trilogy alone—in an edition of 4,947,000 copies and 108 editions of his novel *The Mother*. *Childhood* was published in 81 editions, *Out in the World*—in 55, *My Universities*—in 63, and *The Life of Adam Samgin*—in 23.

This year the State Literary Publishing House brought out in an edition of 250,000 copies Gorky's tales—*Chelkash*, *Twenty-six and One*, *The Birth of a Man* and a volume of verse. More volumes of the 15-volume edition of his works have appeared this year and others are expected. It is to be completed in 1948. Selections from his *Stories of Italy* will shortly appear in an illustrated edition.

This year the State Publishing House of Juvenile Literature has given the children an excellent illustrated edition of *Childhood*, with drawings by V. Dekhterev, who was awarded the Stalin Prize for them. *The Mother* with illustrations by V. Shcheglov, is expected.—*The Tass News Agency, USSR.*

Brazil

In an article entitled "We Brazilians Are Becoming One People" in *The Catholic World*, April 1946, Dorothy Penn contends that the popular notion that miscegenation leads to degeneration and mongrelization is not true in the case of Brazil:

It is the opinion of some that Brazil's great lesson to the modern world will lie, not in any sphere of politics or economics, but in "her successful fusion of races and her consequent development of a true American, non-European type." Brazil is certainly one of the outstanding instances where inter-breeding and acculturation of races are being carried on. This does not mean that Brazil has not attained a place which causes many to feel that the "balance of power in this hemisphere now rests on an axis between Washington and Rio de Janeiro" and that it is within Brazil's power to take the financial, commercial, and economic lead on the southern continent.

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potential mineral wealth, and the many products of the Amazon basin will bring her further riches in proportion as this region is opened to transportation through airlines and waterways. It is estimated that Brazil is so large and so rich a land that she could support 900,000,000 people as against a possible 500,000,000 for the United States.

One might say that in the sphere of politics, too, Brazil has a lesson to teach, for she is one Latin American country where independence was won without bloodshed. The modern Brazilian state was outlined under the guidance of three brothers, Jose Bonifacio, Carlos, and Martin de Andrada. In 1821, the then exiled Portuguese ruler, Dom Joao, returned to Portugal and left his son Dom Pedro with these words of advice: "Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long separate herself from Portugal, and if so, place the crown on thine own head rather than let it fall into the hands of any adventurers."

These were the years when the Latin American countries were breaking from Spain and becoming independent republics. The Andrada brothers were the leaders of the democratic elements in Brazil, but wisely they saw that a democratic rule by a fair-minded prince under a constitution could be accomplished without bloodshed, and so Jose Bonifacio de Andrada secured many thousands of signatures to a petition begging Dom Pedro to remain as first ruler of the independent nation of Brazil. Thus was won for Brazil in fifteen months an independence from Europe for which some Latin American countries struggled fifteen years.

The United States was first to welcome Brazil as an independent nation on May 26, 1824.

The young Dom Pedro I meant well, but his inherited royal pride led him to intolerant acts and caused him at length to imprison and to banish the Andrada brothers. For nine years the monarch tried to rule, but he had lost the love of the Brazilian people, and too late did he recall from exile Jose Bonifacio. He realized his own faults and entrusted his infant son, Dom Pedro II, to the elderly Jose Bonifacio de Andrada to rear as a good monarch should be reared, and himself set sail for Portugal.

Here, then, was an unusual experiment in government. The Andrada brothers brought up the young prince in the highest ideals of democracy, and at fifteen he was declared of age and became Emperor of Brazil in 1840. Raised by such liberal statesmen, Dom Pedro II, was a most democratic ruler. Under him Brazil grew to the status of a great nation. Schools were started, cultural institutions fostered, slavery abolished, immigrants encouraged, and the border situation in Uruguay and Paraguay settled. Some say that Dom Pedro II lost his throne in 1888 when slavery was abolished. Angry slave-owners joined with republicans and forced the abdication of the emperor. Yet Dom Pedro realized that it was for the ultimate good of Brazil that he go—even that he leave the very soil of the land he loved—in order that the new Republic might have peace without bloodshed. And so we have the paradox in 1889 of the Brazilians regretfully banishing their seventy-three-year-old monarch, "the greatest democrat of them all." Only recently there passed away a distinguished descendant of the Andrada family, Senhor Antonio Carlos de Andrada. This Senhor de Andrada, one time sitting president of Brazil, was a friend of democracy, as was his family before him, and placed great stress on a close bond between Brazil and the United States.

Intimately related to Brazilian democratic sentiment—indeed, a very integral part of it—is the feeling that "nothing is honestly or sincerely Brazilian that denies or hides the influence of the Amerindian and the Negro." And this feeling is one and the same

in theory and in practice, for in Brazil appears to be a forward-moving society, having no place for social distinctions based on race or color. Class, not race, determines social prestige. Theodore Roosevelt is said to have remarked once of Brazil: "If I were asked to name the one point in which there is complete difference between the Brazilian and ourselves, I should say it was in the attitude to the black man."

Negro slaves were first brought to Brazil in the 1530's to work the plantations, as the South American Indian sickened and died when forced into captivity. Furthermore, the Indian was difficult to obtain as the tribes kept retreating into the jungles and the upland plateaus. The African Negro seems to have been able to adapt himself readily to the climate and the physical conditions of Brazil. From an economic point of view, one might say that the Negro constituted the chief factor in the building up of Brazil during some three hundred years.

Many of these Negroes were shrewd and intelligent; some are reputed to have been able to read; others to write Arabic. Some were Mohammedan by religion and, due to superior and clever leadership, revolts often occurred, and frequent were the accounts of barbarous cruelties practised on the rebellious blacks. From this rather advanced and aesthetically handsome strain of Negroes, came the beautiful Negro women whom many whites chose for mistresses.

The slave trade reached its height in the eighteenth century after the discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior, and the expansion of the cultivated areas to the south. Tentative estimates place the number of slaves imported at some 50,000 per year, but there have been preserved no reliable statistics. Many slaves were smuggled into the country. Yet, though the Brazil of today has a Negro population proportionately greater than that in the United States, Brazil has no "race problem."

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The attitude toward the blacks shown by the Latin peoples of the Mediterranean persists still. They show none of the dislike of color which is a trait of the Nordic races.

The Portuguese in Europe were well-acquainted with the dark-skinned Moors, and had long admired their agricultural ability. The Moorish woman is of legendary beauty, and Mr. Roy Nash has pointed out that during the Moorish occupation of the Spanish Peninsula (711-1492 A.D.) the darker man was the more cultured, the more learned and the more artistic. It might well be that at that time it was an honor for the white man to mate with the brown. History, experience, folklore, popular literature, all would have inclined the sixteenth century Portuguese to look with favor upon inter-marriage with the brown-skinned Indian whom he found on the Brazilian continent, and later with the Negro. So there soon appeared mulattoes, quadroons, and a progressive lightening of the skin of the population. The Negro temperament had within it a sort of childish joy in the slightest incidents of life, and this joyousness, and love of dancing, of song and bright colors, reappear in the mulatto, helping to modify the severity of the Portuguese nature.

Visitors to Brazil during the reign of Dom Pedro II. (ending 1889) made interesting comments. The Reverend Dr. Fletcher wrote: "Some of the most intelligent men that I have met within Brazil, men educated at Paris and Coimbra, were of African descent, whose ancestors were slaves. Thus if a man has freedom, money and merit, no matter." A Sir Richard Burton who visited Imperial Brazil, observed that "here all men, especially free men, who are not black, are white, and often a man is officially white, but naturally almost a Negro." Viscount Bryce, whose observations and impressions of South America were published in 1912, remarked that "the fusion of whites and blacks by intermarriage goes steadily on." Theodore Roosevelt remarked, "Any Negro, or mulatto, who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him."

The so-called "Aryanization" of the African is the thing to be desired from the viewpoint of Brazilian national policy.

There is an intangible attitude bound up therein which is perhaps expressed in these words of Robert E. Park: "... I have come to the conclusion that the difference between Brazil and the United States with respect to race is due to the fact that the people of Brazil have, somehow, regained that paradisiac innocence, which the people of the United States have somehow lost." Says a Portuguese writer: "Roosevelt rightly pointed out that the future has reserved for us [the Brazilians] a great boon: the happy solution of a problem fraught with tremendous, even mortal dangers—the problem of a possible conflict between the two races."

In anything about Brazil which strikes a critic unfavorably, he is inclined to see therein the unhappy results of race mixture or of the tropical climate. Some contend that miscegenation leads to degeneration and to mongrelization. Yet many objective studies of Latin American achievement and cultural development do not confirm the inferiority of mestizo Brazil. Brazil may indeed need much in the way of a program for social betterment, especially in those regions where slavery was dominant, but it is to improve the living conditions of those descendants of Indian, Negro, mestizo, even of European immigrant, who are poorly housed, and underfed in the Brazilian land of plenty. It is not that increased "white" population is needed,

but a better standard of living. Twenty years ago Mr. Roy Nash said that miscegenation "has not gone so far in Brazil that there are not still large numbers of unmixed Portuguese, Indians, and Negroes, still somewhat conscious of color, and even more of caste; but it has gone so far that one may expect its completion perhaps within five or six generations."

Within the last several generations Brazilians of widely varying racial origins have given evidence of true capacity to build a new and original civilization in America.

Young Brazilians are proud of their mestizo heroes, statesmen, authors, scientists, inventors, administrators and artists. In the Army, too, are many officers of very modest social origin, and the Army has the reputation of being a socially and ethnically democratic organization.

In the late 1930's there was stirred up in Argentina an anti-Brazilian agitation which was very reminiscent of other nationalistic agitations fomented by Nazi agents. "Brazilian mulatto diplomats" were accused of robbing "Argentine white people" of lands. Thus was the note of race hatred injected into an anti-democratic, anti-Brazilian movement. Now, such references to "Brazilian mulattoes" may still trouble the oldest of Brazil's inhabitants, but the younger generation is not disturbed.

The Brazilian whites may sometimes confess to preferring the out-and-out black to the mulatto. Always they will give just credit to the black's contribution in the building of Brazil. What they generally mention in praise of the black is his friendliness, his loyalty, honesty and dependability. Due acknowledgment is given the intelligence of the mulatto, but sometimes resentment is shown at the aggressiveness which the mulatto develops in his social ambitions.



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A most comprehensive and revealing study of racial integration through color mixture, has been made in *Negroes in Brazil*, by Donald Pierson, a book which was given the 1943 John Anisfield Award for the "best book of the year on race relations." Mr. Pierson localized his study in the seaport town of Bahia (about the side of Indianapolis). He shows how in Bahia today a freely competitive social order exists where competence, not race, counts. There are a few able sociologists today who would still defend the theory of racial inferiority of the Negro. Even here, it is sometimes more a case of confusing cultural achievement with racial potentialities. The preponderance of opinion is to the effect that miscegenation will continue to bring more benefits than evils.

Brazilians feel that the mental and cultural differences between most of the Negroes, on the one hand, and most of the whites on the other, arises from the present inferior and unequal educational opportunities of the Negro.

In Bahia, black and white do not stand against each other. Whites may feel that the Negroes are backward, but they will say too in all justice that "with social evolution they (the blacks) are becoming more intelligent and eventually will contribute equally with the whites to the forward march of Brazil."

Mr. Pierson's research would seem to confirm the statement that class is more to be considered than racial strain. In mentioning an able black citizen, an engineer who has served in the sanitary division of the government in several cities in Brazil, once also a federal senator and a recognized authority on the Tupi language, a white woman of the upper class remarked, "Several white women whom I know would feel themselves honored to be his wife." This would seem to indicate that in Bahia, at least, opposition to marriage with a black is more on class than on social grounds. In 1914, Theodore Roosevelt wrote of Rio: "In the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown, so far as concerns men and women in whom the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element."

Black color, although it is certainly a handicap for entry into the upper classes at Bahia, is not an insuperable one, and with wealth, intelligence, capability—and in the case especially of women, with beauty and personal charm—the darker skinned mulattoes may well hope to rise in the social scale and make their way into the upper classes.

Recently in Brazil there has been an awakening of interest in the African and his descendants.

The intellectual Brazilian, when he is concerned with the "Negro problem" today, is concerned with it in such aspects as the historic, or with the characteristics of the various Negro stocks, their adaptation to the new habitat, their hereditary traits, the various dialects, the religious cults, etc., and not in the question of racial mixture.

The rise of the mulatto was favored by the gradual character of the emancipation process in Brazil. Back in the colonial period an intermediate population group arose in the mulatto slaves who were

ordinarily chosen for household work, and were a distinct unit, separate from the field hands. Many of the mulatto children—illegitimate off-spring of the "master"—were trained in elementary and advanced subjects equally with the legitimate children. Colored children who were reared within the master's household, gained a certain position. These mulattoes also developed traits and skills latent in them, in proportion as they were employed in the more complicated occupations. These mulattoes were liberated in preference to the blacks, and entered the free classes, to become farmers, artisans, and free laborers.

During the nineteenth century when young men of Brazil went to Europe to study, intelligent mulattoes were among them. Upon their return home, their sophistication, shown in knowledge of Parisian haberdashery, perfume, hair-dressing, etc., enhanced the mulatto's social standing. It is said that the royal family of Dom Pedro II set the example of social acceptance, and beautiful mulatto women were ladies-in-waiting to the empress. The title of "doutor" (doctor) or the gold braid of an army officer's uniform "Aryanized and aristocratized" many mulattoes into whites.

In Bahian and in Brazilian society in general one is careful what term one uses when referring to those of the colored race. It is not considered good taste to speak of a man as a Negro or a mulatto. Such designation might give offense. The word "pardo" (English: colored person, although the literal meaning is "brown") is not offensive, but would not be used of one's friends. The term "moreno" (also literally meaning "brown") is considered more in keeping with good form. Consideration for the feelings of all seems to exist in Brazil where the people are conscious of and proud to be of "one nation." Segregation does not exist in the schools or churches, nor discrimination in the rather exclusive clubs where mixed-bloods are admitted, and even a few dark mulattoes. Predominant membership, however, is white.

As Pierson has suggested, the miscegenation of colonial times resulted in the building of bonds of sentiment and affection which hindered the growth of prejudice and gave the mixed-bloods access to social advancement. The emancipation of the slaves was more the fulfilment of a widespread liberation movement, shared in by the general public. Today blacks and mixed-bloods are in all occupations, where the individual finds his place upon the basis of ability. If prejudice is found, it is of class, not race. As one hears, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

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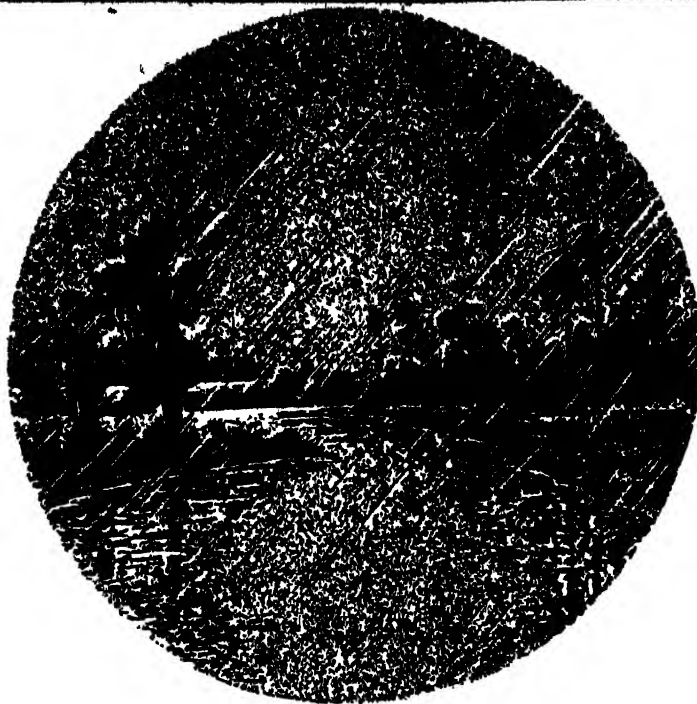
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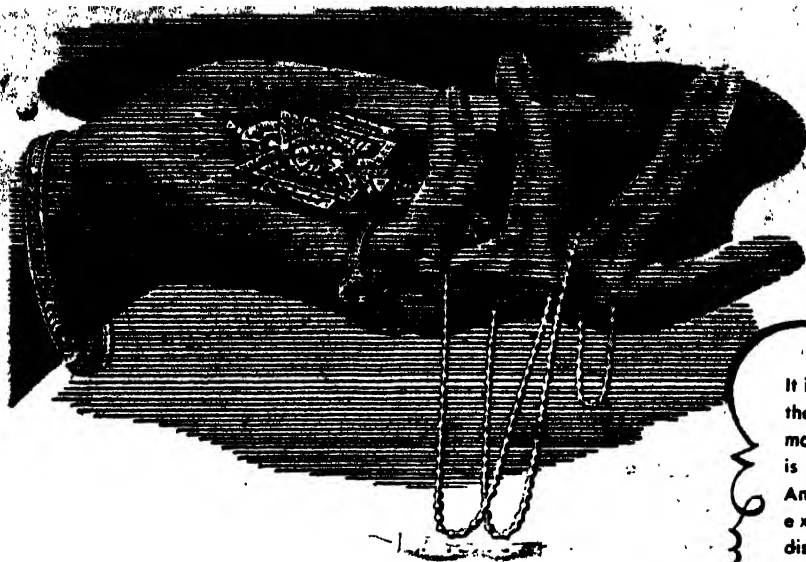
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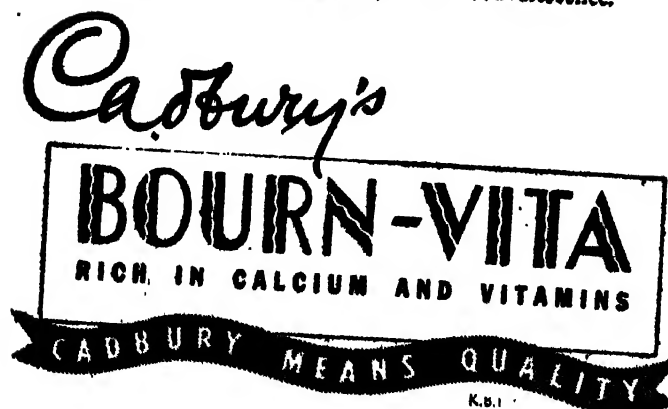
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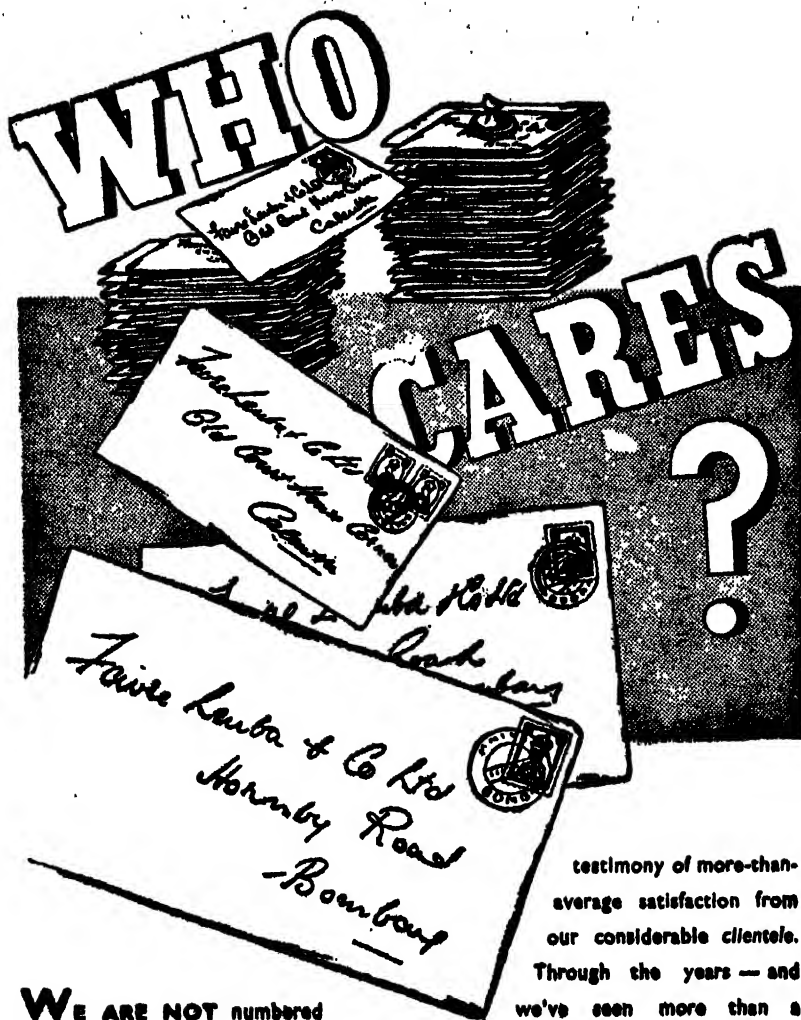
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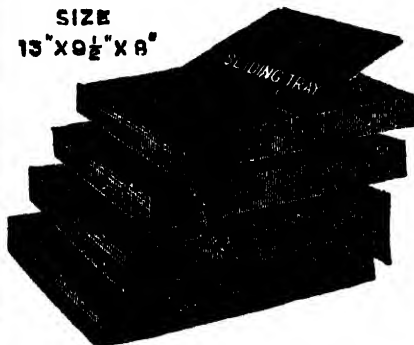
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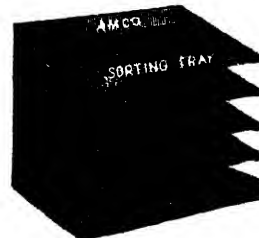
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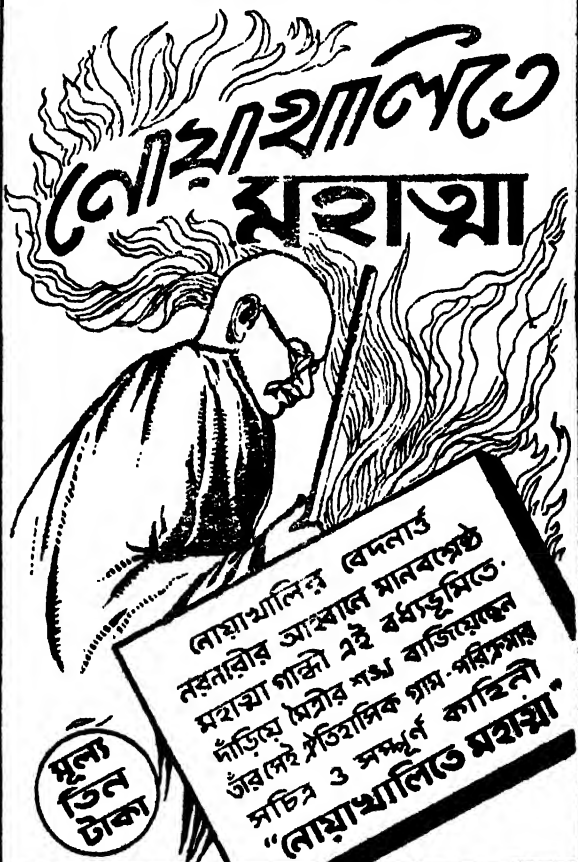
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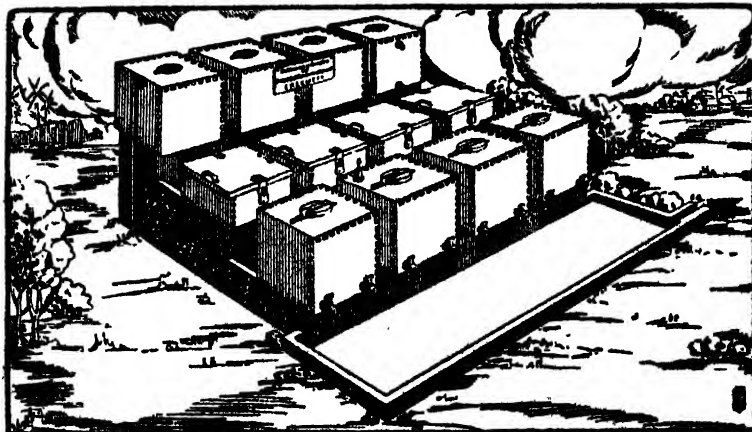
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CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER 1947.

	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—On The Way To The Temple —A Fresco on the ceiling of Lepakahi Temple (in colours)— Copied by H. V. Ram Gopal	
NOTES—	169—188
FREE INDIA—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, D.Litt.	189
Problem Of German Economic Rehabilitation —Promode Sengupta	193
Fundamentals Of The Eastern And Western Civilisation—S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law... ..	199
Planning And Democracy—Prof. G. G. Gadgil, M.A.	201
Nationality In The Indian Union—Amarendra Nath Mukerjee, M.A., M.L.	203

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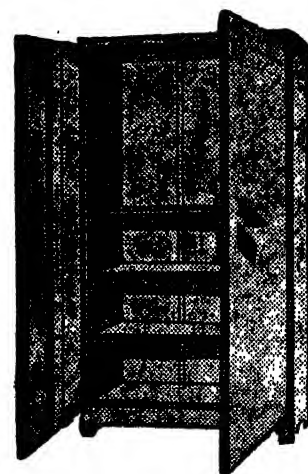
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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
A Corpus Of Original Sources Of Later Bengal History—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, D.Litt. ...	204
The Declaration Of Independence: An Expression Of American Ideals (illustr.)—USIS ...	206
G. K. Chesterton (illustr.)—Douglas Woodruff ...	208
Early Years Of The Calcutta Medical College (illustr.)—Jogesh C. Bagal ...	210
Coulee Dam (illustr.)—Richard H. Spring ...	216
Land Of The Lushais In Assam—Mizoram—A. V. Thakkar and I. N. Rao ...	218
The Evolution Of Modern India's Ideal Of Freedom—Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ...	220
The Life In U. S. S. R.—Jacques Nicolle ...	222
The Late Nalini Kanta Bhattasali—Nivad-bandhu Sanyal ...	228
The Basic Factor Of Industrialisation—Probodh Chandra Bandyopadhyay ...	230
Literature And Active Politics—Prof. B. S. Mathur, M.A. ...	232



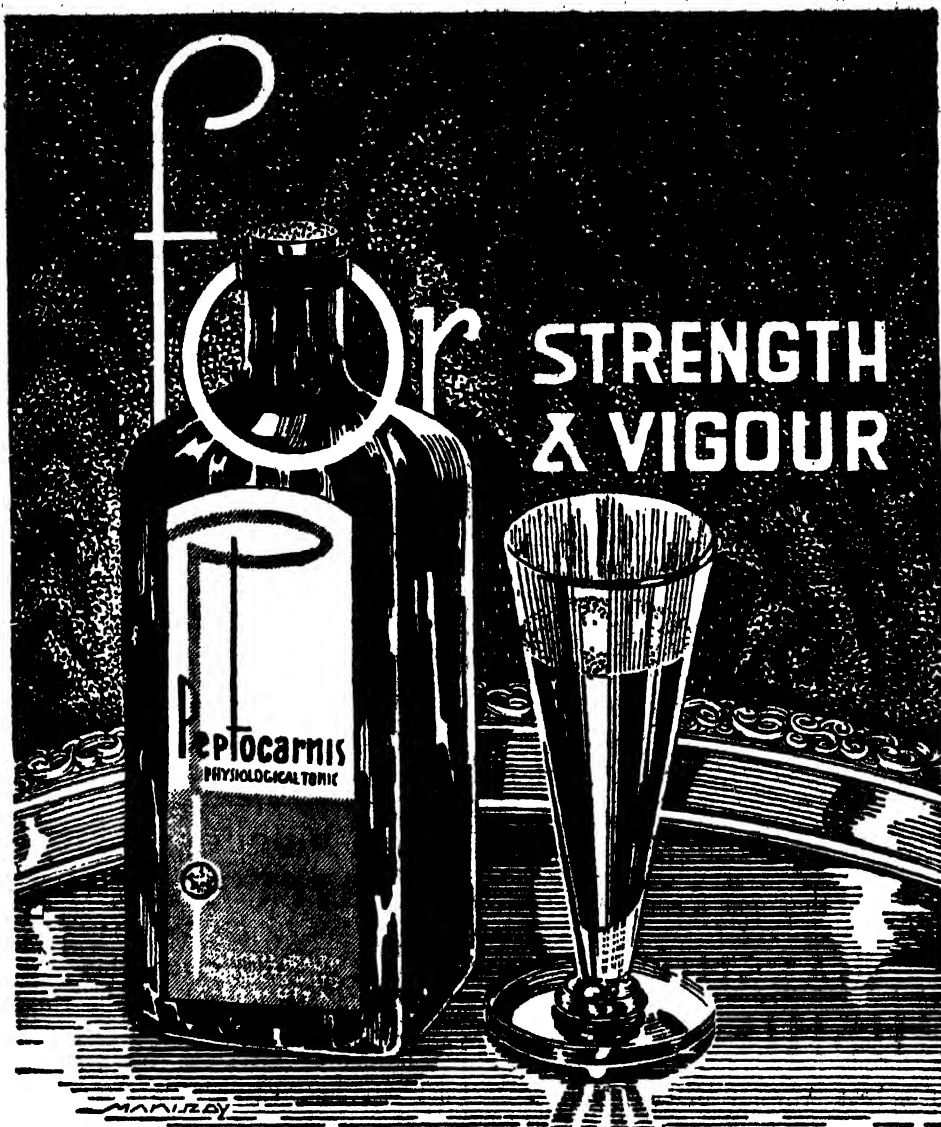
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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
Food Position in Bengal— <i>Rabindra Nath Bhattacharya, M.A.</i> ...	234
Planned Economy— <i>Prof. P. B. Sangal, M.A.</i> ...	236
BOOK REVIEWS: ...	238—240
<i>Sunil Kumar Bose, A. B. Dutta, U. C. Bhattacharjee, Nalini Kumar Bhadra, M. S. Sengar, K. M. J.</i>	
INDIAN PERIODICALS: ...	243—47
Wonder of Wonders ...	243
The First Indian Woman Ambassador ...	243
Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy ...	243
The Limitations of Non-Violence ...	246
FOREIGN PERIODICALS: ...	248—52
India is Free ...	248
The Inter-Asian Relations Conference ...	249
Plastics Seen as Spur to World Industrialization ...	250

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SEPTEMBER

1947

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NOTES

India and the World

The world is again slowly going into ferment. The old game of power politics is on, with all its vicious undercurrents of diplomatic moves and counter-moves. Nations that were exhausted and prostrated by the titanic destructive forces let loose by World War II are being goaded into activity by their leaders. The principal opponents at the moment are the U. S. S. R. and United States of America. As yet there is no open breach, neither is there any distinct lining up of friendly or antagonistic nations for or against either of them. But both parties are using all the resources at their disposal to influence the weary world into splitting up in rival camps, and moves are already perceptible to show which way this or that country is being forced to align itself in order to obtain the vital supplies necessary for its very existence.

India is a new-comer in this grim under-world of make-believe friendships, secret pacts and veiled enmities. We have been so long out of touch with World Currents and so much pre-occupied with our own affairs that it would be some time before even a proper understanding of Western diplomacy begins to dawn on us. But all the same it would not do for a bewildered India to stand at the cross-roads waiting to be led blind-fold into the maze of power-politics, most of the exits of which lead into the fiery furnaces of war. We have no quarrel with anyone, it is true, but many a nation has before now been led, willy-nilly into a desperate situation which ended with war with all its calamities. We must not forget that in the Western World of to-day there is but little altruistic impulse, and a *quid-pro quo* is demanded at every step, and that at as far an excessive rate as the unfortunate recipient of "favours" is able to concede. We have already seen this in the matter of food-grain supplies and we shall have to expect the same in all dealings with foreign nations of major calibre, until such time as we are able to hold out, till we are able to deal on terms that are to mutual advantage.

It must also be understood that the first move of the Western Powers with a new-comer is to try to render him as helpless as possible through provoking disorders in his internal affairs to the utmost extent. When the new-comer has been rendered bankrupt, economically and politically, and is on the verge of collapse as a consequence, then the Powers within whose zone of influence the unfortunate is politically placed, begin to dictate terms. China, Spain, the Balkans and, most recently Persia, are outstanding examples of such machiavellian moves. The partial Balkanization of India and the moves of British officialdom, before and after the partition of India, must be regarded in the same light. We have been told by all our trusted leaders that the British Labour Party and its latest representative, Lord Mountbatten, have throughout acted on good-faith and sincerity and we have no reason to disbelieve that statement. But we must not forget that the shaping of the British bureaucracy was done by the British Tories and their inferior imitation, the Liberal Party of Britain. Up till now British Labour had little to do either with the appointments or with the shaping of instruments of instructions for the guidance of British Colonial and Imperial administration. Further they have few men of any outstanding merit who have any experience in such matters. Therefore, they have been obliged to entrust the carrying out of their policy into the treacherous hands of the *Pukka Sahibs* and those creatures of Die-hard Toryism have betrayed their trust with any compunction, and are still doing so whenever the opportunity arises, as for example, in Western Pakistan. What is happening in India is no isolated phenomenon where the activities of British officialdom are concerned, as that had happened before in Egypt, in Iraq, in Palestine, and in India after the first World War.

We have to keep our eyes open, therefore, and get rid of the idea that the "Third Party" has been eliminated now that the British have delivered the

reins of Government to us and the Pakistanis. Pakistan is being slowly and adroitly enmeshed in the toils of British officialdom and would be soon at their mercy. That, however, is their headsph. What we have to be on the look-out for are the moves to force us into a similar alignment. America and Britain have come to believe that India is at their mercy, and if internal disorders continue and men in charge of vital affairs indulge in day-dreaming in the fashion they have been doing hitherto, that would be a fact. Furthermore, Russia is on the threshold of Pakistan and therefore British Foreign Office officialdom of the Vansittart pattern are anxious to fashion Pakistan into a *Cordon Sanitaire* around the Indian Union. Therefore, for the present at least, we must expect British officialdom to do all it can to increase the stresses between Pakistan and the Indian Union, and to expect the Anglo-Saxon group at U. N. O. to cold-shoulder the representatives of India. Normally, the reaction to these Anglo-American moves would be to forge new links between India and Russia, which is a semi-Asiatic Power. But here also we must step with the utmost of caution.

We must get rid of all complacency and idle speculation. Delhi must in all seriousness buckle down to its tasks. What was idle waste of time before is criminal neglect of duty now. The leaders must realize that they must either serve or else resign and go. Nepotism, party-politics and the lavish distribution of largesse in the shape of appointments, etc., must stop at once. Mistakes galore have been committed already, there is no room for any more, for the time is extremely short, before the plunge into political and economic bankruptcy becomes inevitable.

Pandit Nehru and his colleagues must adopt the established democratic procedure of taking counsel before they make any move, any new appointment or give any new understanding. The need for a Brain-Trust at Delhi is now as clear as daylight. Do our leaders imagine that the Union of India is a real union, or are they out to follow the now-discarded British Liberal policy of muddling through? The inter-provincial jealousies and animosities that the British have left behind as a legacy of their *divide et impera* are still there as much as the Pakistan issue, and will lead to the same unfortunate consequences unless the Centre really becomes active. If they do not believe this statement, let them investigate the action of the Bardoloi Government of Assam in the Sylhet plebiscite and after.

Inside certain provinces, notably Bihar, Madras and the Central Provinces, there are internal stresses due to the grievances of linguistic minorities, who have been in many cases forcibly incorporated into bordering provinces, with whom they had no bonds or ties. In most of these cases these linguistic minorities have not received friendly or neighbourly treatment in their new province. The victimisation of Bengalis in Bihar and Assam is an old story. It was initiated by the British officials of the old days in order to punish the Bengalis for daring to think of independence. The

dismemberment of the districts of West Bengal and their incorporation into Bihar was done arbitrarily on the grounds of balancing the Bihar budget. In reality it was punishment for Bengal and great profit for the Britisher and their subservient henchmen. The financial wealth of Manbhum and that of estates like Manbhum was fully exploited, at nominal cost, by the Britisher through the political backwardness of Bihar. The Bengali-speaking inhabitants of these areas got exceedingly unfair treatment from the British rulers of those days. When Congress came into power, matters deteriorated still further, as the Bihari Congress leaders forgot what the Congress stood for and, for the sake of power and profit, started active suppression. We do not want to elaborate on the matter, but we most emphatically do say that there are real grievances of outstanding nature where these linguistic minorities are concerned, and it would not only be idle but actually dangerous if these fissiparous strains be just ignored. The Congress must redeem its pledge and release all stresses by a new alignment of boundaries for the creation of linguistic provinces. All argument to the contrary is just footling rubbish.

The Indian Union must first consolidate itself and then look to its frontiers. The men of Delhi, through their lack of experience and dilatoriness have now to devise means for accomplishing both at high speed. The time at their disposal might be even shorter than what they imagine, for the attitude of Hyderabad and Pakistan clearly indicates that they are playing for time while alternately fanning up and dousing the flames of strife. We have to go a little bit more in detail about the affairs of the Punjab in order to understand that and so we have to comment on it with all the restraint at our command, for it seems to us that the British Jingos and Die-hards are already fishing in troubled waters. The systematic despatch of false and distorted news by British correspondents is a clear indicator.

Pakistan Propaganda Against India

After the West Punjab holocaust came to light, the Pakistan leaders have started a well-planned propaganda campaign against India. The plan is simple. No reference is made to the atrocities and brutalities that have happened and are still happening in West Punjab while the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi are magnified out of all proportion and all news of the strong and effective action taken by the Government of India willfully suppressed. Mr. Zafarullah Khan, leader of the Pakistan delegation to the U. N. O., is reported to have declared that killing of Muslims had been going on for more than a month in the province of East Punjab and latterly in Delhi. "The responsibility for this," he emphasised, "rests entirely on the Government of India which so far has utterly failed to discharge this responsibility or even face it squarely." Playing on the same tune from Karachi, Mr. Jinnah pretended to be shocked at the events in Delhi and has called upon the Government of India to put down with an iron hand the lawlessness which is going on "under the very

eyes of that Government." By laying the blame on the Government of India, both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Zafarullah Khan have sought to hide the fiendish atrocities committed on the non-Muslims of West Punjab, where, after tens of thousands had perished in the orgy of slaughter, arson and rape, the survivors had to abandon their valuable properties, and to flee for their very lives. They have tried, likewise, to hide the fact that the events in East Punjab and Delhi were the direct outcome, in retaliation, of the West Punjab atrocities. Replying to the charge that there has been a dereliction of duty by the forces of law and order in East Punjab, Pandit Nehru has modestly said that "at least so far as the forces of law and order in India are concerned, impartiality, rather than partiality, has been the rule." He could easily have asserted, from his own experience and direct knowledge gained after his West Punjab tour, that the reverse was the case in Pakistan where the police, the troops and the petty officials proved to be more ruthless and cruel than even the ferocious and fanatical mobs. Even Gandhiji had to express his disappointment at the callousness of the Pakistan Government.

The theatrical fulminations of Mr. Zafarullah Khan in New York about the "extermination of Muslims" in India read in conjunction with those of Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Feroz Khan Noon, and the provocative resolution of the West Punjab Muslim League Council, ought to be sufficient to convince the Indian leaders that the Pakistan authorities are trying to hide their own guilt by launching a campaign of false propaganda against India. It is to be noted that the Government of India have promptly contradicted Mr. Zafarullah's statement and Choudhury Khaliquzzaman has given a stern reply to the West Punjab League Council resolution.

Mr. Zafarullah Khan's statement deserves special attention. That he should have spoken in the way he did should be regarded as a serious breach of diplomatic rules and decorum. None of the allegations he has made in New York has been communicated by the Pakistan Government to India. One explanation given in Delhi of Mr. Zafarullah's outburst is that he is the leader of the Ahmadiya community whose headquarters, Qadian, in East Punjab, gained great notoriety in the West Punjab massacres. Qadian was the operational base of gangs of marauders, most of whom were ex-servicemen belonging to Qadian who sallied into the non-Muslim areas of West Punjab. These men wore military uniform and were led by former military officers. They had jeeps, guns, army ammunitions and civilian planes, which acted as 'observers' and communicated to 'headquarters' the result of attacks on non-Muslim villages and also sent wireless calls for re-inforcements. Two of such messages were intercepted by Indian military authorities. When the Indian military authorities started combing out Qadian they recovered a considerable quantity of illegal arms and ammunition. The offending planes had to be grounded by threat that if they took off again they would be shot down. The non-Muslims of the area were so

incensed by these depredations carried out by the Qadianis that only a strong Indian military guard has saved the colony from retaliation. Normally, Qadian should have been blasted by guns as a punishment for the terrible massacres that they caused, but consideration was shown by the Government of India to these people because they claimed to be a religious community. Zafarullah Khan's fulminations are a typical return for such liberal acts of kindness and forbearance shown by the leaders of India. The scanty reports of the proceedings of the West Punjab Muslim League Council are sufficient to prove that the Pakistan authorities are not even ashamed for what has happened within their Dominion. They seem to be still under the mistaken belief that an all-out campaign of undiluted lies will give them a clean bill before the bar of world opinion and they will be absolved of their part of the complicity in the massacres. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, made a statement to the Punjab Muslim League Council in the course of which he is reported to have said :

"(1) Today we (Pakistan) are surrounded by forces which are out to destroy us. They (these forces) feel that with the consolidation of Pakistan, their cherished dream to rule all over the sub-continent of India will not be realised.

"(2) That the Muslims in East Punjab were routed only by the bullets and bayonets of the forces of law and order.

"(3) That the Government of India and East Punjab had not honoured and implemented the decisions jointly taken by the Governments of the two Dominions in Lahore some days ago."

In reply to this vile and mendacious statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Pandit Nehru said, "I do not wish to say anything that will add to the dangers of the atmosphere already surcharged with passion, and of a situation fraught with tragedy. We desire and seek nothing but a rapid restoration of peace and the establishment, on lasting foundations, of amity between Pakistan and India." The Indian authorities are too humane and considerate to give a fitting reply to the Hitlerian tactics of the Pakistan spokesmen. Full advantage of the restraint shown by Indian leaders has been taken by all the enemies of minorities in Pakistan. On August 15, in an order of the day, General Messervy, British C-in-C. of Pakistan, said that his troops must be ready for war. This view has been confirmed by the Pakistan Prime Minister's statement to the West Punjab League Council. Several reports have been published of the Pakistan troops' participation in the massacres. A British military official, perhaps one of the rare exceptions who have still retained their own conscience, told the world, in a Press Conference on September 17, from the latest information at his disposal, that Pakistan troops are indulging in killings on a big scale. General Messervy, an employee of Pakistan, has made a categorical denial of this serious charge in the usual Pakistani fashion. It is now crystal clear that Pakistan had begun to think in terms of war and it may well be that the

minorities in Pakistan may have been looked upon as a potential fifth column in the event of a war between India and Pakistan, and this might have been the prime factor in the State organised drive for extermination of minorities in Pakistan. Quetta, Hasara, Peshwar and Sind confirm the same belief.

The Pakistan leaders have been banking on the fact that Gandhiji and the Indian leaders would not countenance retaliation on any account. We certainly uphold this principle but we think that Mr. Jinnah must be plainly told that the patience of the people of India has a limit. We most earnestly desire peace, but there can be no peace in the face of continuous provocation.

The Punjab Holocaust

The communal orgy in Western Punjab has now become a first class political problem. Communal disturbances there last March caused untold losses to Hindus and Sikhs. To make matters worse, the League leaders and the Muslim press boasted that they had taught the minorities a lesson and had called the Sikh's bluff. The League started its Direct Action first in Calcutta. Had the Spens Commission been allowed to submit even an interim Report, the responsibility of the League in starting the communal battle would, we believe, have become an established fact. The Commission was dissolved at a time when it had almost concluded its labours and had finished taking the evidences of all important officials. Calcutta was followed by Noakhali. Then there was Bihar, and the Bihar tragedy was fully utilised by the Muslim League for political ends. Then began the oppression and expulsion of Hindus and Sikhs from the Punjab and the N.-W. F. P.

When the March disturbances began in Western Punjab, tension grew as refugees poured into towns and villages in East Punjab. A majority of those who had colonised Crown lands in West Punjab were from the eastern districts. The tales of horror they brought stirred the worst passions and the spirit of vengeance among their relatives and friends, who began to look for an opportunity to retaliate.

We refrain from giving details of the horrors that have taken place in the Punjab, but we consider it our duty to analyse this grim event on a political plane. In doing so, we propose to rely on data published by the *Hindustan Times* of New Delhi.

The decision to divide the Punjab, the appointment of the Boundary Commission and the uncertainty about where the boundary line would be drawn further unsettled people's mind. The special representative of the *Hindustan Times* states that the first blow was struck by the Muslims in Amritsar district and that let loose the forces which were until then in check. The change-over of officers on August 15 helped in the spread of the fire.

Once partition was agreed upon both the parties wanted to separate without delay. Years of propaganda on the two-nation theory and open preaching of communal hatred by the League leaders had brought

communal intolerance up to the explosion point. The actual act that lighted the spark was the insistence of the League leaders to divide the army, the police and the civil services on communal lines. In the atmosphere surcharged with communal fanaticism due to incessant League propaganda and the open partisanship of the Muslim officials with communal fanaticism, the minorities lost confidence in the communally-minded administration.

The administration in the Punjab may be described as the legatee of communal overzealousness on the Western side and frustration on the East. Many Hindu and Sikh officers, who came over to the East Punjab, had seen their families murdered in cold blood and their property looted. They had seen Muslim magistracy and police aid and abet the assassins and the looters. So, when trouble started in East Punjab some of them sat tight in their chairs and hardly did anything to stop disturbances. As for those who stayed on in East Punjab, the bitterness stored over many years on account of communal preferment for Muslims in the Punjab made them less vigilant than they should have been. Practically throughout their career they had seen less competent Muslims being appointed to Government services in preference to better qualified Hindus and Sikhs and had suffered the ignominy of suppression and the agony of frustration.

On the other hand, the Muslim officials felt that Islam had been their sheet anchor, that but for communal representation in services they would not have shared in the loaves and fishes of office. Suffering from an inferiority complex, they thought that their safety lay in having a separate Muslim State in which they would not have to compete with the Hindus for positions of power and influence. After a close observation of the attitude and activities of these officials, the Special Representative of the *Hindustan Times* says that "it was natural for such officials to think in terms of wiping out the minorities in their State." This explains the open complicity of the Muslim army, police and civil officials with the marauders in carrying out the massacre in West Punjab. It is now fully realised that the policy of communal reservation in services had been a far greater monster than separate electorates. The Muslim League politicians have their best supporters in the officials. A large part of the credit for the victory of the Muslim League at the polls was due in fact to Muslim officials of the Government who not only canvassed votes for them but often tampered with ballot papers and ballot boxes. These officials had indeed established Pakistan in every department of the State. The bitter memory of how the five Muslim League members in the Interim Government of India smuggled in by Wavell had successfully neutralised all the progressive and beneficial activities of the Congress is still fresh in many minds. The partisan activities of the Muslim officials in the various departments were making for administrative chaos. The communal orgy of March brought matters to a head and the August Massacres revealed this side of the picture in all its ugliness.

Exaggerated reports of the happenings in East Punjab, which were direct repercussions of the March orgy on the West, were published in the Pakistan press and broadcast by Pakistan radio. These reports let loose the forces of destruction on the minorities in West Punjab in a bid to wipe them out. It has now been clearly revealed that a free distribution of large quantities of arms and ammunitions had previously been made. The *Hindustan Times* correspondent writes, "It is said that one of the top League leaders was in conspiracy with them and egged them on to annihilate the minorities, as he believed that to be the only way to make the foundations of Pakistan secure. Wielding administrative power and having at their command the police and the military as an engine of oppression, these officials committed the worst crimes of butchery and savagery in human history."

The complicity of the British officials in these massacres has also become public knowledge. The same correspondent says, "Perhaps the tragedy would not have occurred had Sir Evans Jenkins not resisted introduction of martial law. Possibly the toll of human life and the extent of misery would have been less had not General Rees worked up the bogey of Sikhs murdering and killing here, there, everywhere, to denude West Punjab of armed forces. The pattern of attack, butchery, arson and loot in most places in West Punjab was the same as at Sheikhpora. A false alarm that a Sikh band headed by horsemen had attacked a locality would be sent to the military. The local police would impose curfew. The Muslim National Guards would set fire to Hindu and Sikh houses. The people running for life from burning houses would be shot for breaking the curfew. Those trying to escape the town would be butchered by the troops." If some fortunate few succeeded in reaching the district headquarters and reported the matter to the Deputy Commissioner in charge of the district, they were told that as they had violated the curfew orders nothing could be done. The reply was uniform whether the august official was a Muslim or a Briton.

When Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali enquired about these tragedies, they found nowhere any proof of any arms of the so-called Sikh bands having been seized or any of their horses lying dead on the field. Fortunately, the plot was discovered by a high military officer of the Indian Army and the course of this dangerous plot was finally checked. Otherwise, Sheikhpora's story would have been repeated in all the other places.

This correspondent was one of the party who accompanied Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on their 2,000-mile tour of the affected areas. He says, "Many Pakistan officials dream of their armies conquering India under the banner of Islam . . . The crux of the question lies in the attitude of officials . . . There is no Government functioning in West Punjab; there is only a semblance of authority in East Punjab. There are, of course, Governors, Premiers, Ministers, but every official does what he likes. He is law unto

himself steeled in the mistaken belief that the more unjust and unfair he is to the opposite community, the more popular he will be with his own. The Government's favour or disfavour does not mean anything to him. A typical instance of this occurred during the tour. Ministers and departmental heads on both sides agreed to convert the National Sikh College in Lahore into another refugee camp for Hindus and Sikhs, but when India's Chief Liaison Officer went to take charge of the building a mere Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police refused to let him take over the building. It was not until the people at the top put personal pressure on the petty official that the job was done.

"Again, all over the province Hindu and Sikh refugees are being stripped of everything by petty officials who declare that everything in Pakistan belongs to Pakistan, that there is no such thing as the personal property of an evacuee and that those who wish to go to India should get away with only a shirt on. There is no Government direction to this effect, but it is the law of the land of Pakistan so far as the officials are concerned. When the people of East Punjab see the Muslim refugees carry with them even their chickens and door-mats they naturally resent it.

"Seventy per cent of the casualties of the last three weeks in West Punjab were inflicted by the communally-maddened troops and policemen. The victims of their bullets numbered thousands. The massacre at Sheikhpora, which was their handiwork, puts to shade the slaughter at Jallianwallabagh. The annihilation of thousands in Shakargarh tehsil, when the whole story is revealed, will be found to have put to shade even Sheikhpora."

The *Hindustan Times* correspondent gives an idea as if the local officials, police and the troops acted independently of their masters in the Pakistan Government. But the following leading article in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, a British-owned daily, which appeared on August 30, proves that the Pakistan Government had also their part to play in this general business of extermination of minorities :

In an issue dated August 28 we wrote, with reference to complaints concerning published reports of riot news: "Charges of under-statement are well based: We have observed self-imposed reticence even regarding truth and the censor has criteria other than truth." On the 28th, the B. B. C. quoted from the article in which these words appeared, mentioning the censorship. Also on the 28th, the Pakistan Government issued a communique (published in our last issue) declaring that statements regarding censorship were "untrue and malicious" and adding: "The Government have not imposed a censorship of any kind on Press reports of disturbances in the West Punjab..."

On August 13 the following Order above the signature of the Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, was served on us:

"To the Printer-Publisher-Editor of the *C. and M. Gazette* daily, Lahore.

Whereas the Provincial Government is satisfied in respect of *C. and M. Gazette* of which you are printer, publisher and editor that for the purpose of preventing it from publishing unauthorised matter connected with the communal disorders following the resignation ten-

dered by the Punjab Coalition Ministry, an activity prejudicial to the Public Safety and the maintenance of public order, it is necessary to take action as herein-after appearing:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (a) and Clause (c) of Sub-Section (i) of Section 6 of the Punjab Public Safety Act, 1947, the Governor of the Punjab is hereby pleased to direct that you shall not for a period of fifteen days, with effect from the date on which the order is served on you, print or publish in any of the issues (including supplements) of the said *C. and M. Gazette* or any other newspaper of which you may be printer, publisher, editor any comment (including headlines thereto), any statement or report which is not official, any photograph, any correspondence, any article or any other matter whatsoever concerned with or bearing on the communal disorders in the Punjab or cases of whatever nature arising out of such disorders, or relating to any action taken in pursuance of this Order in respect of any such comment, statement, report, photograph, correspondence, article or matter, without its previous submission for scrutiny in duplicate, to the Assistant Provincial Press Adviser, Punjab, Lahore, at his office in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore, between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. by order of the Governor of the Punjab."

On August 25, in accordance with this Order, we submitted for censorship the following open letter addressed to the Qaid-e-Azam Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot:

Your Excellency and Gentlemen. Believing unservedly in the sincerity of your assurances regarding the restoration of peace in the unhappy province of the Western Punjab and in your promises of protection to minorities, I bring the following to your notice as evidence of the manner in which your assurances are being negated and your promises rendered abortive. I do this in the hope that the facts stated herein may bring about the punishment and elimination of those elements who are flouting your orders and frustrating your intentions.

Passengers by the Down Sind Express who arrived in Lahore on Saturday evening, had had experiences which they will never forget and of which they were with difficulty persuaded to speak. After the train had left Gujrat, a small body of passengers, armed with axes and knives, repeatedly stopped it by pulling the communication chord and visited each compartment in turn, ferreting out those of another community and ruthlessly butchering them. Sometimes these crimes were committed while the train was moving, sometimes in the presence of parties who rushed towards the line from the countryside whenever a stop was made.

Some passengers attempted to save themselves by crawling under the carriages, but these were pulled out and killed. Two leapt from the train and started to run across the fields. The train was stopped, chase given and the fugitives dispatched. The earlier victims were killed with hatchets, the later ones, more slowly, with knives. A woman and her three small children were among the last to die. Once the train stopped at a wayside station when no more victims remained for the sacrifice, and the murderers apologized to their co-religionists on the platform for the zeal which left them no one to kill.

Fifteen deliberate, cold-blooded murders may seem little enough to turn you, gentlemen, from the tremendous task on which you are engaged—the creation of a state from a nation. But these fifteen shared the fate of many more. Few trains indeed come to Lahore from north or east without revealing similar atrocities.

Lives could be saved, and the extension of the

death-chain which their loss ensures prevented, by the adequate guarding of trains. When at one point, the train guard of the Sind Express fired a volley of six shots, apparently over the head of a menacing mob, the miscreants turned tail and ran. Only a very small escort, armed with no more than two Sten guns, could conceivably have saved those fifteen lives and thus prevented the exacerbation of a blood feud which has attained fantastic and terrible proportions. This seems a simple way in which your assurances can be honoured and your promises fulfilled. Will you adopt it?

Assuring you of my keen interest in and high hopes for the future of Pakistan, I am, Yours respectfully, The Editor.

Later on, the same day, we were informed by telephone that, after consultation with the Premier of the Western Punjab, permission to publish this open letter had been withheld for reasons of policy ('criteria other than truth'). Quibbling may exonerate the Pakistan Government from the charge of issuing a misleading communique, since the censorship was imposed by the Governor of the Punjab and not by the Government of Pakistan and issued from Lahore, not Karachi. But we are concerned with facts, not quibbles. And we leave it to our readers to judge whether our statement regarding censorship or the denial of that statement, contained in the communique was "utterly untrue and malicious."

The helplessness of the East Punjab Government in facing public wrath at the sight of the semi-naked evacuees reaching the Indian border with their harrowing tales, might well be imagined. It was left with 3,000 policemen out of a normal force of 17,000 and that at a time when the administration was undergoing the greatest stress. The new officers had no time to understand their new responsibilities. The Muslim police could not be kept on. Reports had been received that Muslim constables were planning in certain border districts to walk over to Pakistan with their rifles and other equipments. They had to be immediately disarmed. The new Governor was an outsider. The new Ministry consisting of a Premier and a Home Minister was formed a day before the new province came into being. The Secretariat of the new Government was still in the process of transfer to Simla. There was hardly any Government worth the name in East Punjab when law and order was challenged on an unprecedented scale.

The general impression of those who had accompanied Pandit Nehru in his West Punjab tour may be boiled down to this. Lord Mountbatten hurried with the partition of India without making sure that the Boundary Force would be able to maintain peace. General Rees, Commander of the Boundary Forces, betrayed open partiality to the Muslim League when he reacted to the canards about Sikh misdeeds and shutting his eyes to what was going on in West Punjab he deployed most of his forces in East Punjab, leaving the minorities in West Punjab completely at the mercy of the Muslim troops. The studied indifference of some British officers of this Force, amounting to complicity in the massacre, was another great factor that made for disaster. Some of them openly said, "You wanted independence. You have it."

Union Powers Committee's Recommendations

The Constituent Assembly adopted the second report of the Union Powers Committee. The report envisages a strong Centre possessing residuary powers. In the case of acceding States, however, the report recommends that residuary powers should vest with them unless they consent to their vesting in the Centre.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Committee, says in the report, "Now that partition is a settled fact, we are unanimously of the view that it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak Central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of co-ordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the International sphere.

The report continues: "At the same time, we are quite clear in our minds that there are many matters in which authority must lie solely with the units and that to frame a constitution on the basis of a unitary State would be a retrograde step, both politically and administratively. We have, accordingly, come to the conclusion—a conclusion which was also reached by the Union Constitution Committee—that the soundest framework for our constitution is a Federation, with a strong Centre.

"In the matter of distributing powers between the Centre and the units, we think that the most satisfactory arrangement is to draw up three exhaustive lists on the lines followed in the Government of India Act of 1935, viz., the Federal, the Provincial and the Concurrent.

"To enable States and, if they so thought fit, Provinces also, to cede wider powers to the Centre, the Committee recommends that the constitution should empower the Federal Government to exercise authority with the Federation on matters referred to them by one or more units."

FEDERAL LIST

The Committee has included in the Federal list the item, "The strength, organisation and control of the Armed Forces raised and employed in India States," in order to maintain all the existing powers of co-ordination and control exercised over such Forces.

The report classifies powers into three categories, Federal, Provincial and Concurrent. The Federal list covers 87 subjects, including foreign affairs, communications, currency, foreign exchange, coinage, powers to deal with grave economic emergencies in any part of the territories of the Federation affecting the Federation, Insurance, Corporations, Banking, Development of Industries where development under Federal control is declared by Federal law to be expedient in the public interest, regulation of mines and oil fields and mineral development, duties of customs, taxes on income other than agricultural income, inter-unit trade and commerce, Federal manufacture and distribution of salt; regulation and control of manufacture and distribution of salt by other agencies and development of inter-unit waterways for purposes of flood control, irrigation, navigation and hydro-electric power.

PROVINCIAL LIST

The Provincial list covers such subjects as public order, police, prisons, public health and sanitation, education, water supplies, irrigation and canals, agriculture and forests.

The concurrent list includes criminal law, marriage and divorce, factories, welfare of labour, provident funds, employers' liability and workmen's compensation, health insurance, old-age pensions, (unemployment and social insurance), trade union and economic and social planning.

Moving consideration of the report, Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar said that in this country we were confronted with problems which had not confronted any other Federation in history. We had decided to bring into a federation areas which were under British sovereignty before August 15 as also areas which were in theory independent, but which were under the suzerainty of the British Crown.

He was one of those who thought that responsible Government could be achieved under a monarchical system as well as under a democratic system. That being so, in essence we could easily get over the superficial difficulties that were posed by the existence of these two systems in the two areas of this country and develop a federal constitution, which would bring about a harmonious co-ordination of governmental activities in these two sets of areas.

One of the headaches of the Indian Independence Act was the manner in which it practically encouraged the cutting off of the political connection between the Government of India and the Governments of the Indian States.

If the Bill, as originally framed, had become law, this disconnection would have been complete, but certain steps were taken in order to introduce into that Bill provisions which did not produce this calamity. But even so what was put into the Act as enacted by Parliament was not all of what was demanded from here with the full support of the statesman, who is now the Governor-General of this Dominion.

"Happily for this country, the overwhelming body of States coming within the geographical boundaries of the Indian Dominion had acceded to the Dominion, so that the political and constitutional connection that existed today between the States and the Centre was much closer than it ever was during the last 150 years. We had erected an organic political and constitutional structure which had commenced to function from August 15. The credit for this should primarily go to the great awakening of public opinion in the States; it should next go to the well-considered policy to inviting the accession of Indian States to the Dominion, which was announced by Sardar Patel, but above all it should go to the statesmanship and genius of Lord Mountbatten.

"The representatives of the States who are in this House", said Mr. Ayyangar, "are very substantially interested in the business which has got to be transacted here, whether it is by way of constitution making or it is by way of legislation or control over Central administration. They are vitally interested in this matter and I should like all of them to feel that there is no distinction

between them and other representatives of India who are in this House."

"But the first question which would exercise the minds of many members would be whether the distinction as regards the lodgement of residuary powers should continue to be perpetuated. There were two courses for removing that distinction. One was perhaps to go back to the Cabinet Mission's Plan and in view of the fact that the Committee had exhaustively described the subjects in the three lists we leave the residuary power in the case of the provinces also, in the provinces.

"The second proposition was action which the States might consider. Very eminent statesmen connected with the administration of Indian States had for long contended that what they wanted was a strong Centre, and if the Centre was made strong, their hesitation about coming into the Constituent Assembly and participating in its labours would disappear.

"If that view is concurred in by other administrators and people's representatives from Indian States, it is quite up to them to consider the alternative proposition of modifying the report of this committee and agreeing either wholly or partially to the lodgement of residuary powers in the Centre itself. That will be one of the things which this House will have seriously to consider."

Moulana Hasrat Mohani moved an amendment to postpone consideration of the report until the revised and final report of the Union Constitution as well as the modified objectives resolution had been considered by the Assembly. This was however defeated after a short debate in which Mr. Mohammad Sharif and Mr. Himmat-singh Maheswari supported the amendment and Mr. Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya and Dewan Chamanlal opposed it. Dewan Chamanlal pointed out that the final draft of the constitution could never be prepared unless the Union powers had been first decided upon.

Mr. Hoosain Imam speaking on the Union power's report drew pointed attention to the Indian States which, he said, should not be allowed to have more powers than units of the Indian Federation. He suggested that the approach to the States made in the report should be basically altered. The people in the Indian States who had had nothing to do with the arrangements made by their rulers should not be left worse off than they were formerly when the country was under British rule.

Mr. Hoosain Imam referred to paragraph 3 of the report which said that residuary powers should vest in the States unless they consented to their vesting in the Centre and pointed out that unlike in the provinces, the bulk of the States had no legislatures or democratic institutions. He wanted that the rights and privileges which were to be vested in the States should not be handed over to all the five-hundred and odd States but only to the few progressive modern States which might be given the equivalent of provincial autonomy but the vast majority of them should either join up with other States and form themselves into compact units or must be linked up with the Union of India.

It would be very wrong to allow autocratic rulers to exercise more powers than what a Provincial Ministry run by representatives of the people normally did. The right

of Indian States to impose any of the Federal taxes must be taken away. No one other than the federal authority must have this right. Similarly concurrent powers of the Centre should also be made applicable to Indian States in common with the provinces. Mr. Hoosain Imam also referred to the provision in the report, that any attempt to go beyond the terms of the May 16 report dealing with Federal subjects should be made with the consent of the Indian State concerned and said after August 15 the Assembly was not bound by the terms of May 16 statement.

If any of the States remained out of the Union they could be brought in by "economic pressure and other strong persuasive measures" which the Central Government could apply.

Mr. Hoosain Imam pointed out that what he was suggesting was not any encroachment on the powers of the Indian States. "We want to make them what they really are, units of the federation. We have never heard of a federation having different powers in different units."

Mr. K. Santanam criticised the "attempt in the report to saddle the Centre with all sorts of powers," and said the Centre should really divest itself of some of the responsibility for matters which directly concerned the provinces. The framers of the report had made a wrong approach to the problem. He too was anxious to have a strong Central Government but his approach was a little different.

He did not want the Centre to be responsible for everything. The initial responsibility for the well-being of the provinces should rest with the provincial Governments and only strictly all-India matters should be dealt with by the Centre. The real strength of the Central Government lay in freeing itself from responsibility for subjects which were not germane to all India and which should be dealt with by the provinces.

Quoting a few instances Mr. Santanam said he could not understand why vagrancy should be a Central responsibility. Similarly there was economic planning. While he could understand the need for co-ordination he did not like the idea of the Central Government interfering in all planning by Provincial Governments. Similarly there was the question of financial distributions from the Centre. Unless the approach to this question was radically altered within three years, the Centre would have all the provinces at its mercy begging for doles for this, that and everything. This would surely be an unenviable position. There is no point in drying up your feet and legs and then say my heart is swollen.

Mr. Jinnah on Future of Pakistan

In his first Presidential address to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah outlined the future policy of Pakistan and enunciated the fundamental rights that every citizen in Pakistan would enjoy. He said:

"I hope that with your support and co-operation, we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future

constitution of Pakistan and the second is to function as a full and complete sovereign body as the federal legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the federal legislature of Pakistan. Not only we but the whole world wonder at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plans of creating and establishing two Independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic and unparalleled. And what is important is that we have achieved it peacefully.

In dealing with our first function of this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment but I can say one or two things. I would like to emphasise that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body. It, therefore, places on you the greatest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order so that life and property and costs.

religious belief are fully protected by the State at all. "One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering is bribery and corruption which means we must put that down with an iron hand, and I hope that you will take adequate measure as soon as possible for this Assembly to handle it. That really is a poison.

Severely condemning black-marketing and nepotism, Mr. Jinnah said :

"You have to tackle this monster—a crime against society in our distressed conditions, in our shortage of food and the essential commodities of life. Black-marketeers ought to be very severely punished because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities. The next thing that strikes me is nepotism and bribery, a legacy which has now been transferred to us, and I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of bribery, nepotism or any influence I find directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me."

Maintaining that division of India was the only solution of India's constitutional problem, Mr. Jinnah traced the genesis of the plan and declared the broad policy of the Pakistan State towards its people.

"I know," he said, "there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. But now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us loyally to abide by it and act honourably according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. I can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities. But the question is whether it was possible or practicable to do otherwise than what is being done. A division had to take place.

"On both sides, in Hindusthan and Pakistan, there may be sections of people who do not agree with it, who do not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution. I think when history records its verdict it will be proved by facts that it was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any other idea of a

united India would never have worked, and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. But in this division it became impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one dominion or the other."

Promising equal rights of citizenship to all Mr. Jinnah amidst cheers said :

"If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, then we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people and especially of the masses and the poor."

Addressing the minorities in particular Mr. Jinnah said : "If you work in a spirit of co-operation, forgetting the past and burying the hatchet, I will say that every one of you, no matter to what community you belong, no matter what is your colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that they should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all the angularities of majority and minority communities, provincialism and caste prejudices would vanish. These were the biggest hindrances in the way of India's attaining freedom and but for these we would have been free people long ago. Nobody could hold another nation of four hundred millions in subjugation or continue to hold for any length of time but for these.

"You are free to go to your temples and to your places of worship, in the State of Pakistan," Mr. Jinnah said, "while you may belong to one religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State."

Mr. Jinnah recalled the conditions of bitterness that existed between Roman Catholic and Protestants in England some time ago and said that even now there were some States in existence where there were discriminations.

"We are starting the State with no discrimination. No distinction between one community and another, between caste or creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.

"We should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the nation."

Mr. Jinnah assured the House that he would always be guided by the principles of justice and fairplay without any prejudice or ill-will and he was sure that with their support and co-operation he could look forward to Pakistan to be one of the greatest nations of the world.

Mr. Liaquat Ali on Citizenship Rights in Pakistan

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Premier of the Pakistan Government, declared in a statement that it was the first duty of his Government to ensure that every

citizen would feel that his life and property were safe and that he was free to pursue his vocation without any fear of any kind. He gave a guarantee, on August 16, 1947, that all their energies would be devoted to this end.

The following is the text of the statement :

"It is in a spirit of humility and hearts full of gratitude to God Almighty that I and my colleagues assume today the sacred responsibility of conducting the administration of the State of Pakistan. We pray to Him that He may in His infinite mercy guide our Quaid-e-Azam and bestow on us strength of mind and body so that we may well and truly discharge the onerous task that we have undertaken and justify the trust which our people have reposed in us.

"Our country embarks today upon its career of sovereign independence and it will be the constant aim of myself and my Government so to conduct its affairs that in the shortest possible measure of time it may be broadbased on the foundations of internal security and efficient administration and take its proud place in the family of nations. This object can not be achieved merely by the efforts of the Government. It requires the co-operation and single-minded devotion of every citizen of the State, whether official or non-official. I most earnestly and sincerely ask for that co-operation and call upon all irrespective of religion or politics, to put their shoulders to the wheel and play their parts in their respective spheres, in order to make Pakistan a great and glorious country.

"The *sine qua non* of progress is peace and security and it is the first duty of the State to ensure that every citizen may feel that his life and property are safe and he is free to pursue his vocation without fear of any kind. To this end all our energies will be devoted and I give this guarantee that my Government will never hesitate to put down lawlessness and activities subversive of peace by using all the resources at its command against whomsoever they may have to be employed.

"The task before us will also call for great sacrifices and much self-denial and I am confident that our people, who have already shown the highest spirit of sacrifice and selflessness during the past years of trial and tribulation, will not now fail themselves and their country, whose independence they have achieved but which has still to be made stable and strong. It is essential that every national of Pakistan should now cultivate a new outlook which will enable him or her to put the interest of the State before that of the self. The long tradition of alien rule bred a feeling that the Government was somebody else's concern and that it was legitimate to secure for oneself any advantage one could get at the expense of the State. There must now be a radical change in that attitude of mind and every citizen must ensure that as far as lies in his power, he will allow no harm, little or great, to come to the State. The sooner this psychological transformation takes place among its peoples, the sooner will profiteering, blackmarketing and other anti-social activities disappear from Pakistan and every

constructive endeavour will yield the maximum possible result.

"I would like to say a special word to each of the provinces of Pakistan. I assure them that we shall favour none above another and as far as it is humanly possible, we shall treat all equally. In the matter of bestowing State patronage, granting assistance, recruiting personnel for the Central administration and in every other matter we shall recognise no distinction between Sindhi, Punjabee, Baluchi, Pathan or Bengalee. All will get a fair deal and equal opportunity.

"The geographical distance of Eastern Pakistan will not make us forget the special interests and problems of that great province which is the home of nearly one-third of the population of our State. Let me also make it plain to all concerned that we shall take stern measures to curb the spirit of narrow provincialism, should it manifest itself in any shape or form in any department or section of Government. But I am confident that the need for such action will not arise. On their part, the people of different parts of Pakistan should cease to think in terms of their own province but as members of a common family—as Pakistanis first and Sindhis, Punjabees and Bengalees afterwards.

"The public servants of Pakistan belonging to all ranks, I pay my warmest tribute for the splendid spirit of service and devotion, which they have shown ever since the division of India was announced and they knew that henceforth it would be their privilege to serve their national State. I know how they have worked and under what difficult conditions, and I and my Government are proud of them. But the need for hard and ungrudging work is not over yet and I would remind them of what Quaid-e-Azam has said : 'We must all work double shift if necessary. I know it will be necessary and I know also that our splendid civilian man-power will gladly stand up to the strain'."

Pakistan C.-in-C. Wants to be Ready for War

General Sir Frank Messervy, in a special Pakistan Army Order of the Day issued on the occasion of the Flag-hoisting ceremony at the Northern Command Headquarters on August 15, said, "We have real and honourable military tasks to fulfil in the holding of the gate of the continent which contains the territories of Pakistan and India. The constant task means that we must be trained and equipped and always ready for wars." The order continues :

"I am proud to be your first Commander-in-Chief. We will work together to make Pakistan Army second to none as a happy and efficient organisation which will train good soldiers and good citizens.

"Today marks the foundation of the Dominion of Pakistan and Pakistan Army. Units of our army have a great history and tradition behind them. Men of whom these units are composed have also great fighting traditions. They and their forebears have proved themselves in battle in many wars as gallant soldiers.

With such background and such splendid material I have no fears as to the efficiency of the Pakistan Army.

"There is much to be done. Units have to be reconstituted and reorganised. Shortage of officers had to be made good. This means hard work inspired by true spirit and endeavour for the good of our men in Pakistan.

Efficiency and economy must be our watchwords. All rank must help by most careful attention towards the maintenance of all stores, equipment and clothing."

Searchlight on Hyderabad

Seven-eighths of Hyderabad subjects are non-Muslims and yet Muslims have four-fifths of the top administrative posts and most of the landlords are Muslims. At present a three-cornered fight is in progress between the Nizam, the Congress and the Communists for winning power in the State. The condition of poverty-ridden and famine-stricken masses is tragic. The Nizam is reported to be moving strenuously to end Hyderabad's land-locked condition by securing special rights in or possession of the nearby ports of Masulipatam, Vizagapatam and Portuguese Goa. On the other hand, Britain's anxiety to retain strategic bases in Hyderabad is gradually coming to light. Mr. Andrew Roth, an American journalist, has extensively toured Hyderabad and, in an article published in the *Bharat Jyoti* gives a first-hand and detailed account of the present explosive situation prevailing there. The article was written a few days before August 15 but is still full of information of topical interest which gives an insight into the state of affairs in the Nizam's Dominion. Roth writes:

While the painful amputation of Pakistan from the Indian Union is proceeding, the question of whether the sub-continent will be further dismembered is being fought out in Hyderabad, the 'Premier State' of India and the domain of the Nizam, the richest man in the world. Considerable disturbances are anticipated in the near future, disturbances which may reach civil war proportions.

Although the Nizam is world-famous for his personal fortune of over 2 billion dollars—most of which is salted away in precious jewels—his political ambitions are not exactly petty. Over two centuries ago the founder of Nizam's dynasty utilized the decay of the Moghul Empire to carve out a sizeable domain in South Central India, and now the Nizam wants to repeat the process. Less than ten days after the June 3rd announcement of Britain's intention to transfer power to two Indian dominions, the Nizam announced that with Britain's departure "I shall become entitled to resume the status of an independent sovereign."

He not only wants to remove from the Indian Union present-day Hyderabad, with a territory larger than France and a population of 18 millions, but also the adjoining area of Berar which was leased in perpetuity to the British. He is moving strenuously to end Hyderabad's landlocked condition by securing special rights in or possession of the nearby ports of Masulipatam, Vizagapatam and Portuguese Goa. New recruits are being added to his war-experienced army and a 3,000,000,000 rupee

programme of industrialisation is being pushed forward.

Although the Nizam's excuse for seceding is that India is being divided along religious lines and that it would disturb Hindu-Muslim relations within Hyderabad to link up with either side, few people take this seriously. Although the Nizam is a pious Muslim, and has married his heir and second son to the daughter and the niece of the ex-Caliph of Islam, seven-eighths of his subjects are non-Muslims. The only real choice is to join with the Hindu-majority provinces of the Indian Union which surround it or attempt to preserve a precarious independence.

Mr. Jinnah is supporting the Nizam's independence move because he fears Hyderabad's joining with the Indian Union would tend to dwarf further Pakistan, which even now has only one-third the population and a lesser proportion of area and resources.

But the most fervent support for Hyderabad's independence movement comes from the *Majlis-i-Ittahad-ul-Muslemin*, the organisation of the ruling Muslim caste. Although an eighth of the total population, Muslims have four-fifths of the top administrative posts as well as most of the teaching, clerical and police. Most of the biggest landlords are also Muslims.

At a recent Conference with a number of Majlis leaders, one of them began talking about the "two nations" (Hindus and Muslims) to be found in Hyderabad. Roth says:

When I pointed out to him that according to the "two-nation" theory of Mr. Jinnah, Muslims were only supposed to rule where they were in a majority, he replied with complete frankness: "You make up your theory to suit your interest. In Hyderabad, we, Muslims, have been the ruling nation for seven hundred years by the inherent right of conquest. All this conflict between Hindus and Muslims is a battle for power and we are not going to part with power here if we can help it. We support H.E.H. (His Exalted Highness, the title of the Nizam) because he is the embodiment of Muslim rule."

Although the Majlis has won a considerable amount of support among lower middle class Muslims in the cities—by promising them job preference—they have had less success among the Muslim peasantry and labourers. Last autumn, on the eve of a textile strike, a Majlis leader appealed: "Muslims should not join the strike . . . because you are the rulers here and hence you should not beg. Moreover, the management is Muslim. Muslim should not fight Muslim." At a subsequent labour meeting a Muslim worker named Ibrahim retorted to the applause of his fellows: "Look! Behold a 'ruler' standing before you . . . who earns eight annas a day!"

The *Majlis* people are so fanatic concerning 'Muslim interests' that they have succeeded in overthrowing two Prime Ministers both of them Muslims—within one year for not being fervent enough in their defence. The present Prime Minister, the Nawab of Chhatari, was forced out of office a year ago because he did not get apoplectic about some imagined slight to Islam.

His successor, wily Sir Mirza Ismail, decided that the best way to preserve the Nizam's dynasty was to win over a section of the opposition by making very slight concessions. To

ally demands for a democratic government responsible to the people, he brought forward a Legislative Assembly with only advisory powers, with two-fifths of its members nominated by the Nizam and the remainder elected by an electorate restricted to 15 per cent of the people. He also proposed that non-Muslims, who comprise seven-eighths of the population, be given half of the government jobs. This was a very important concession because Hyderabad, like the remainder of India, is unindustrialized and government is the chief employer. Sir Mirza wanted to go a bit further by promising to restore civil liberties and proclaim the intention of establishing "a democratic form of government." But the *Majlis* was up in arms against these attempts to "degrade" the dominant Muslims to the level of the Hindus and ignore the "historical superiority of the Muslims," and prevented further compromise.

As a result of the paucity of concessions, Congress boycotted the first elections held under these reforms last December and most of the elected seats were uncontested. Finally, the fanatic opposition of the *Majlis* forced Sir Mirza out of office. This same uncompromising spirit may force the State Congress to launch a civil disobedience campaign to achieve its ends.

British Instigation in Hyderabad

There has been considerable speculation about the role Britain has played in Hyderabad's independence bid. The traditional British official cannot help but think of Hyderabad as a base for British influence. For 150 years, the well-equipped garrison city of Secunderabad has been one of the sub-continent's important strategic centres and—until it was handed back last year—it was completely under British control. The Nizam bears the title "Faithful Ally of the British Government" because of the decisive help Hyderabad gave the British in suppressing the Rebellion of 1857 and in aligning Indian Muslims against the Muslim Ottoman Empire in 1914-18.

Recently, Sir Reginald Coupland, whose academic studies frequently are previous of official policy, suggested in his book, *The Constitutional Problem of India*, that British influence on the sub-continent be preserved by stationing R. A. F. units in princely States: "A group of aerodromes occupied by British air-men in the heart of India, would accord with the strategic needs of the British Commonwealth."

Britain's economic crisis also makes continued influence urgent in Hyderabad whose treasury has a large surplus and its credit position (even without the backing of Nizam's personal fortune) is among the best in the East. The hope is, Roth anticipates, that virtually all of the foreign purchases for the contemplated 3.6 billion rupees industrialization scheme will be made in the U. K. Last year, the Revenue Member of the Nizam's Government, an Englishman named V. W. Grigson, made a determined but unsuccessful effort to prevent the appointment of an American trained Indian Engineer for fear he would favour the installation of American rather than British equipment.

Discussing the camouflaged strategy pursued in Hyderabad, Roth says:

The realistic architects of present-day British policy realize that it is not possible to retain such places as Hyderabad and Kashmir openly as British strategic-economic enclaves completely independent of the Indian dominions because this would infuriate Indian nationalists and thus run contrary to London's basic policy of keeping the Indian Dominions within the Commonwealth by conciliatory political policies and strong economic alliances. They also realize that Hyderabad's independence bid may precipitate a mass civil disobedience movement by Congress which may topple completely the Nizam's dynasty—and its strong pro-British bias. It is largely to mollify the Congress elements that both the Viceroy and Mr. Attlee have publicly urged the princely State not to attempt independence.

At the moment the confidential advice being offered by British official sources to the Nizam appears to be to link up with the Indian Union to the minimum extent necessary to prevent open conflict but to preserve as much as possible the royal prerogatives of the "Faithful Ally of the British Government."

British troops have virtually all been withdrawn, but the instructors and equipment of the Nizam's troops will continue to be British.

The Struggle in Hyderabad

With deep insight and knowledge Roth has described the struggle in Hyderabad as follows:

"Pandit Nehru has declared that Hyderabad will be considered 'hostile' if it does not join the Indian Union and British recognition of its independence an 'unfriendly act.' At the June meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress—which is linked to the All-India National Congress—over 100,000 people applauded its demand for democratic Government and political freedom and its threat of mass civil disobedience if the Nizam goes ahead with his independence plans.

"The State Congress' almost 250,000 members make it Hyderabad's strongest organization. It is particularly strong in the middle class of the State's Hindu majority but has little support either among the 12 per cent Moslems or the 25 per cent 'untouchables.' 'The 'untouchables' seem to prefer their own organizations while nowadays the Moslems who are opposed to the *status quo* here become Communists," a leading Congress spokesman explained.

"Although the Scheduled Castes Federation—the chief organization of the 'untouchables'—and the Communists disagree with one another and with the Congress on a number of questions they are all in agreement in opposing the Nizam's bid for independence. The Nizam's supporters trot out the names of 'leaders of the untouchables' who favour independence, but on close examination they turn out to be mercenary stooges—bought and paid for.

"Demonstrations in May gave a slight indication of how explosive sentiment in Hyderabad really is. Jai Prakash Narain, leader of the Socialist wing of Congress, was expelled from the State after a speech which, according to the official communique, "contained objectionable references to His Exalted High-

nam," the Nizam. When word of the expulsion spread, numerous demonstrations were held, ending in clashes between Congress supporters and the police and military in which a number of civilians were killed.

Congress leaders are under no illusions as to the force with which the State will suppress any real threat, for even in peaceful times the police have a tradition of violence. Last year Padmaja Naidu, one of India's most famous women leaders, made a study of police violence. She found that in Machredipalli, a collector ordered the confiscation of all the grain because the village was somewhat in arrears in grain collection. All houses were entered, including Moslem houses where unprotected women protested the violation of their *purdah* (seclusion). One house was entered while a wedding was taking place and the wedding guests were beaten. Gathering resentment exploded in an attack on the collector, who returned later with police reinforcements. At midnight—although Hyderabad law forbids arrests and house searches between sunset and sunrise—the police entered all the houses, beating and then arresting the men. The women, left unprotected, were abused. A sixty-year old woman was beaten for trying to protect her three sons who were thrashed in her presence. Two young sisters were raped and when they fled to their brother's house in the next village in shame and fear, they were arrested together with their husbands, brother and mother. They were detained until the police had extorted 300 rupees in bribes.

Should matters develop to open warfare between the Nizam and Congress, the latter may unleash one of its strongest potential weapons, regional loyalties. Hyderabad is a somewhat artificial aggregation of three regions, all having affinities to adjoining areas in the Indian Union. Fully 50 per cent of its population are Telugu-speaking and the Andhra region they inhabit continues into Madras province. Another 25 per cent speak Marathi and have a common culture and contiguous area with the people of the Maharashtra area of Bombay province. Another 10 per cent speak Kanarese like the people of the adjoining Kannada area. The official language of Urdu is the primary language of less than 15 per cent, and this almost entirely in the cities, despite long years' efforts by the dynasty to impose it in order to obliterate regional loyalties. If the State Congress launched a movement to attach the Andhra, Maharashtra and Kannada areas of Hyderabad to the contiguous regions in the Indian Union, it would certainly get considerable support, particularly in 30 border districts.

The State Congress people will not, however, launch any conflict without a go-ahead signal from Pandit Nehru and other Indian Union leaders. Although the latter make strong statements and hold the threat of mass civil disobedience over the head of the Nizam and apply economic pressures such as the withholding of freight cars, they seem undecided about precipitating an open conflict.

Pandit Nehru has suggested that if Hyderabad does not join the Union, recognition of the Union's

supremacy or paramountcy will be acceptable. And Krishna Menon, his personal envoy, who has visited Hyderabad twice in the recent past, is quoted as telling intimates: "Don't be too hard on Hyderabad. We'll probably be able to get an informal agreement with it on defence and foreign affairs."

Both the State authorities and the Congress leaders are confident of winning the battle over Hyderabad's independence, but they are somewhat reluctant to begin fighting, partly out of fear that the victory will go to a third party. "If the Nizam goes ahead with his plans for independence," a Congress leader explained, "we'll begin non-violent resistance and—because we don't believe in underground organizations—we'll be clapped into jail. Then the leadership will probably flow into the hands of the Socialists and Communists, who have no faith in non-violence and believe in underground organization." Both Congress and the authorities are afraid that if a mass movement starts, it will rapidly develop into an agrarian revolt.

Peasant Revolt in Hyderabad

Explaining the nature of the agricultural set-up and the depth of agrarian discontent, Roth says:

Agriculture in Hyderabad—which is the life of 90 per cent of its people—is like a page out of medieval European history. It is a domain of huge landlords—the Nizam himself owning 8,014 square miles which bring in an annual rental of 20 million rupees. The 110 top landlords own 42 per cent of the land of the State and the rent they extract—60 million rupees—equals three-fourths of the State budget. In addition they demand certain feudal dues, such as unpaid labour, and cash contributions when their children get married, when they want to buy a car or build a house.

Thus a landlord of Vishnur forced his peasants to contribute eighty thousand rupees of the two hundred thousand he spent on building himself a house. This same man forced a young peasant woman who had only three days before delivered a baby to work in his fields for several hours. The new-born baby died in her absence. Furthermore, these large landlords are permitted their own police, courts and jails.

Agrarian discontent is very general and is not a result of political agitation. In a recent trip into Nallagonda district I polled scores of peasants, asking their opinions first on political questions and then on their economic status. Hardly any of them had even heard the names of Gandhi, Nehru or Jinnah or knew about the division of India or the Nizam's plans for independence.

"Why ask us about such things?" demanded a lean, white-turbaned peasant. "Those are matters for the educated or city folk. All we know is that we work all day and don't get enough food or clothes." Every peasant asked what he wanted most shot back immediately: "Enough food and clothes."

By mobilizing this strong economic discontent the Communists have been able to gain a strong foothold particularly in the Andhra region. The Communists have been working through the Andhra Conference, an organization they captured in 1942 when it was one of the three regional components of the State Congress movement. But although their zealous young organizers trudged from village to

village for many months they did not begin to make real headway until 1946, when a severe drought and near famine—and the fact that no one else seemed to be doing anything much for them—made the peasants more willing to listen. Village committees were formed which presented fairly moderate demands. *Begar*, or unpaid labour should be remunerated at 90 seers (180 lbs.) of grain instead of the 40 which had been customary and the hours of work be reduced to from 12 to 8. Furthermore, they insisted that the lands which had been seized within recent years by the landlords be returned to the peasants whom they had evicted and that the peasants be allowed to cultivate their fallow lands.

Events took a new turn in July 1946 when the police killed Komaraiah, a Conference Organiser in Kadavendi and took refuge in the landlord's fortlike residence. The peasants carried the dead man's body through the town, reviling the landlord as a murderer and beat off an attack by over a hundred of his armed thugs. After thrashing the thugs they surrounded the landlord's residence, demanded he turn over the murderers and when he didn't begin stripping his orchard and confiscating grain. The peasants were so numerous and infuriated that some fifty police reinforcements which were called in didn't dare fire.

The Communists, taking this as an indication of a new militance, stepped up their pace. Successful strikes were held in a number of villages securing more pay and less hours. In a number of villages they led the peasants to seize and divide up the landlord's land, leaving him 100-200 acres for his own cultivation. "Village volunteers" were trained to protect the villagers against the landlord's goondas (*thugs*) and 'People's Courts' were set up in which "enemies of the people" were punished by boycott. The pattern of the Chinese Communists was obvious. By the end of 1946, the Andhra Conference claimed 100,000 members.

Then the campaign of terrorisation began. The Conference and the Communist Party were declared illegal. In October, 4,000 troops and armed police were moved into Nallagonda district, mass raids were launched and very heavy collective fines were imposed. In two months, 40 villages were raided, over 2,000 arrested and a number of persons killed in clashes connected with these raids. Roth testifies that in many of the cases, rape and looting accompanied the operations. Since August 15, when the Nizam declared his independence, repression has continued with the utmost rigour. In the post-independence phase of the movement, the Hyderabad State Congress, under the leadership of Ramanand Tirtha, has taken the lead and is directing the movement with vigour.

Disillusionment of Sind Muslims

"Our patience and goodwill have been taxed to the utmost; we wanted bread but we have received stone"—thus said a prominent Muslim League M.L.A. of Sind, who is also a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, in the course of a talk to Prof. D. L. Khiaura, who has published it in the *Bharatjyoti*. The Sindhi Muslim told the Professor, "I can tell you this, that if today a referendum were held to ascertain whether the Sindhi Muslims want Pakistan or Independent Sind, 80 per cent people will cast their votes

for independent Sind. As it is, we are perfect strangers in our own homes. It is the story of the proverbial Arab and the camel come true." This is the present-day general feeling among the Sindhi Moslems. Just before the establishment of Pakistan, the Muslims of Sind had started a regular crusade against the Hindus, taking full advantage of their *brute majority* in the Legislature. Hindus, who form 27 per cent of the population, were given 40 per cent of the jobs. This has been reduced strictly to the population ratio. The Sind Land Mortgage Act was passed whereby any land purchased by a Hindu from a Muslim after the year 1902 was to be returned to the latter. The notorious Sind University Act was passed in which the Government nominees and the illiterate representatives from rural areas will have a permanent majority over the town representatives and learned professors and scholars. The Money Lenders' Act was passed whereby Hindu bankers were disabled. Trade was also denied to the minorities.

The reaction has come, but has come from an entirely different and unexpected quarter which seems to have almost upset the Sindhi Muslim who was just in a position to enjoy his "pound of flesh" he has cut out from his Hindu brother, who is just as much an Indian as he himself was. He has now begun to feel the evils of provincial or communal overlordship which he had himself started. Here is Prof. Khiaura's revealing statement:

This was only two months ago. Today, however, it is "The biter bit," and he feels the sting as much. The new immigrant who considers himself superior culturally (because he feels he comes from Delhi, the seat of Moghul culture and can speak in chaste Urdu) considers the Sindhi a barbarous man, and he has already started showing him "his proper place."

The Pakistan Central Government Secretariat is full of non-Sindhi Moslem clerks and officers, all imported. Even the Patte-wallas, Chaprasis and Litt-boys have been brought from Delhi. In the Provincial Secretariat, which is now the Central Secretariat, a Sindhi Moslem was running a restaurant and he too has been driven out and one Sandbar Khan, who was the caterer in the Central Assembly, has been brought over. The worst of it all was that even appointments for the junior staff were made in Delhi and not in Karachi.

Not one from among the Sindhi Moslems has been given a seat in the Centre Cabinet, although we have enough of talent here, and there was a tacit understanding to that effect. How very strange does it look that a Province which sacrifices so much in these extraordinarily difficult days to house and feed so many tens of thousands of outsiders should be so rewarded by them? So far as the Foreign Services are concerned, we hear rumours of Ispahani, Noon, Begum Shah Nawaz, etc., being sent out but never of a Sindhi of public importance. Even in the Constituent Assembly he has only three seats in the house of 69 and is thus in a microscopic minority.

The new immigrant further feels that he comes as a matter of obligation in Sind and expects the people to house him and vacate some shops for his business. He even cites the instances from the old Islamic history when every house in Medina took

up one just to accommodate the strangers who had come from Mecca, of course, he forgets the difference between the two situations; in the present case the immigrant is an esse-loving officer or an affluent merchant or a contractor and wants to come over with his family in search of prosperity and wealth—in the past the pioneer recognising the truth of the prophet's teaching left his home and hearth, kith and kin and came down to sacrifice his life to establish the 'Kingdom of God.'

The people here seeing this sort of exploitation naturally feel averse and in spite of all Rent Control restrictions, some sort of *Pugree* has come in. The newcomer has started a 'crusade' against this 'un-Islamic' profiteering.

The people of Sind have however come to know this explorer has already sold his house, etc., in Delhi and other places at six to eight times the normal value and done tons of profiteering and this immigration is purely a commercial pursuit—hence the reluctance.

The newcomer moreover has shown scant regard for the Municipal and Hygienic laws and he has erected shop-cabins on all roads and straw-huts in all vacant maidans. He is quite unmindful of the fact that there are no urinals and lavatories in his huts and that he is spoiling the roads and doing incalculable harm to the unparalleled neatness of Karachi.

So far as the provincial politics are concerned he has already started taking sides. Some political opponents of the present Mayor of the Karachi Municipal Corporation (who is a Muslim Leaguer), have taken advantage of his presence and got *fatwa* against him (an outside Moulvi), that it is un-Islamic to prefix the word 'worshipful' to the word Mayor as the prefix should come before the name of Allah alone in his *fatwa*, there is further an expression of the hope that the Mayor would come forward himself to discard the prefix.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Sind Government, its ministers and provincial politics have become of second rate importance. Notwithstanding this, the Central Government want to make the Province still humbler. There is a persistent rumour that Sind is to be deprived of the district of Karachi, which is to be created a separate province under the Central Government. It needs no saying that without Karachi, the province will lose all charm and glamour and all that makes glory.

So far Karachi was free from such vices as pick-pocketing thefts, etc., which are associated with Delhi, Bombay and other cities. Within the last few days however such incidents have become matters of every day occurrence and the crime wave is ever at increase.

All necessities of life have gone very much dearer. Fruits, vegetables, milk, mutton, fish, butter, curds, ghee, etc., were cheaper here than anywhere else, but now the prices have shot up. The Muslims being the poorer have been affected more.

The scanty water-supply of Karachi has become much worse now and taps work for about one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening.

Nature also has protested against the change and there is a complete dearth of rainfall on the one side and the failure of the Indus on the other. Karachi district, which pays millions of rupees of land revenue every year, will bring nothing. The crops have failed completely. It is officially stated that this year Sind will produce only sufficient grain for its consumption and will not be able to export at all. This will mean so much loss of land

revenue and also of many crores which the Government makes by selling grains.

These and many other factors have opened the eyes of the Moslems and they have been crying "Sind for Sindhis." The Central Government has become furious by this slogan and Liaquat Ali Khan has replied to it saying, "Let me make it plain to all concerned that we shall take stern measures to curb the spirit of narrow provincialism, should it manifest itself in any shape or form in any department or section of Government."

Yet new thinking forces are growing in the province. I shall refer to the following passage from the editorial columns of a prominent Left-wing Muslim daily paper, "The British Conservative Party had its utility only so long as the war continued. The end of the war heralded the end of the Conservative's power and the rise of the Labour Party. The people wanted new political mechanism to deal with new forces and problems. Similarly we in Sind have to develop a realistic outlook. The League is a spent force now. It has run its course."

In this direction the young thinking Muslim is being dragged both consciously and unconsciously.

Technical Manpower

A special Sub-Committee of the Scientific Manpower Committee recently set up by the Government of India with Sir S. S. Bhatnagar as Chairman has recommended in its interim report certain urgent measures for the immediate improvement and expansion of facilities for scientific and technical training in Indian Universities and in special institutions. The Committee urges the creation of Scientific Services equal in status and emoluments with administrative services similar to that created in Great Britain. It also recommends a few changes in administrative procedure which would ensure expeditious work and greater measure of administrative freedom and initiative for scientists in the matter of appointments etc. Among a number of short-term proposals made by the Committee in this connection special mention may be made of a Scheme of Research for the training of about 200 workers. The Indian Railways possess sufficient facilities for this scheme which suggests that a recurring grant of Rs. 3.42 lakhs may be sanctioned for the purpose. The Committee also favours suitable legislative measures whereby industrial concerns may be obliged to provide technical training for qualified students whether the personnel thus trained are required by the particular concerns or not. A similar obligation must be imposed on purchases of industrial machinery.

Following are the recommendations made by the Committee on organising scientific research and technical training in the Defence Services:

(1) The Defence Organisation of the country should be developed on up-to-date scientific lines partly by organising defence research on an extensive scale through a strong scientific section dealing with the training and utilisation of resources available in the country for advance in the manufacture of defence materials. For this purpose the Defence Department should be asked to formulate a scientific project which should include research, design and engineering construction for the several branches of the Defence Forces, namely, Army, Navy and Air forces

and the project to be examined by a Commission of Experts.

(2) Since Defence Research cannot progress without the co-operation of Civil Research, effective liaison should be established immediately between the 'Civil' and 'Defence' organisations.

(3) Adequate information relating to the requirements of the Defence Organisation in respect of scientific and technical manpower being not available at this stage, the necessary details should be collected from the Defence Department immediately and examined.

The recommendations concerning the Air Forces are :

(1) The existing scheme of technical training in Civil Aviation should be correlated with that in the R.I.A.F. This measure will not only quicken the pace in the training of mechanics but will enable us to create a common pool of trained personnel between the two organisations.

(2) The Civil Aviation Training Centre at Saharanpur should be utilised for the training of both the Air Force and the Civil Aviation Personnel.

(3) Ground Engineers in Civil Aviation with A, B, C, D and licences should be employed by the Air Force; and the Air Force should be fully represented on the examination boards and the certificates endorsed as "Acceptable to the Defence services."

As a matter of general policy for immediate implementation, the Committee recommends at the outset that the Government should utilise the existing sources, *viz.*, the Universities, special institutions and industrial concerns by helping to create in them adequate facilities for higher education research and practical training. Such help as is to be given should largely be in the form of grants for the creation of scholarships on a generous scale, the purchase of equipment, the opening of post-graduate departments in the Universities which do not have any at the moment and the working of double shifts in places where scientific education is imparted. In addition, the several educational development plans prepared by the Department of Education and others must be pushed through immediately. An important recommendation of the Committee relates to the present shortage of equipment and accommodation to overcome which it urges the following measures:

(1) top priority for imports of scientific equipment and apparatus for educational institutions and rebate on their import duty;

(2) arrangements to supply war materials of scientific value now with the Disposals Directorate to research organisations without resorting to the agency of private dealers; and

(3) the creation of a suitable machinery for expediting building construction at the various training centres.

The report notes in its detailed examination that the requirements of the Governments for their contemplated large-scale public works is conditioned by a four-fold increase in the output of all categories of personnel. In order to achieve this the Committee has recommended both short-term and long-term programmes to be initiated within the next six months. The former includes the proposal of a co-operative undertaking by the industries con-

cerned and the technological institutions, 14 in number, to give intensive training to M.Sc's and graduates in technology for a period of 12 months. This scheme would cost Rs. 34 lakhs in capital and Rs. 9.88 lakhs recurring. Proposals of a three-year course in Engineering and of a double shift system in Engineering Colleges are among other short-term measures. The long-term programme envisages the creation of Regional Committees to ensure co-ordinated development of technical education and to raise its standard. The Committee recommends, further, that the Government of India should immediately make grants amounting to about Rs. 2 crores in capital spread over 5 years and Rs. 31 lakhs recurring to the institutions already recommended by the All-India Council for Technical Education. The opening of the Power Engineering Department in the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, might be expedited and the scheme of training "C" grade technicians prepared by the Labour Department might be put into operation within the next six months. Among other long-term recommendations made for the development of medical education may be mentioned proposals to open Departments of Preventive Medicine and Public Health in the Medical Colleges of Calcutta and Bombay and to start a college of Pharmacy in Calcutta at a cost of Rs. 446.3 lakhs in capital and Rs. 132.3 lakhs recurring.

The question of providing expanded facilities for the training of personnel in scientific and industrial research is closely linked up with the general question of organisation and development of scientific research in the country. The Committee accordingly recommends the following measures for immediate adoption :

(i) Levy of a statutory cess on industry on the basis of industrial production or a small surcharge on income-tax so as to realise at least Rs. 1 crore for supplementing the grant from the Government for the establishment of various National Laboratories and for providing funds to Universities and special institutions for research in all the sciences and technologies; and

(ii) an annual recurring grant of Rs. 1 crore from the Government for ensuring the continuity of research activities on a progressive scale. The Committee points out that the principle of levying cess on industry has already been accepted by the Government in the late planning and Development Department.

Need for a Radical Change in G. S. I.

The Geological Survey of India has been a close preserve of the British Imperial interests since its inception a century ago. Although it is primarily concerned with the utilisation of the mineral resources of the country, it has a vital role to play in the development of irrigation, navigation and even agriculture. Before a big irrigation project can be launched, a geological map in the greatest possible details has to be prepared to show the strength and weakness of the soil so that leakage in the proposed dam may be prevented. Similarly, soil erosion is a great factor in agriculture and the problem of silting has to be solved to keep waterways navigable. In India, these factors have been completely neglected and the G. S. I. has

been used to find out the mineral resources of the country and to devise means so that they may be utilised, to the full hundred per cent, of British capital interest of Britain. All the high posts in the G. S. I. have, therefore, been kept a close preserve for Britons. After their retirement, when they went home, lucrative jobs in the mining companies of their homeland awaited them. Some Indians of late, had been promoted to higher ranks in the Survey but it was done only when they could prove that they were completely Anglicised and de-Indianised. The Director of the G. S. I. still continues to be a Briton, even after August 15.

One typical instance of the nature of mineral exploitation may be given here. During the war, Rs. 10 per ton was fixed as the pits mouth price for manganese which is found in the Chota Nagpur Hills. Of this amount, Rs. 4.8 went to the miners which worked out at four annas per day per adult male and two and a half annas per day per adult female worker *during the war*. The State, or the Government of India received only two and a half per cent on the pits mouth price as royalty. This manganese was at this time sold in the world market at about Rs. 350 per ton. The British shareholders got a dividend of £1 where the miner received only four annas and the State only 2½ per cent of the pits mouth price! The arrangements were all complete. The Mining Act is operated in such a manner that it is easy for a British concern and almost impossible for an Indian firm to secure a mining lease. The aboriginal population of the mining areas were kept under special legislations under the close and careful patronage of the British Government so that "outside" political influences could not penetrate there to rouse them about their rights. All this was done on the plea of protecting them from Indian moneylenders.

The problem of soil erosion was never taken up by the G. S. I. because in that case it would have come into direct touch with the people who might have begun to take an active interest in its organisation. Public eye is the first thing that an exploiter would avoid, and the G. S. I. did this.

Soil erosion has become a subject of vital interest for our agriculture. It has been observed that much of the fertile soil of our mountainous and sub-montane regions are being washed away. It takes a millennium to form one inch of fertile soil but it is sufficient for a few years to wash it away. The areas in the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, hill regions of the United Provinces and the Punjab, Rajputana, Kathiawar, Bombay and Madras, where agricultural production is on a progressive decline, may be easily identified as those regions where soil erosion is taking place. If this erosion is allowed to continue, it is feared that many of these places, specially Rajputana and Kathiawar will turn in a few years into complete deserts. Seven factors have to be taken into account for planning an anti-erosion drive, namely, geological formation, rock structure, topography, climate, rainfall, nature of the soil and nature and density of vegeta-

tion. Soil erosion cannot be prevented by mere afforestation as is attempted now.

In Soviet Russia, a huge army of geologists have been trained and are maintained under the Geological Survey. All irrigation, navigation, mineral, metallurgical and agricultural problems are solved in co-operation with them. In India, this model must be followed. Wastage in essential minerals like coal must be stopped, silting up of the rivers and soil erosion must be immediately prevented. This can be done only by a nation-conscious G. S. I. The Britons and de-Indianised Indians at its top should be removed and replaced by nationally minded Indian experts. There are men like this. In India, some ten universities have post-graduate departments in geology; they may be asked to turn out geologists in larger numbers. The foreign expert myth must now go. British and American experts coming into India have first to unlearn many of their book knowledge, learn Indian geology afresh and then start work. There are Indian students, who, given requisite opportunity, can fully keep abreast the foreign experts and in many cases may leave them behind in their onward march.

A beginning must be made immediately. The whole staff of the G. S. I. should be thoroughly reorganised and in this task, the traditional seniority theory must not stand on the way. Competence and national outlook must be the two things that should first be looked into and if any comparatively junior officer satisfies these tests, the authorities should have no hesitation in promoting him to the top.

Dr. Ananda Coomarswamy

By the death of Dr. Ananda Coomarswamy in America, where he had made his home, India has lost one of its most distinguished cultural ambassadors to the West. Indeed, with his death, the last of the Titans is gone in the field of interpretation of Indian Art and Culture.

Ananda Coomarswamy was a native of Ceylon, a scion of a cultured Tamil family, son of a distinguished father and the result of a happy union between East and West. His father, Sir Muthu-coomarswamy, created a sensation in London Society, when he was a student of law there, by becoming a friend of Disraeli and the hero of one of the novels of the future Prime Minister of England.

Ananda Coomarswamy's early education was in England, and after a brilliant career at Cambridge he returned to his island-home to serve the Government as a geologist. But his real interests and desires were after the cultural things, and he forthwith started a campaign against the denationalised and half-anglicised ways of life of the people of the island.

With that end in view, he started a cultural journal to interpret India and Ceylon to the world, for to him, as to many thinking minds, the culture of these two countries are identical and has a common origin and inspiration. Lanka, to him was only a cultural projection of Aryavarta, and whatever was

great and beautiful in the island came from the mainland.

It is remarkable that single-handed and with such limited resources he did so much for Indian art. It was his intuition that enabled him to see the spirit and meaning behind the forms of Indian art.

The art of India before his time was covered under the debris of age-long indifference and ignorance of its own people, and its traditions and ideals were as good as dead. It was left to Ananda Coomaraswamy to interpret Indian art to the world and to give it its proper background and value.

Ananda Coomaraswamy was a fascinating writer. For a savant and scholar, he was not pedantic or obscure either in his ideas or in his expressions.

His critical studies of the various aspects of Asian art have depth of knowledge and show a penetrating mind and an understanding wisdom. They are not mere mental jugglery or emotional vapouring. He was seldom obscure in his explanations, seldom mystifying, however mystical or abstract the subject may be.

Gentle of speech, perfect in manners, unruffled by any hostile criticism, he moved among the small crowd that met to honour him, and had a word to say to everyone. Slightly bent with age, hair turned grey in study and service, face serene, lit by two dark eyes and with a thin beard struggling to reach his neck, he seemed an ancient *rishi* in a modern garb. He reminded one of Gurudev Tagore in his stoop, in his demeanour and even in his walk.

The Issue of Palestine

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine signed and submitted to the General Assembly its report and recommendations on the Palestine problem. The scheme advocated by the majority of the committee members contemplates "partition with economic union." The minority, however, consisting of India, Persia and Yugoslavia, proposed a scheme for setting up an independent Federal State with Jerusalem as capital.

According to the partition plan, Palestine would comprise an Arab State, a Jewish State and the "City of Jerusalem." The Arab and Jewish States would become independent after a transition period of two years commencing on September 1, 1947. The Jewish State would include Eastern Galilee, the Esdraelon plain, most of the coastal plain and the whole of the Beersheba subdistrict including the Negeb. The Arab State would comprise western Galilee, the hill country of Samaria and Judea, excluding the city of Jerusalem—and the southern coastal plain up to the Egyptian frontier. The City of Jerusalem would be placed after the transition period under international trusteeship with the United Nations as administering authority. The territory of the city of Jerusalem would cover the present Municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which would be Abu Dis, the most southern Bethlehem, the most western Ein Karen, the most northern Shifat. The

three sectors of the Arab State and the three of Jewish State would be linked together at two points of intersection—one situated south-east of Afule, in the sub-district of Nazareth and one north-east of El Majdal in the subdistrict of Gaza. Jerusalem would be demilitarised. A Trusteeship Council of the United Nations would appoint a Governor, who would be neither Arab nor Jew nor a citizen of either of the two Palestine States, nor at the time of his appointment a citizen of Jerusalem.

The partition scheme contemplates that Britain should carry on the administration of the country during the transition period under the auspices of the United Nations and, if so desired, with the assistance of one or more members of the United Nations. During this period Britain would admit into the proposed Jewish State 150,000 Jewish immigrants at a uniform monthly rate. Should the transition period last over two years, the yearly rate of immigration would be pro rata. Present restrictions governing the transfer of land within the future Jewish State would be discontinued during the transition period. The population of the territories comprising the proposed Arab and Jewish States would elect a Constituent Assembly, the electors being men and women over 20 years of age. The Constituent Assembly would appoint a Provisional Government to make the declaration guaranteeing fundamental liberties and no discrimination and to sign the treaty of Economic Union. After making this arrangements, the State would be recognised as independent and sovereign. If only one of the two proposed States should fulfil these conditions, the General Assembly of the United Nations would decide on the action to be taken. Other provisions of the partition scheme are that there should be no discrimination on grounds of race, religion or language, but each State should provide primary and secondary education for all minorities in their own language and culture. A resident of Palestine would upon the recognition of independence become a citizen of the State in which he was living unless he availed himself of the right to opt otherwise. The treaty to be signed between the Arab and Jewish States would establish an economic union of Palestine. This would include a customs union, a common currency operation in common interests of Railways, inter-State communications and on the ports of Haifa and Jaffa. It would also provide for the joint development of irrigation and soil conservation. A joint economic board composed of three representatives of each of the two Palestine States and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council would be set up for organisation and administration of the Union.

The Federal scheme proposed by India, Iran and Yugoslavia provides for a transition period of three years during which the administration is to be in the hands of an authority designated by the United Nations. During the transition period a Constituent Assembly would be elected by popular vote. The independence of the Federal State would be declared

by the General Assembly of the United Nations after the adoption by the Constituent Assembly of a constitution incorporating the following provisions :

"The Federal States to comprise a Federal Government and Governments of the Arab and Jewish States.

"The Federal Governments to be responsible for National Defence, Foreign Relations and Immigration and Currency.

"The Arab and Jewish States to enjoy full local self-government.

"The organisations of Government to include a head of the State, an Executive Body, a Federal Court, and a Federal Legislative body of two Chambers, one Chamber to be elected on the basis of proportional representation of the population as a whole, the other on the basis of equal representation of Arab and Jewish citizens.

"A single Palestine nationality and citizenship. Nondiscrimination and full equality to be guaranteed to minorities.

"The holy places would be preserved and guaranteed."

According to this minority plan a permanent international body would be set up to supervise and protect the holy place. It would be composed of three representatives designated by the United Nations and one representative of each of the recognised faiths interested in the matter.

South African Intransigence

The relationship between India and South Africa has now come to the breaking point. The passing of racially discriminatory Pegging Acts by the Union Government of South Africa against the Indian inhabitants last year embittered the relationship. Protests were made by the Indians locally in Africa and both officially and unofficially from India even before the establishment of the Interim National Government here. The South African Indians sent a delegation here which got a vigorous response and co-operation from both the Congress and the League. Therefore, because of the refusal of the South African Government to consider India's protest, economic sanctions were adopted against the South African Union. All this happened during the Wavell regime. Not content with this deadlock the Interim Government, as soon as it came into existence decided to send a feeler to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit carried on an elaborate exposition of the case there as the delegate from India and enlisted considerable support to her cause. With her exposition of the real state of affairs obtaining in South Africa, the United Nations Organisation administered a moral censure against the South African Government and recommended a readjustment of conflicting issues through mutual negotiation.

Under these circumstances, it would have been proper for the South African Government, the offender, to take initiative and break the deadlock. But Pandit

Nehru with his usual generosity came out first with a request to Field Marshall Smuts for reopening of Negotiations. Pandit Nehru made it clear that he had written to Smuts to say that he was prepared to be helpful in carrying out the resolution passed by the U. N. O. on December 8, 1946. In reply F. M. Smuts wrote :

I welcome the approach, but I think the best way to deal with the matter is for the Indian Government to send back her High Commissioner in order that through that channel exchange of views regarding the resolution can be made. It is quite impossible in a matter of this sort to conduct negotiations by correspondence. The only channel for negotiation is the High Commissioner.

Pandit Nehru could not comply with this suggestion of F. M. Smuts who capitalised this attitude in all his later observations. At the first sight it might appear that but for Nehru's stiff stand on prestige considerations, negotiations might have been reopened. But a deeper search would reveal that F. M. Smuts' obstinate refusal to implement the U. N. O.'s recommendations is alone responsible for the continuation of the deadlock. Insistence of F. M. Smuts on the restoration of the Indian High Commissioner is a shrewd attempt at converting the Indian question to a domestic issue of the South African Union Government. While Nehru's unwillingness to send back the High Commissioner and readiness at the same to nominate a body of representatives to open discussions with the representatives of the South African Government is aimed at bringing out the issue on the international plane.

Now the full text of Nehru-Smuts correspondence is out and it holds out in clear relief that this insistence of F. M. Smuts on the return of the Indian High Commissioner and refusal to commit himself to the recommendation of the U. N. O. has led to the breakdown of negotiations beyond any possibility of a restart. In his letter dated August 7, Pandit Nehru says :

I have tried my best to end the deadlock between our two Governments, but must observe with regret that, through no fault of ours, no common basis for negotiations between us has been found.

In an earlier letter, dated June 24, 1947, Pandit Nehru clarified the issue connected with the return of the Indian High Commissioner. His letter goes :

You would allow me to point out that although in your present letter the Union Government have insisted on the return of our High Commissioner we have so far had no indication that they agreed to proceed on the basis of the United Nations resolution.

That the Union Government are unwilling to abide by the U. N. verdict will be clear from their official memorandum to the United Nations, wherein they maintain that the wishes "clearly expressed by an overwhelming majority of native races in South-West Africa and by the unanimous vote of European representatives of that territory, that South-West Africa be incorporated in the Union, debars the Union

Government from acting in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly and thereby flouting the wishes of those who, under the mandate, have been committed to their charge." Thus there arises out of this mock democratic pretence on the part of South Africa a queer picture of a Government unwilling to disregard the desires of a few thousands—even if though that be a fact at all—while being ready to flout the wishes of the countries constituting the United Nations. Now therefore when the question is about to come up again before the United Nations India's position would be much stronger both logically and materially.

Britain's Medieval Colonial Policy

Nuamdi Azikiwe, the reputed African leader of Nigeria, well-known as Zik, writing in the *Daily Herald*, strongly criticises the medieval colonial policy that Britain still seeks to pursue in Africa. Zik is also known as the Gandhi of Africa and he has accepted *Satyagraha* as the political weapon for the African struggle for independence. Zik writes:

"As a colonial power, Britain practises the doctrine of 'what we have we hold,' and she has made it clear that when the Atlantic Charter was promulgated the framers 'had in mind' certain favoured nations and nationalities.

"The existence of the colour bar in the British Isles is a fact. So too, is the practice of bi-racialism in the Union of South Africa and Australia, not to mention the Colonial Empire.

"We know that there is no scientific evidence to justify segregation and discrimination based purely on racial factors. Yet the cult of *herrenvolkism* is worshipped today in the British Commonwealth and Empire.

"Politically, British colonial policy has been to grant dependent peoples constitutions which are essentially autocratic. In spite of treaty obligations, Britain has ruled British Protectorates and Mandates as if they are British Crown Colonies.

"Education is limited to the privileged. Hospitals are available not to the greatest number of the people but to a negligible minority.

"Public services are lacking in many respects: there are few water supplies, limited mileage of surfaced roads for efficient transportation, little or no good lighting system, no fire-fighting service, inadequate postal service, and virtually no police protection.

"The prisons are medieval, the penal code is oppressive, and religious freedom is a pearl of great price.

"There exists in certain colonial territories a regime of monopoly which has a stranglehold on the country's economy.

"The system of taxation is arbitrary and inequitable. The Civil Service is not as efficient as it should be, due mainly to favouritism, nepotism and racialism.

"The agricultural programme is antediluvian, as

no energetic effort is made to introduce and popularise labour-saving machinery and modern farming techniques.

"The mining policy is definitely despotic, for while State control and public ownership may be desirable in a democratic State, the Governor of a colonial territory 'may in his absolute discretion' grant, cancel, modify or renew any prospecting licence or mining right.

"Labour is exploited and victimised galore.

"Now, what are the prospects for the future? Without mincing words, let me say that it is obligatory for Britain to examine herself more critically and be willing to adjust herself to the changing conditions of contemporary colonial thought.

"It is highly desirable for Britain to cultivate the goodwill and loyalty of the colonial peoples.

"In the political sphere Britain can do this by granting more democratic constitutions leading towards political autonomy, in accordance with the will and wishes of the people concerned. Britain should examine her treaties with various colonial peoples and strive with sincerity to respect treaty obligations.

"Britain should embark also on a policy of social reconstruction in the colonies with a definite purpose of abolishing all forms of segregation and discrimination based on race, colour, creed, station in life, sex or any other such extraneous factors.

"Compulsory education should be encouraged on a universal scale to hasten the mental emancipation of the colonial peoples from the forces of intolerance, prejudice, superstition and ignorance.

"A regime of monopoly and finance capital manipulated in the interests of the *rentier* class should be curbed. If 'development corporations' are founded then the colony and its people should own part of the shareholdings on a co-operative basis.

"Taxation should be reformed.

"What I have written above is an exposition of the evil forces at work to disintegrate this great Empire, but I should not be misunderstood as declaring that Britain is necessarily the world's worst offender as a colonial power. She may be said to be the best of the worst. With the possible exception of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., I should place Britain at the top of other colonial powers.

"My disappointment is that British colonial policy is not good enough as a model for the world. With all the human and material resources of the Colonial Empire at her disposal, her short-sightedness has alienated her colonial subjects and protected peoples.

"Today, the colonial atmosphere is charged with suspicion, due to bad government by her erratic and erring colonial administrators, some of whom may be said to be 'Empire-wreckers'."

The present vain attempts of a group of power politicians in Britain to retain whatever remnants of Empire she has still left, augur ill for Britain herself. A voluntary quittal *in time* would have made her a friend in the East with benefits for both.

A Reverie on 15th August, 1947

THE Temple of Freedom has unbarred its portal. We stand in the vestibule and gaze in. But before we enter the sanctuary, let us call to mind those leaders of thought who had dreamt the dream of India's freedom and proclaimed it throughout their lives. Their message has breathed life into our people. Their message will remain alive through the ages, because our thoughts and labours have followed in the track marked out by them and now at last attained to fruition. The ideal of Indian freedom today is not the ideal of the Hindu Swaraj for which ancient Aryavarta, Dravid land, and Maharashtra had toiled in the days of yore, nor of the caste and clan independence for which the Rajput Kshatriyas had bled in our middle ages. The Indian freedom for which we are looking out expectantly, is not circumscribed by religion, clan or locality; it is no narrow sectional blessing reserved for a class. This our new freedom has agreed to accept with open arms all the gains of western civilisation and modern science; its State will follow the reformed polity which prevails all over the modern civilised world. And at the same time it will clasp to its heart the moral principles and spiritual wealth of ancient Aryavarta and medieval Hind, whose heirs we still are. This free India will cast no person, no knowledge out as an untouchable, by reason of difference in religion, race or language. Its gigantic branches will give sheltering shade to all who come under it. This is the ancient Hindu ideal of kingship:

The vision of such a free India was first seen by Ram Mohun Roy, it was preached by Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath. It was pleaded in foreign countries at the bar of world opinion by our ambassadors. Vivekananda and Ramananda Chatterji. Ideas are deathless, an idea spreads its branches and roots like the undying Banyan tree, covering an entire country. Therefore, today I first abase my head in reverence to these modern leaders of Indian thought.

"Peace, peace, my troubled heart!
Lower thy head and wait for Fate's decree
In patience. When, after a long night
Time (the Destroyer) suddenly wakes up and

Stop that merry music, stop your royal ceremonies,
Enter the temple, daughter, call for the priest,
And sit down with chastened heart, expectant
of Death."

First, the English are scuttling out of India, throwing a hopelessly bankrupt estate upon our shoulders. Before World War No. II, only two hundred crores of Rupees worth of paper money circulated in India, and our Government was legally bound to cash these notes in silver on demand. Today 1260 crores worth of notes are in circulation, that is more than *six times* the pre-war amount of hand-notes or I.O.U's have been issued by our Government. But this is not all. The rupee coins that are now in circulation, do not contain a single grain of pure silver, they are all made of brass (?) or nickel, and yet according to the accepted principles of honest currency, a rupee ought to contain 175 grains of pure silver (plus five grains of alloy for hardening it). This sort of false money—called *fiat money*, or "Government-enforced base metal," now current in India amounts to 182 crores worth, and includes one rupee paper-notes which are inconvertible (according to war-time legislation), in other words, Government is not bound to give us even *nickel* discs in exchange for these one-rupee notes! In the world outside India these notes and fiat rupees have no value except the market price of their weight as impure nickel in the case of the coins.

How will the "free and independent" State of India discharge these handnotes, totalling 1260 + 182 or 1442 crores? According to the poor ignorant economists of the benighted Victorian era, every honest Government in issuing paper-money ought to keep in its vaults bullion worth about one-third of its total note issue as liquid assets for meeting calls for conversion. This was up to the normal maximum of sanctioned note issue. But when that limit has to be exceeded in meeting increased public demand for paper-currency, the Government must keep in reserve the *full* value of the extra issue in bullion or universally-accepted currency. But the red lamp* is burning in the Red Fort of Delhi, where (I suppose) the Treasury of the free Government of India will be

"When an Indian banker wants to declare his insolvency, he sets a red lamp burning in his house, turns the idol of his god of fortune (Ganeah) upside down, and escapes.

lodged under guard of its Army Headquarters. There is no bullion in the Indian Treasury for repaying these 1442 crores of hand-notes. During World War No. II, we were soothed with the official communique that England has admitted a debt of 1174 million pounds sterling or Rs. 1566 crores as due to India (figure for 30th June, 1947). This debt is called India's *Sterling Balances*, of which the meaning in plain English is that that amount of sterling is lying in reserve in the Treasury of England to the credit of India. These sterling balances are the only cover of the India Government's war-inflated handnotes valued at 1442 crores of rupees, and would enable the Government of India to pay up its note-holders in full and thus become freed from debt. There is, in India, no other visible asset to cover this huge debt.

During World War No. 1, England contracted a debt of several thousand million dollars to the U.S.A. After that war had ended in 1918, England repaid a few yearly instalments of this debt, and then Chamberlain stopped paying anything more as interest or principal. The very name of this debt is no longer heard now. Can the black men of India expect the repayment of the full £1174 millions, where the "trans-Atlantic cousins" have been bilked? The man, who expects it, is an incurable optimist.

INFLATION AND SOARING PRICES

Secondly, the price of everything in India—and not in India alone but in the entire post-war world,—has gone up three or four times on an average, due to the "astronomical inflation" of token currency and reduced production. Our note issue during the war years has been more than *six times* the normal, therefore most classes of people in India have six times their normal buying power and are able and eager to spend in markets six rupees where in normal times they could spend only one rupee.

Let us imagine that instead of 1030 crore rupees worth of *extra* paper money, the India Government had during the war years issued the same amount of *true* currency, that is gold and silver coins (not brass or nickel). It is absolutely certain that eighty per cent of this new wealth would have been hoarded for future use as capital. The ancient Romans used to call India "a sink of gold," because the half million pounds worth of the gold coins of the Roman Emperors which were annually sent to India to pay for Indian produce, quickly went underground or were suspended from the ears and necks of the Indian ladies! (These gold hoards are now being unearthed at the mouths of the Krishna and the Caverry). But who cares to keep a damp dirty paper note? Let us buy what we can with it, before it goes the way of the German marks. Therefore our soaring prices are due entirely to inflation in the form of fiat money or false currency.

The consequence of this fourfold general increase of prices is that all workmen have enforced a corresponding increase of their pay in order to enable them to live. As in France, so in India too, Government is the largest employer, and the heightened prices have

increased the cost of the administration at least three-fold the pre-war figure. Whence is this additional money to come to the State coffers? If Government could increase the land-revenue, judicial stamp fee, postal rates, railway fares, and custom duty (by weight, not *ad valorem*) to four-times the pre-war rates, then only could it attain to solvency. None but a lunatic would expect so tremendous an increase in taxation. Therefore, there is no alternative to State insolvency, except a reduction of expenditure to one-fourth! That would cause a revolution. But how long can the real facts be concealed?

Look at France. There, thanks to an inflation even greater than India's, the salaries of *employes* (mainly Government servants, *fonctionnaires*) and the price of commodities are racing together neck-to-neck as in a Derby dead heat, and inflation is following close behind. What financial wizard can enable India to escape the same fate?

REPUDIATION OF PUBLIC DEBT

History records many examples of Governments, after long wars, turning bankrupt, or in other words, publicly declaring that they cannot repay their debts by giving true money in return for their "handnotes" or fiat money. Think of the *assignats* and *mandats* of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, which sank to 1½ francs in metallic money for 100 francs in paper, and were finally abolished without compensation to their holders. The same thing happened to the German marks after World War No. I. The U.S.A. during the long anti-slavery War (1861-65) issued inconvertible compulsory paper notes, called *Green-backs*, which soon sank from 100 cents face value to 35 cents market value or purchasing power. True, 17 years later (in 1879), the U.S.A. was able to pay them off in full, thanks to its gold discovery and enormous oil mines. But will our exhausted Jheria coal fields (all private property and not State assets) and Kolar gold mines gone down to 3000 feet already, enable the Government of free India to repeat this financial feat? If not, the State bankruptcy, which caused the downfall of the *ancien régime* or old Bourbon Government of France, is England's parting gift to India.

FOOD SHORTAGE

There is a world shortage of food and rise in food prices. Even those countries, such as America, Siam and Australia which have an abundance of wheat or rice, cannot send their surplus grain to India, for want of shipping or strikes among transport-workers and port-labourers. Even in normal years India has to import about a quarter of her grain requirements from foreign countries, as she grows only three-fourths of what she consumes. But this year owing to drought and flood, religious riots and constant strikes by all classes of labour in India, she will not succeed in harvesting more than half her expected crop total. Therefore, all our people must go half-fed, or half the population must starve outright. Our reserve stock will be exhausted in two months.

So much for the internal condition of India on the eve of independence. Let us now look outside. The obligation of Britain to defend India with all the strength of the British Commonwealth of Nations has been withdrawn in a single day and India has been called upon to take full responsibility for her own defence. We shall require at least two years of preparation and training and perfect peace (internal and external) before it is possible for us to organise our defence fully. Shall we get that respite? Wolves are prowling on our frontiers, waiting for some civil war between our provinces or the "invasion" of our Union territory by some proud Native prince, that may paralyse our national Government for a time.

And our internal enemies are more dangerous than the external ones. At the mere announcement of the coming freedom of India, a hundred factions have raised their heads; each locality, each sect, even each sub-caste, each linguistic unit, is clamouring for "complete independence" and "perfect local autonomy." We are daily hearing the cry, "Each group for itself; we refuse to recognise any other group's authority, or to do team-work with others for the common good of our country by subordinating our special interests and parochial patriotism to the interests of the commonwealth of India." Many years of co-operation, self-control, silent continuous work for the public good, and willing submission to discipline, are required before we can cure our national defects and make the Indian Union of the future as strong as a free nation ought to be if it hopes to exist in the modern world. Shall we get all these?

FOMENTED STUDENT REVOLT

On the first day of India's independence, what causes the greatest anxiety to a thoughtful patriot is the politicians' corruption of our immature lads. The most alarming threat to the new world which we wish to create in India is the lawlessness which has become ingrained in a certain section of our students. It is true that less than a quarter of our student community make political work a pretext for neglecting their legitimate duties and spurning at discipline. But they are backed by a certain type of political leaders (in whose election campaigns they assist as "camp followers" without pay), and the educational authorities are publicly humiliated and the 75 per cent of dutiful students are overborne by this boisterous minority.*

For twenty years now, ever since the visit of the Simon Commission, students, even school children in their teens, have been deliberately employed as "soldiers in the war of national liberation" and glorified as heroes and martyrs, while educationists have been publicly censured as tyrants. In consequence academic discipline and even order and peace in educational institutions, have vanished from India, most of all from

Bengal. Very frequently, on flimsy grounds, sometimes on no ground that one can see (euphemistically called *sympathetic strikes*), the bustling minority in our schools and colleges—working in federations through the province—declare strikes; they block the gates of the schools and colleges and forcibly prevent the teachers and dutiful students from entering and doing their work; teachers are assaulted in the streets, even in the examination halls invigilators and examiners have been man-handled and desks overturned to interrupt the University examination work. Their elders raise no voice of protest or moral condemnation against such antics, and hence there is nothing to disabuse these young minds of the false idea that they are thus doing national service or showing true patriotism. These students ape our political leaders by forming their own Federations, holding periodical Conventions, issuing Press Communiques, conducting party journals, and even indulging in faction fights between rival groups at public meetings. (Bose party *versus* Sen party, miniature edition).

Let us calmly judge the consequences of this lawlessness of youth under tuition. In one year there are usually 180 working days at the utmost in a college, after deducting Sundays, religious holy days, and the necessary Long Vacation from the 365 days. The teachers can personally meet their classes and the students can gain practical training in the science laboratories on not more than 180 days in the year under normal conditions. But when (as happened during the last two years) on account of strikes declared by the political leaders or by the students on their own initiative, colleges can actually work for 90 days or even less, it logically follows that the students will be able to learn a subject only to the extent of *half their syllabus* or even less. No doubt, a very small percentage of them, being tip-top boys will work steadily at home and suffer no loss through the strikes (except in practical science). But the immense majority of them will face their examination only half prepared. And they will also have to face the world half-qualified for their chosen professions, because we cannot keep any one eight years in a college to make him qualify for the four-years' graduation course. He must leave his college at the end of his fourth year, but can do so only as a half-baked graduate, and India will suffer the consequences of it.

Two examples will make my meaning clear. The Medical course in Calcutta covers five years and is preceded by preliminary training in Physics, Chemistry and Biology in the I.Sc class (two years). Thus the complete education of a Bachelor of Medicine requires seven years of work. But when, thanks to constant strikes and demonstrations, only half of any year's teaching work can be actually done, at the end of these 7 years, the final M.B. candidate will be only half-trained, counting the actual time of his instruction. The result will be exactly the same as if students were taken out in the middle of the 3rd year M.B. class, then made to sit at a final M.B. examination (so-called),

* See the reply of the Council of the Lucknow University to the Education Minister of that province.

and sent out into the world stamped as "passed M.B's." Imagine the fate of our wounded sons in some future battle for India's defence, when their only possible medical attendants are such half-trained surgeons.

Another case. Modern artillery of the long-range variety requires very high mathematical knowledge in its officers for direction, elevation and aiming, and also correction by co-ordinating reports about the effect of the shots. In a rough way we may take this requirement as equivalent to the Honours Mathematics standard. But if these artillery officers are not allowed to read peacefully up to the Honours Mathematics test (owing to these political interruptions), but are appointed when they have acquired only the equivalent of the Matric standard in Mathematics, how would such *culcha* officers crush India's invaders by their direction of gun-fire? So, too, in every other field of life. The modern world lives by competition. How can free India stand world competition in her industries, commerce, art and science, if she does not see to it that her future workers are *fully* trained? We may have the necessary capital for our proposed vast industrial expansion, but where are the skilled workmen,—the technicians, the scientists, the accountants, the engineers? The "soldiers of the war of liberation" have earned no other qualification than shouting slogans and staging demonstrations.

On sober reflection it will appear that in instigating and continuing the employment of immature lads in political agitation (miscalled national work) and destroying the peace and efficiency of our schools and colleges, we are acting exactly like the foolish farmer who eats up the seed-corn for his next year's harvest, so that his fields lie untilled and barren in future.

Where is the remedy? Where is the honest and strong Education Minister (or Vice-Chancellor) who will face initial unpopularity with a noisy section, by calling students back to their legitimate duties, remove the enemies of academic peace and efficiency from the temples of Saraswati, and thus enable the country to

rise higher and higher in the world of learning and science? Remember that the young Buddhist *Bhikkhus* (monks and novices) of old by their violation of discipline (*vinaya*), and defiance of the "Council of Elders," broke up the monasteries of India and at last Buddhism itself perished in the land of its birth.

CONCLUDING PRAYER

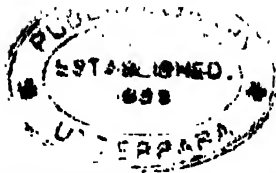
It cannot be denied, amidst all the rejoicings of this day, that a hard test is before our country. Our future prospect is not one of merry-making, or of taking a holiday, or even of slackening our efforts. On the contrary, now more than ever before when we were under the aegis of British rule, a challenge has been thrown out to all our workers, "Be fully efficient, fully disciplined, fully united, or you will perish, with none to save you." This is the day when every one of us should take the vow, silently in his heart, to turn his life into a new channel and live and work for his country, without hope of reward, without regard for self or party. If the whole nation cannot respond to this call, if it stops halfway in its noble endeavour, India is doomed.

Do not forget that liberty cannot be a gift from others, it has to be earned by tireless exertion, it has to be preserved by right thinking and unending unselfish work; "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Therefore, I call upon you to join your voice to Rabindranath Tagore's in his prayer:

Call me through your open door
To your assembly of the wide wide world,
On this blessed morning!
From the summit of sun-rise hill call aloud to me,
'Darkness has sunk in the Ocean of light,
Awake from selfishness, awake from meanness,
Awake from every form of sloth. O, awake, awake,
In many, noble splendour,
On this blessed morning!*

* A very small portion of this was broadcast from the Calcutta A.I.R. Station in Bengal on the 15th August.





PROBLEM OF GERMAN ECONOMIC REHABILITATION

By PROMODE SENGUPTA

THE pre-1914 Germany was a closely knit economic organism producing its wealth and power from a fertile soil, an abundance of raw materials, an intelligent and diligent industrial leadership, a skilled and hard-working proletariat, a well-developed and co-ordinated network of rail and water-ways, a flourishing shipping business, foreign investments, and an excellent international credit. In many respects England was fast losing her pre-eminence to the German nation.

After the first World War the defeated Germany lost six and a half million population, one-eighth of her European land area, all the colonies, two-fifth of her coal, seventy-five per cent of her iron-ore, nearly all zinc and lead, all her foreign investment, nearly all foreign trade contracts and ninety per cent of her merchant fleet. Moreover, she was condemned to pay some undefined billions of gold marks as reparations. But in one respect Germany was fortunate that time. As the war was fought on the foreign soil and as there was no aerial bombardment, German cities, industries and mines remained intact, and no industrial plant was taken out of the country as booty or reparations payment. Germany was also fortunate to have a government of her own which enjoyed full power over her national affairs.

But it took Germany several years to get over the shock of war and defeat. Revolution, counter-revolution, soaring inflation followed one after another reaching the climax in 1923. From that year, however, an upward trend set in reaching its apex in 1929, in which year Germany surpassed her own high production level of 1913 and taking her rank second only to the United States in industrial development, standard of living and potential greatness. This extraordinary recovery of German economy was the result of many causes, of which foreign loans (70 per cent coming from the United States), rationalisation, formation of trusts and combines occupy a prominent place. Due to rationalisation alone the average output per man in the rationalised industries was twenty per cent higher in 1930 than in 1913. In the coal industry, for example, 562,000 men in 1925 produced 133,000,000 tons of coal; in 1928, after rationalisation, 556,000 men produced as much as 151,000,000 tons. Similar results were obtained in metallurgical industries, automobile, chemicals, textiles and even in agriculture. In fact, in some cases rationalisation was carried to such extremes that there was a demand for "rationalising rationalisation." The German merchant marine, which was almost non-existent after the war, had risen again by 1930 to the third place with a tonnage well over four million, only surpassed by Great Britain and America.

But however dazzling the German recovery might have been, it had its weaker side common to all capitalist systems of economics. So when the 1929 shock came, Ger-

man Democracy was the first to go down under it. There were now two alternatives left open to the Germans, either to forge ahead with a Socialist planned economy for peace and prosperity or to rush headlong into imperialist adventure under a Nazi autarchic system. The German Junker militarists and industrial magnates faced with the danger of complete annihilation hurriedly pushed the Nazis to power through the wide gap that existed in the proletarian rank between the Social Democrats and Communists.

Nazi economy based on autarchy was essentially a war economy. "No other country in the world surpasses Germany in the systematic adjustment of economic life to military requirements. German economic life is completely dominated by the soldierly spirit." Thus boasted Dr. Rudolf Brinckmann, Secretary of State and Vice-President of the Reichsbank, and this in short describes the ultimate reality of National Socialist economy. In 1933, when Hitler came to power Germany was in a state of collapse. Militarily she was of no significance with hardly any army, navy or air-force, and more than six million persons, that is, one-third of her workers, were unemployed. Her production as well as trade, both internal and foreign, fell considerably. The German national income from wages and salaries which was RM. 44,466,000,000 in 1929 (out of a total national income of RM. 80,000 million) amounted only to RM. 31,756 million in 1935. By 1934, however, the worst period of the economic crisis was over, unemployment fell considerably and the national income again began to rise. And then, in 1936, Germany really moved on to a "war economy". Thereafter her entire economic life was dominated by Goering's Four Year Plan announced by Hitler before the Nuremberg Nazi Party Congress in 1936 where the Fuehrer declared, "In four years Germany must be entirely independent of foreign countries with respect to all those materials which can in any way be produced through German capability, through German chemistry, or by our machine and mining industries." Goering's slogan "cannons before butter" aptly described the nature of Nazi war economy, which was still further clarified by Dr. Schacht in a speech before the Economic Section of the German Academy in 1938 as follows: "The less the people consume, the more work can be done on armament production. The standard of living and the scale of armament production must move in opposite directions."

The main spring of German economic recovery since 1934 was State expenditure on armaments and public works which is made crystal clear by the official indices of production of capital goods (reflecting expenditure on armaments and public works) and of consumption goods, such as textiles, food industries, shoes and garments, etc.

German Indices of Production

Year	Capital Goods	Consumption Goods
1929	100	100
1932	34	76
1934	73	92
1936	113	99
1937	124	105
1938	136	113
1939 July	147	120

(League of Nations: "Monthly Bulletin of Statistics")

In the years of depression the output of capital goods fell from 100 in 1929 to 34 in 1932, while consumption goods never fell below 76. Yet by June 1939 capital goods had actually risen to 147, while consumption goods had only reached 120. It should also be noted that the figure of 120 for consumption goods is also misleading, for a large portion of the consumption goods industries, such as textile, leather, etc. produced uniforms, shoes and numerous other goods entirely for the military.

Another example was building construction. In the first nine months of 1938 the number of houses and flats declined by 21 per cent as compared with 1937, and there was an estimated shortage of 1,500,000 dwellings. At the same time many structures were raised for military barracks, training centres, depots, and Government offices.

A better and more impressive picture, however, can be gained by comparing the development in certain individual branches of industry, taking 1928 as 100. In 1938, general production was 125, production of investment goods 137, production of pig iron 157, production of lorries 205, production of copper 304, production of petrol 600.

State control of foreign trade, of exports and imports, was another means by which the Nazi Government controlled the national economy for war purposes.

Net Imports of Selected Commodities into Germany
(in '000 tons)

	1929	1938
Rubber ..	49	108
Zinc Ore ..	95	138
Lead Ore ..	114	141
Copper Ore ..	430	654
Raw Cotton ..	358	351
Eggs ..	168	102
Cheese ..	64	32
Lard ..	125	42

By 1938—one year before the war started—the famous boast of Marshal Goering (who himself did not exactly have a reputation of being a thin man) that "iron has always made an empire strong; butter only makes people fat, either we bought butter and went without freedom, or we achieved freedom and did without butter. We decided for iron. That is the cause of butter shortage,"—was already turned into reality, and eggs and cream, butter and fat, coffee and tea became very scarce.

Germany was particularly deficient in iron ore since she lost Lorraine in 1919. Before the World War I she produced 28.6 million tons of ore. In 1933 her output was only 5.3 million tons, and 20.6 million tons had to be imported from Sweden, France and Spain. One might

have supposed that in a small and densely populated country like Germany where scientific skill and engineering was so advanced, all the subterranean riches would long ago have been prospected. But that was not the case. The "Office of Sub-Soil Research" working under the Four Year Plan discovered that the Salzgitter region (which was selected for the construction of the gigantic Hermann Goering Werke) alone contained a deposit of more than 1,000,000,000 tons of iron ore. Lead, zinc, iron and copper deposits were discovered at various other places, which were all brought under exploitation. Thus through new findings and increased extraction, Germany's iron ore production rose to 12.5 million tons in 1938, while her crude oil production increased from 445,000 tons in 1936 to 600,000 tons in 1938.

In 1936 there were 161 blast furnaces in operation in Germany, with an output of 15.3 million tons of pig iron, and 18.6 million tons of raw steel production, both these figures exceeding the previous record of 1929. But even then they were not sufficient for the enormous requirements of rearmament and of the Four Year Plan which together consumed as much as 85 per cent of the total iron and steel production, and private economy was allotted only a fraction of the quantity it needed. To remedy this the Government authorised the construction of twelve new blast furnaces. Moreover, Goering formed a "Work Ring for the Four Year Plan" composed of the leading experts of industry. By such methods, by 1940, Germany was producing 24 million tons of raw steel, 19.5 million tons of pig iron, and 25.7 million tons of iron ore.

Before the World War II Germany was manufacturing more light metals than any other country. For instance, she was producing two kilograms of aluminium per head of population, compared with 1.18 kilogram in the U.S.A., 1.06 in Great Britain, and 0.67 in France. There is, however, no place to describe the extraordinary industrial progress that Germany made in various directions, such as in chemicals, in automobiles, radio, films, in "Buna" rubber made of coal and lime, benzine out of coal, Zellwolle (artificial wool and cotton) made out of wood, silk, rayon, leather, paper, ceramic, glass, musical instruments, medical instruments, motor cars, etc.

As a result of complete defeat in the World War II German economy today is utterly shattered. There cannot be any comparison between the Germany of 1919 and 1945. In 1919, the country did not experience any destructive warfare on her own soil, all the industrial establishments remained intact, the territorial loss was not great, foreign troops were stationed only in a small part of its territory, and there was a German Government. In 1945, on the contrary, the whole country is divided up and fully occupied by Four Powers, all the big industrial centres are almost completely destroyed as a result of 4 years' constant aerial bombing and later on due to merciless battles that were fought within the Reich territory, and there is no central German Government. When all these factors are considered, one can easily realise what a tremendous task it is to rehabilitate the country.

After the occupation of Germany, it was decided at the Potsdam Conference in July, 1945 by the Soviet Union, U.S.A. and Great Britain (and to which France later

on adhered) that (1) economic unity of Germany should be maintained, (2) steps should be taken to re-establish German political unity and to set up a central German administration for transport, finance, foreign trade, industry and agriculture, (3) the Nazi Party and its affiliated organisations should be dissolved (i.e., de-Nazification), (4) demilitarisation, destruction of German war potential, and dissolution of cartels and trusts should be effected, (5) German reparations should be paid over 20 years from current production and by dismantling the heavy war industries, (6) the peace industries should be reopened immediately and the German steel production enhanced up to 12,000,000 tons annually, (7) and finally, joint control of the four occupying powers over the Ruhr should be established. The Potsdam Conference also decided that in addition to the reparations to be taken from the Soviet Zone, the Soviet Union should also receive (a) 15 per cent of industrial capital equipment from other Zones, such as metallurgical, chemical, and machine manufacturing industries which are not required for Germany's peacetime economy, in exchange for an equivalent value, and (b) 10 per cent additional equipments of the above category without any exchange.

Compared to the damages Russia had suffered due to German aggression the Soviet Union's demand for 10 billion dollars worth of reparations is not much and does not even cover one-tenth of her direct loss. Although Britain and America never denied the validity of the Russian claim for these reparations, the deliveries to the Soviet Union and a number of other countries of capital equipments very essential for the rehabilitation of their war-devastated economies have been thwarted by the occupation authorities in the Western Zones. The Moscow Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers (April-May, 1947), which ended up in complete failure on all important questions, revealed the extent of the breach that exists between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. The main arguments put forward by the British and the Americans against Russia's reparation claims are, firstly, they would deprive Germany of resources which are essential to her to make her self-supporting, and secondly, the payment of reparations would place an additional burden on America and Britain, who are, they claim, already spending huge sums for feeding the Germans. The Russian reply to this is as follows:

"But these arguments will not hold water. It is known that the United States and Great Britain, whose territories were not invaded by the Germans, have already received reparations from Germany—in the shape of German foreign assets, German patents and gold, industrial equipment, merchant ships and the like—to a total value of not less than 10 million dollars. While they object to the Soviet Union receiving reparations out of current production, the British and American authorities are themselves making withdrawals out of the current production of German industries on a very wide scale.

"As to the concern that Germany shall be economically self-supporting, the facts show that the American and British monopolies are striving not for an expansion, but a further contraction of the output of the peace branches of Germany's

industry, which they regard as a potential rival to themselves. Yet, if these peace branches of industry were to work at full capacity, they could provide sufficient goods not only to meet current reparations deliveries, but also for the supply of Germany's home market and for trade with other countries.

"The Soviet reparations claim is founded precisely on this basis, namely, the demilitarisation of Germany's industry and the development of its peace branches. It is in the interest of all nations, including Germany herself, that her economy should develop along these lines."—(*New Times*, April 4, 1947).

Previously we have seen how a very large proportion of Germany's productive capacity was devoted for military purposes. An effective policy of demilitarisation in the Western Zones of Germany would release very considerable productive capacity over and above what is required to meet the peacetime needs of the country and its foreign trade, and also to produce goods on account of reparations. Take, for instance, steel. Before the war Germany was producing about 20 million tons annually (24 million tons in 1940). Therefore, the proposed steel production level of 12 million tons a year is not excessive. And yet the Control Council in Berlin set the German steel output level at only 7,500,000 tons a year, of which the annual share of the British occupation Zone, which consists of most of the largest steel plants of Germany, is about 5 million tons. Actually, however, the steel output in the British Zone is about 2 million tons. An increase of the German steel production is perfectly compatible with demilitarisation and decurtailisation with a view to safeguarding the interests of peace and security; it is also necessary for re-organising peace industries of Germany and many countries of Europe and Asia, as well as for reparation payment.

The Russians and the Western Powers are following different economic policies in their respective Zones. As soon as Russia occupied the Eastern Zone she expropriated the lands of the 10 thousand big Junkers who were the backbone of Nazi militarism and distributed them to 460 thousand peasant families. Also mines, big factories and banks were socialised. All these measures helped the Russian Zone to maintain the food ration at 1,500 calories per person per day ("workers" and "heavy workers" receiving more proportionally)—which is 30 per cent higher than in the Western Zones. This drastic land reforms also helped the resettlement of the displaced persons from East Prussia. As regards peace industries in the Russian Zone, when raw materials are available, they are running to the full capacity, and also denazification and demilitarisation have been carried out.

In the Western Zones due to lack of any plan chaotic conditions are being aggravated day by day. No far-reaching land reform was carried out, and consequently these areas which could have been self-supporting in food have to depend to a large extent on imports from foreign countries to maintain even such a meagre ration as 1,000 calories per day, and that also is not available in many places for the last six months. The mark is rapidly losing its value, and parallel with the breakdown in the systems of rationing and legal trade, the black-markers have been

consciously expanding where prices are soaring. Neither the banks nor the industries and mines have been nationalised, but the peculiarity of the situation lies in the fact that the swift depreciation of money has so far been accompanied by the enforcement of a stop on prices and wages. Consequently, the industrialists, if they at all get the raw material, have every inducement not only to sell, but also to produce, their goods illegally in the black-market. Peasants, big farmers and Junkers, feeling no obligation to the community, sabotage the deliveries of their specified quotas to the towns. Most important of all, such a system destroys all inducements to the worker to produce when he finds that a deal in the black-market will bring him just as much or more as a week of hard work.

Productivity in the British Zone of Germany

Industry	Workers employed		Output per man	
	1936	1946	1936	1946
Mining	100	91	100	48
Iron and Steel	100	59	100	27
Textiles	100	36	100	55
Forestry	100	107	100	61
Paper	100	60	111	42
Average	100	75	100	33

The immediate problem in the Western Zones today is not so much as to find employment, but to overcome the disastrous decline in productivity. To remedy this some experts advocate a radical financial reform by a quick mopping up of surplus purchasing power through the conversion of the Reichsmark, and others want a wholesale blocking of all money and a levy on all assets, as has been done in the Russian zone. This certainly would make the black-market shrink and thereby encourage a return to more normal economic relations. The three Western Allies are more or less agreed on the general principles which should govern financial reform conforming to three primary principles—that the disproportion between Germany's nominal and real wealth should be drastically reduced, that the necessary cut should fall equally on the owner of assets and of real property, and lastly, that the cut should be socially equitable, the wealthy paying proportionately more than the poor. The American Dodge or Colm-Goldsmith Plan is more or less based on these principles.

But none of these proposed reforms have been carried out with the consequence that production has been steadily declining leading to an inflationary rise in prices, while wages have remained the same. A low output per head coupled with a low utilisation of plant has in many instances raised production costs to a point at which they no longer bear any relation to official prices. Some balance, however, between costs and prices can be restored either by lowering costs or by raising prices. But in order to lower costs, higher output per head is necessary, and again, to obtain a higher output black-marketing must be reduced by relieving the idle rich of their surplus money. The heavy taxes recently imposed on the Ger-

mans paradoxically fall only on the regular incomes and not on the black-market profits which were, therefore, indirectly stimulated. Financial "democracy" thus threatens to open the vicious spiral of inflation in the Western Zones of Germany.

In Western Germany rations for the whole month cost RM. 20.—, while the income of a semi-skilled worker is RM. 150.—, that of panel doctor RM. 300.—(which is the cost of a pound of butter in the black-market). The prices of foodstuffs, coal and other raw materials remain controlled on the 1938 level. According to a recent declaration of the British Military Government in Berlin, bar iron costs RM. 150.— to produce in Germany, but the selling price had to be fixed at RM. 95.—, that is, at a loss of 35 per cent. Coal costs RM. 26.—per ton to raise, but it has to be sold at RM. 15.—. Before German economy can be put on its feet again, the purchasing power of the currency must be brought into accord with productivity as well as with that of the £ and \$.

In order to make their Zone self-supporting by 1949, the Anglo-Americans have drawn up a Three-Year Plan to become effective from 1947. Their policy is to make their zones earn enough foreign exchange, which Germany at the present moment is completely lacking, to pay for all imports of food and raw materials. Substantial dollar credits are to put at her disposal: \$697 million in 1947, \$300 million in 1948 and \$35 million in 1949—in all \$1,032 million in three years. It is, however, admitted by experts that these credits alone will not be enough to enable German industry to recover her pre-war productivity and her foreign trade which was considerable, as the following figures will show. But, it is argued that as recovery gathers momentum, and as control is relinquished stage by stage, according to plan, other countries interested in German trade will, to an increasing extent, provide private credits in ordinary course of business. The first item in pre-war German import was foodstuffs and then came agricultural raw materials and finally industrial raw materials. The exports were in the following order: Iron goods, machines, electrical machines and goods, machine tools, coal, chemical and pharmaceutical goods, dyes, paints and varnishes, paper and paper goods, copper goods, cotton tissues, woollen tissues, silk and artificial silk textures, clothing and underclothing.

German Foreign Trade
(in million Reichsmarks)

	Import	Export	Surplus
1929	13,477	13,483	+36
1932	4,666	5,739	+1073
1933	4,204	4,871	+667
1937	5,455	5,901	+446
1938	5,449	5,257	-192

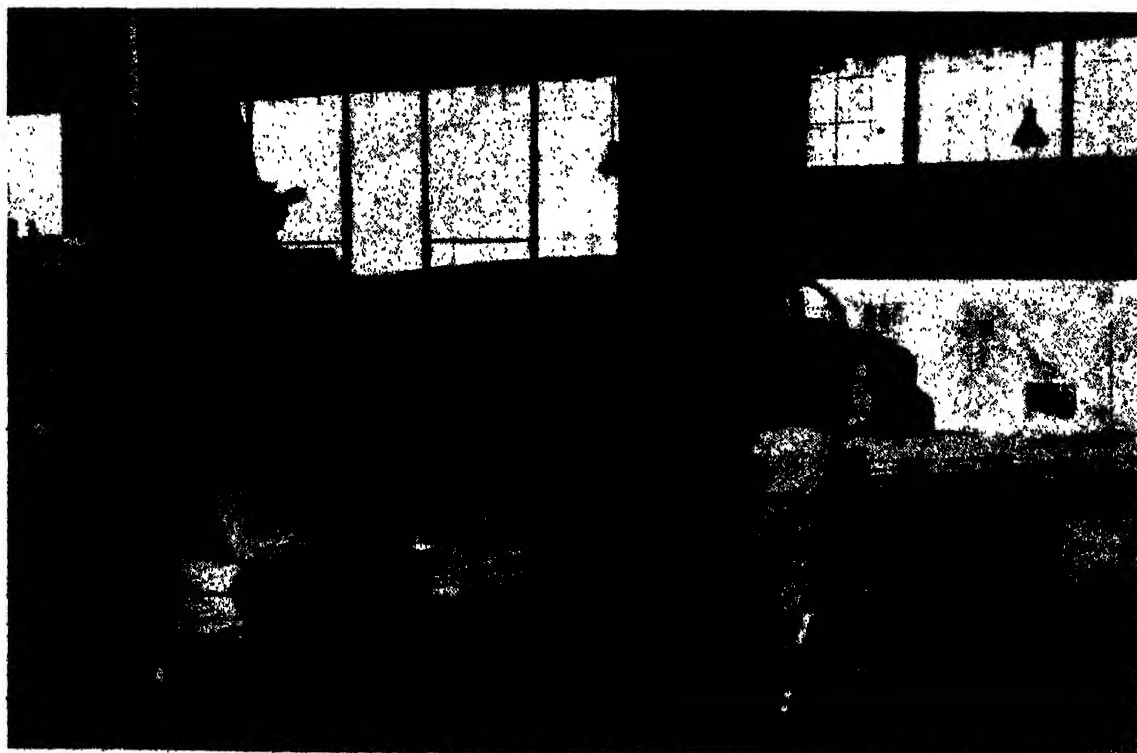
German Trade with India
(in million Reichsmarks)

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Exports to India	86.8	94.4	111.3		
Imports from India	153.9	134.7	121.3		

U. S. TEACHING LABORATORIES



The Housatonic Valley Regional High School in Connecticut offers vocational courses as well as better preparatory courses than were available in the smaller schools. The well-constructed building has a 75-acre campus



"Pasadena (a residential city in California) Junior College" students interested in industrial vocations receive up-to-date training in this modern, well-lighted machine shop



At Sand Hill, an elementary public school in Georgia, the young students are taught stenciling curtains which offers a means of self-expression as well as a method of brightening homes



At Sand Hill, first-graders listen to a folk-song played on the radio-phonograph in their cheerful classroom

Machinery Exports from 1932-34
(in RM 1000.—)

		1933	1934
Machine tools	17,839	10,990	7,253
Textile machinery	7,469	7,042	7,337
Power machinery	6,557	5,092	4,705
Transport and weighing plant	4,583	2,315	989
Paper making and printing	3,499	3,103	2,684
Agricultural machinery	1,805	1,688	1,680
Total	62,474	45,232	38,058

How long it will take Germany to catch up her pre-war level of production and foreign trade is impossible to predict under the present circumstances. One thing, however, is certain that no one expects any spectacular German revival as was brought about after the First World War, so long the country remains under four Foreign Military authorities and without any political and economic unity.

One of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of German economic recovery is coal. In 1935, Germany produced 143 million tons of coal, and 147 million tons of lignite, and she exported 35 million tons of fuel. In 1936, the average daily output of Ruhr coal was 423,000 tons. By the end of March 1946, it was at a level of 170,000 tons, but in April, immediately after miners' rations were decreased, it fell to 130,000 tons. For the minimum requirements of German industries the daily output of 400,000 tons is essential, leaving aside the question of coal deliveries to France and other countries. But up till now the record output on any one day was only 221,000 tons. In 1932, the average output per man per shift was 2.2 tons, now it averages 1.25 to 1.30 tons. At present, horses are being used underground in place of irreparable locomotives. Before the war Germany used most up-to-date methods, but today belting and conveyers are unobtainable and most primitive tools have replaced compressed-air hammers. Moreover, the physical quality of the miners has also considerably deteriorated and today youth is conspicuously absent from the German mines. In 1938, the average age of a German miner was 35, now it is 45. After the World War I, the number of Ruhr miners was 546,000, by 1932 rationalisation reduced it to 218,000. Today there are 220,000 Ruhr miners working with primitive tools. It has been estimated that even if machinery could be installed, at least 100,000 more miners would be needed to bring production up to the 4,000 tons daily level required.

Coal and steel are the keys to German economic rehabilitation. But due to shortage of coal the steel production could hardly be screwed up to half a million tons per quarter. After the ration cut when the coal output decreased, steel production also simultaneously fell to one-fourth million tons. As most industries and building construction depend on coal and steel and as their production is far short of the requirements, German reconstruction is at a complete standstill. In October, 1946, when Mr. Hynd, the British Minister in charge of occupied Germany, com-

placently declared before Parliament that "the battle of summer in Germany has been won," the British Military authorities in Western Germany had to announce the closing down of five of the biggest remaining steel plants in the Ruhr for lack of coal; and only two or three months later in many cities like Hamburg, Hanover, Cologne, many a mother woke up in the morning only to find her child frozen to death.

The allocation, as opposed to production, of coal, which has been a matter for the Four Powers to decide, has raised a lot of controversy. The British put the blame on the Allied allocation of coal to export, while the other Allies have laid the blame for the declining coal output on British mismanagement as regards production. At Potsdam the Allies had decided that the Ruhr should export 25,000,000 tons of coal by April, 1946. Actually, however, the rate of German coal export has been maintained at a much lower level between 1,138,000 and 1,740,000 tons a month, which has been a constant cause of friction between Britain and France. At the same time it has to be observed that considering the low level of production of coal its rate of export is too high. This means that the already inadequate allocations to the Western zones of Germany are cut to a figure which is too small to meet even the minimum level of their own requirements.

Coal is regarded as the first priority. But what has been done to increase its production; what incentives have been given to the miner? Nothing. As has been mentioned before, the cut in the miners' rations proved to be disastrous for coal production. When in June last year extra rations were restored to the miner, although not sufficiently, production again increased to some extent. Miners' social insurance payment and special old age insurance were halved. Moreover, repair of miners' houses should have had first preference and yet building workers from the Ruhr were sent away to Hamburg to build flats for the British Control Commission Headquarters. At present, when a miner has worked, say, 3 shifts, he has earned enough money to buy what is available on his ration card. To work a fourth or fifth shift will not bring him enough to buy in the black-market. It is, therefore, in his interest to spend the rest of his time scouring the farms for food, working in his allotment, trading, if he can, in the black-market, etc. The only way to induce the miner to work more shifts is directly to increase his incentive by raising his rations substantially, by placing a certain number of consumer's goods at his disposal, and by granting bonuses for regular attendance, etc. In fact, these were the recommendations of the Quadripartite Commission set up some time ago to study ways and means of raising coal production.

One of the most fundamental economic questions has not yet been decided in the Western zones of Germany, namely, the question of ownership of industries. One objection of the Military authorities to transfer the industries to public ownership is that nationalisation is not possible as long as Germany does

not possess a National Government of its own. But this is not a valid argument; say the Germans, for the Governments of the *Laender* (Provinces) could easily assume the ownership of socialised industries for the present. In the Province of Hessen, for instance, the principle of public ownership of industry has been inserted in the Constitution, but this was vetoed by the American Military Government, though the Constitution was adopted by a large majority of the *Landtag*. The Americans demanded that the clause about socialisation be submitted to a special referendum. When this took place in December, 1946, it was found that socialisation was again voted for by a two-thirds majority. Apart from the Americans, the German Christian Democrats, a Right Wing Party favoured by the Americans, are also strongly opposed to socialisation.

The average German who had cherished high hopes about British "socialism" and American "democracy" is being fast disillusioned. Instead of seeing discipline, decision and the will to carry it out, efficiency and order in them, he sees only muddle, indecision, incapacity and sinister motives. In the British and American zones German coal-mine owners and steel magnates have been expropriated by the military authorities—undoubtedly a step in the right direction. But the important question that arises is—who is to take their place? The appointment of some of the former owners, directors and managers, who were big Nazi bosses, to highly responsible posts has caused much resentment among the anti-Nazi circles in Germany as well as abroad. While in the Russian zone more and more authority is being delegated to the Trade Unions, in the British and American zones, Trade Union activities and Work Councils receive very little encouragement.

In October, 1946, Mr. Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Commons:

"We have to consider the ownership of the basic German industries. These industries were previously in the hands of magnates who were closely allied with the German military machine, who financed Hitler, and who in two wars were part and parcel of German aggressive policy . . . As an interim measure who have taken over the possession and control of the coal and steel industries and vested them in the Commander-in-Chief. We shall shortly take similar action in the cases of heavy

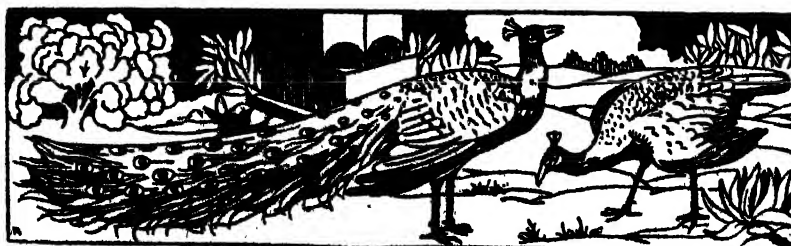
chemical industry and the mechanical engineering industry. Our intention is that they should be won and worked by the German people, but subject to such international control that they cannot again be a threat to their neighbours."

But as every German knows, Mr. Bevin's "intention" and the actuality are not the same thing. Although the old owners have been expropriated, no serious attempt has so far been made in the Anglo-American zones to socialise the industries, and it is becoming more and more evident that the Western financiers and monopolists are strengthening their grip over German industries.

Soon after Bevin's speech expressing his "intention" of socialising German industries, the *New Statesman* and the *Nation* (October 19, 1946) wrote:

"The merger of the British and American zones is already taking place, and it has been stressed that one objective of this merger is to reduce our financial commitments. This can only be done on the assumption that American big business is encouraged to obtain controlling interests in German industry, and the German trusts are reconstructed on American credit. If, for instance, General Motors buys up the *Volkswagen* factory, United Steel obtains a controlling interest in the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*, and Dupont in *I. G. Farben*, then, it is thought, a reduction in the costs of a joint Anglo-American control can be secured. This, no doubt, is what Mr. Byrnes means when he states his determination to 'rebuild democracy' in Germany."

This time German economic rehabilitation is not a problem for the German alone. In view of her long records of aggression, it is the bounden duty of all the powers to insure against the restoration of the German industrial and political power to a dominant imperialist position. That was the essence of the Potsdam Agreement of June, 1945. But hardly was the agreement signed, when a sharp conflict of interests among the Powers became at once apparent in connection with the application of those decisions. After almost two years, when the Big Four met again at Moscow this spring, no solution of that conflict could be found. Consequently, as in 1918, so today, Germany still remains the crux and battle-ground for the future of the world situation—for the victory of democracy or reaction, of peace or war, for world reconstruction and prosperity or international chaos and anarchy.



FUNDAMENTALS OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CIVILISATION

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Is there fundamental difference between the eastern and western civilisation? One cannot say, but one finds different approaches and outlooks among people of the east and the west at different periods of history. Countries like India and China have consistently held on to certain values and view-points of life which they have considered higher than others.

The problem before us is not merely what is wrong with the world and therefore we are to compare the values attached to human life and endeavour by different peoples, but also why the wrong prevails or prospers. For the last 30 years we suffered under two great wars. No doubt war is a human conflict, but it is inhuman in nature. It arises out of lower emotional impulses and selfish and greedy hankerings for economic gains and political power at the cost of and over others. But its disastrous results make men think and examine human behaviour from rational and spiritual motives. They make men take a long-range view of higher values of human life. In the history of great peoples it is the aftermath of civil and foreign wars that lead to a revaluation of current values and to a search for what is higher and what is lower.

To-day there is a great disintegration of values. Our old values of higher life are threatened. There is no co-ordination in various aspects of human life and activities. There is no subordination of the lower to the higher. There is no balance in them. We want everything in excess—wealth, power and enjoyment at the cost of others. Now, our 'isms' and our 'cracies' have become our gods. We live amidst cults of groups and "isms" at the cost of general and larger humanity. Therefore, there is an anarchy created by these in human life.

The difference between the two outlooks which actuate civilisation is that one emphasizes special and material aspects, and the other general and spiritual aspects of human life. If you accept the first you think in terms of different rigid, antagonistic civilisations warring against one another. If you belong to the second you become universal in outlook and tolerant of different human values involved in the various stages or aspects of civilisation. There is no rigidity of attitude or outlook in it. There is no east and west in it. There is really a universal conception of a unity of civilisation developing in the varieties that are existing, but which are converging towards certain fundamentals of a higher outlook and a universal life. This approach looks at the whole human life as an ultimate unity and does not merely hold on to certain parts or aspects of it as a whole.

The greatness of a higher civilisation depends on its durability and flexibility, so also in its assimilability and adjustability. To it belong the virtues of live and let live, of tolerance and respect for others. It is not after

destruction but preservation of various values and aspects of creative life. It is not after a uniformity but a union and unity of life and its co-ordination and synthesis. It is not after artificial equality of men and groups but a synthesis and integration of various cultures and balancing of their aspects and merits. In modern times we find a number of approaches towards the understanding of civilisation. There is a materialist or environmental approach. There is a rationalist or mental approach. There is a moral or social approach. There is a spiritual or idealistic approach, there is a cosmic or universal approach. Finally, there is a synthetic approach. These approaches lead to different attitudes and ways of life, thought and action. The question then arises which approach is higher and gives real happiness and peace.

Is man to be considered the master and measure of all things? Is environment to be considered the most dominating and determining? Is God to be regarded as the only controlling and driving power and the most omnipotent? Is society to be regarded all in all? Or finally are we to think that there is a cosmic order ruling and regulating all other factors? It is not my intention to deal herewith the results of these various approaches nor of the sub-schools which they develop. But we are faced today with two outlooks which are a mixture of the above in various proportions and values given to them. The one is found in Europe primarily and the other in India. The European outlook is anthropological and geographical where man and nature are the heroes. The Indian outlook is cosmospiritual where man and nature are a part of a greater universe and the spirit which guides it. India looks at the cosmos as a whole, as an order, as a reality, as a unity, as a perfection. In it everything has a place and a station, a function and duty as well as a responsibility. India wants to maintain a balance among all, adjusting and balancing the lower to the higher. Its co-ordination is based on the fundamental friendship and relationship of all. It is not based on the conquest or elimination of the one by the other, or of all by one. It promotes the spirit of conciliation, not coercion. Its aim is to promote adjustment and harmony amongst all. It is not a conception of any dual conflict, of good and evil. It is not based on any process of dialectical dichotomy, of one against all, but on one amongst many, one for all, and all for one. Therefore, it promotes not merely tolerance, but respect for differences based on native qualities of emotion and abilities of action. It does not indulge in any fetish or theory of quality, but advocates equal respect for all and for their views of life. It recognises unity of spirit in humanity and one ultimate goal but not one function nor one path for it. It does not recognise absolutism of standards and rigidity of ways, but their flexibility.

It does not force the imposition of one or the destruction of the other.

It recognises that truth has many sides and aspects and therefore many approaches. That is truth which has many approaches because it is realised in many ways. It is a liberal human approach. It is not a rigid or material approach. There is no place for determinism in it. Being a spiritual approach it is a free, open and flexible approach. It believes in comprehension and integration, not in elimination or aggression. It does not believe in a fanaticism of any 'ism' or 'cracy' or 'cult'.

The Indian mind looks to the reform of man from within. It does not think that by merely reforming institutions like property, marriage, social and political forms mental balance will be maintained or moral happiness will be achieved. Both misery and happiness are considered to be within. It is not the creation of artificial groups, cults, and parties that will solve the problem of happiness of mankind. We must endeavour to create the highest man from within morally, mentally and spiritually. It is not merely reform of institutions and environment that will save mankind from misery and destruction. From the Indian point of view human process is not a merely scientific process. That process is qualitative. It merely unifies, mobilises and levels its common elements. Human process is a cosmic process. It is a historical and evolutionary process. It is a qualitative process. It devises, specialises and arranges in order of merit, value and function. It is a spiritual and moral process. It does not recognise the idea or principle of class against class, cult against cult, nation against nation, individual against individual. This is only possible on a false theory of equality. Thus it is not an equalitarian or egoistic process. It recognises and advocates qualities of self-control and justice, compassion and friendship, not those of compulsion or conversion, absorption and assimilation by force. It recognises and assigns different functions to different qualities. It does not inculcate a confusion of qualities and functions on a theory of equality. It separates and arranges human ends in order of importance, balancing them for the purposes higher human life. It does not think merely in terms of politics and economics or rendering obedience to the church, the state or the group. It wants to render to humanity what is humanity's.

The western attitude is more dogmatic, largely rational and secular. In it God nowhere and never becomes the world. Man is altogether different from God. Human life is not divine. The world never and nowhere becomes the God. It is not actuated by tolerance but warfare of classes, creeds, cultures and nations. All its 'isms', 'cracies' and 'cults' possess this inhuman quality. They get segregated into groups based on religion and region, race and riches and start warfare against each other.

In the cosmospiritual approach this is not the case. Its philosophy sees the universe as a network of sympathies, binding all in relationships and responsibilities outside of which there is no group or individual. In this cosmospiritual outlook man is and has always remained no more than a part and parcel of the mighty whole. It regards all things subsisting side by side both in space and time, all alike being equally expressive symbols of the hidden vital force behind, beyond and within them. There is an interconnection between all and everything. There is nothing independent. There is oneness but not one God. It does not recognise predominance of any single factor or personality.

In India everything is divine or of cosmic emanation. There is no one God, uniqueness, supremacy or omnipotence. There is no divine or miraculous interference with the course of universe. There is an impersonal cosmic law which cannot be violated. There is no God who, *ex nihilo*, creates the whole universe by His will and after his own plans. There is always a primeval matter beside him. Beyond him are impersonal laws of action and reaction, birth and rebirth. According to this cosmic outlook, the individual does not stand in any splendid isolation or personal-glory in the universe. He is not the all-powerful man as Greeks conceived. He is conditioned and limited by cosmic laws. To it humanity is not totality. In it no part is exclusively at all times superior in status or value. Each person or group has its own specific status and right, duties and responsibilities. No man or God can claim exemption from his sphere of duties.

The permanent ethical ideal of Indian ethics is that man throughout life should be a useful and associative member of the universe in all its dynamic processes. Indian aesthetics also represents and paints cosmic life. It is symbolic in nature and represents everything typical, types and patterns.

This difference of outlooks creates different results for humanity. The western outlook creates despotism of religion and region, race or riches in its different 'isms', 'cracies' and 'cults'. It uses its scientific knowledge for its own welfare but also for warfare against and destruction and exploitation of other groups. It employs religion and politics to standardise and nationalise man in thought and belief and to dehumanise him. It creates one type of society based on the conception of master and slave relations.

The motto of the west is 'man is the measure and master of all things'. The motto of India is : "This Atman (the vital essence in man) is the same in the gnat, the same in the elephant, the same in these three worlds--the same in the whole universe."



PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY

By PROF. G. G. GADGIL, M.A.

PLANNING and Democracy are the political catchwords of the modern world. They are the slogans of political parties, expressions of rival ideologies and causes of political conflicts. They evoke the hopes and fears of millions, and kindle passions of the most fearful intensity. They are as potent today as Islam and Christianity were in their days of glory.

Consequently, it is but natural that these words should mean different things to different people, that they should be often misunderstood and misused, deliberately or otherwise. This inevitably leads to a misunderstanding of the true relationship between Planning and Democracy. Misunderstanding in politics on such vital issues is extremely dangerous. In this case it is all the more so because it has created a strong and widespread conviction that Planning and Democracy are antithetical. It is believed by many that economic planning is a 'road to serfdom', or a means to 'managerial domination' of the economic system. This belief has led many to the further illogical conclusion that capitalism or free enterprise is somehow or other associated with democracy.

This view or rather set of views may be traced back to three main causes.

Theoretical analysis by some eminent thinkers like Dr. Hayek (*Road to Serfdom*) and Dr. Burnham (*The Managerial Revolution*) has led them to conclusions, which to some extent support this view.

Secondly, Germany and Russia, which are the only two States that have tried economic planning on a comprehensive basis, have had political structures that may be called totalitarian.

Thirdly, the present division of the world into rival political blocs, which are broadly called democratic and communist blocs, has further strengthened this set of views.

In this article, I wish to prove that none of these reasons conclusively proves the above-mentioned set of views. In fact I believe that planning is the only way of bringing democracy into the economic sphere of human life.

Before I proceed to prove my point of view, it is necessary to define both Planning and Democracy.

Democracy is a way of life and a social system, in which an individual is regarded as an end in himself. It tries to secure for the individual the twin conditions of freedom and equality, by giving him some fundamental rights. In a democracy matters of common policy are decided by debate and discussion, i.e., by resort to reason. But in case all attempts to achieve a common measure of agreement fail, the views of the majority prevail.

Planning here means simply a comprehensive control of production in a region by a public authority.

These definitions are brief and broad and they bring out the essential meaning of both the terms.

Now, it must be made absolutely clear that capitalism has nothing to do with democracy. The so-called freedom

of enterprise is largely a myth. For no enterprise is possible without ownership of or access to capital. Further in a mature capitalist system capital and enterprise tend to be concentrated in the hands of a few persons or companies. So that for most people this freedom of enterprise is simply meaningless. In fact under the modern technical conditions of production productive activity for most people is mechanical and devoid of creative meaning. What is really wanted by a large majority of men is freedom from unemployment and plenty of leisure. None of these conditions is necessarily secured by capitalism.

Nor is production under capitalism determined by the needs of the people. In fact it is organized purely for the profits of a few individuals. It may be argued that under competitive conditions the consumer is sovereign. That the only way in which a capitalist can make maximum profits is by producing goods which are most required by the people, and by selling them at low prices. But this statement is subject to a large number of qualifications. In the first place under capitalism only the demand which is backed by purchasing power determines the production of commodities. Secondly, the existence of monopolistic conditions largely limits the sovereignty of the consumer. Thirdly, the private profit of the producer and public welfare does not always coincide. Thus removal of garbage etc. may be an unnecessary element of cost for a producer, but it is a necessary expenditure from the point of view of public health. Moreover, it is not possible for a capitalist to think in terms of the comprehensive development of the resources of a region. Only planning authority can do so. Thus a hydro-electric company will build a dam only for the generation of electricity. A planning authority when building a dam will bear into mind problems of power-generation, irrigation, soil-erosion, public health, navigation, etc.

Thus under capitalism the individual is not regarded as an end in himself, either as a producer or as a consumer. The conditions of freedom and equality which he gets are largely mythical. Targets of production are not determined by the democratic method and by considerations of public welfare.

That political democracy has co-existed with capitalism for some time in some countries is no proof of their necessary inter-relation. The growth of political democracy has been the result of the growth of political consciousness. This growth has been the result of a rise in the standard of life of the people, of the invention of the printing press and of the organization of labour. Under planned economy these three causes will continue to operate.

In fact, the growth of political democracy has meant a growing control of capitalism by the State. In democratic Britain capitalism is being eliminated. There is thus no necessary inter-relation between capitalism and democracy.

The next point I wish to make is that the advent of planned economy is inevitable. The perennial problem of unemployment and the recurrence of economic crisis, the growing burden of national debts and insurance schemes and finally the growing power and organization of labour, are indications of the approaching doom of capitalism. And the only alternative to capitalism, under modern technical conditions of production, is planning.

It is only under a planned economy that a comprehensive development of the economic resources of a region can take place. The economic depressions and consequent unemployment can be eliminated. The rate of investment will not depend on the conditions of money and capital markets. Thus the technical superiority of a planned economy over capitalism as a method of organizing production is quite clear.

Yet the objection remains, that planned economy may lead to managerial domination. It must be admitted that the pattern of planned economy will be managerial. In other words key positions in a planned economic organisation will be held by managers, i.e., by technicians and administrators. They will be the makers of technical blueprints. They will take all the technical decisions. They are thus likely to be the most powerful class in society.

But this does not necessarily mean that political and economic democracy will be impossible in a planned society. For labour today, in most countries, is a highly organized and politically conscious group. Its power is immense, and no social or economic system can continue to exist, if it ignores the interests of the labouring class. The privileged position of the managers is likely to be counterbalanced by the power of organized labour. Experience in Germany and Russia shows that the privileged class of managers cannot work without the support of labour. To secure the support of the people, i.e., labourers etc. has been the main preoccupation of the totalitarian parties. The dictatorships of Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini have been based on the support of a large majority of their countrymen. How that support was secured is another matter. We are mainly concerned at this point with the fact that a managerial system cannot ignore the strength of the labouring classes.

It may be argued also that the main decisions to be taken in a planned economy are of a technical nature. They can be taken only by specialists. People are not competent and able to discuss them or to vote on such issues. Such an agreement is based on the ignorance of the distinction between political decisions and technical decisions. To determine the targets or objects of economic planning is a political issue, and the people are quite competent to discuss it or vote upon it. Thus it is for the people to decide whether they want more cloth or more houses or more heavy industry. This is entirely a matter of tastes, of choice, for which no technical knowledge is necessary. The function of the technician begins after the political decisions have been taken. He decides upon the best technical methods by which these targets can be reached. That the technicians should have this much power is no peculiar characteristic of a planned economy. These decisions have been always left to technicians, whether under feudalism or capitalism, or under

planned economy. That the importance of technicians has increased is a result of technical advance. But this increase in their importance has been adequately counterbalanced by the growth of consciousness and organization of labour, and thus the growing importance of the technician is no threat to democracy.

Obviously the methods and machinery of parliamentary democracy are inadequate to deal with the problems of planned economy. Even today Parliamentary debates and discussions have lost their original significance. Committees and boards and regional council are becoming more and more important. Hereafter democracy will have to work largely through these media. Prof. Laski has indicated the best methods by which this can be done, in his *Grammar of Politics*. The TVA experiment has conclusively proved that democratic planning is not only possible, but that it gives the best possible results.

Experience of planning in Russia and Germany is regarded by some as a conclusive evidence of the antithesis between democracy and planning. But in both cases the advent of one party rule has been the result of entirely independent causes. In the first place, in both the countries there were no strong democratic traditions. The people were accustomed to autocratic government. They thus easily acquiesced in the new type of authoritarian government. Secondly, the economic conditions in both the countries were so bad, that the people were willing to accept any regime that could give them immediate relief. A strong one-party rule was the only way of securing quick economic relief under those conditions. Both the parties did not meet with organized resistance of labour, because under their regimes there was a progressive improvement in the standard of life of labour. In both countries the advent of planned economy was marked by a violent seizure of power, which was an independent factor. Planned economy was harnessed by ideologies which were undemocratic. All these factors make Russia and Germany rather unique cases, and not model examples of a planned economic system.

It is wrong to label the present political conflict as a conflict between two different ideologies. The causes of political conflict are often obscure and complex and their relation with the economic forces at work is much more obscure. Thus it is very difficult to find out the ideological significance of the last war, or even of the first great war.

Under the present technical conditions of production, the formation of larger and larger economic blocs is inevitable. The present political conflict is the result of the attempts of different national groups to form and control such economic blocs. No antithesis between planning and democracy is at the root of this political conflict. It is the old conflict of national groups under a new garb.

The above discussion, I hope, has clarified the meanings of Planning and Democracy and their proper relations with each other. It is clear that Planning is the only way of regulating production in the interests of and according to the wishes of the people. The fear of managerial domination is without any basis, and adequate democratic machinery for working a planned society, can be created and successfully operated.

NATIONALITY IN THE INDIAN UNION

By AMARENDRA NATH MUKERJEE. M.A., M.L.

"Of the elements," says John Alderson Foote, "which compose a man's status, viewed as a subject of law, nationality is the first and most important. By a man's nationality is meant that political relationship which exists between him and the Sovereign State to which he owes allegiance, and the relationship is fixed, in different countries by varying laws and principles."

English common law made nationality dependent not on descent from English ancestors (*jus sanguinis*) but upon the place of a man's birth (*jus soli*) following the feudal principle which regarded all persons of the soil as appendages to it. Roman Law, however, followed the principle of *jus sanguinis* and determined all questions of a man's status by reference to his parents. In modern times, most of the civilized States of Europe permit the children of aliens born within their boundaries to follow the nationality of the parents as in Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland. But France, Spain, Belgium, Greece, Russia and Italy give the children of aliens the right to elect at majority the nationality of their place of birth. On the other hand, Portugal, Denmark, Holland and Great Britain follow the converse principle of attributing the nationality of birth unless that of parentage is elected.

The question now is what principle should decide the nationality in the Indian Union. This leads to the question as to who will be regarded as Union subjects and who will be regarded as aliens. The Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly has been framing the draft nationality clause and so this is the right moment when jurists of the country should direct their attention to this matter which seems to be the most essential factor in the political life of a person. The draft nationality clause before the Constituent Assembly is that any person born in the Union would be a citizen of the Union (meaning thereby a national of the Union). *Jus soli* has apparently been adopted by the Committee as the determining factor of nationality in the Free Indian Union. *Jus soli*, as has been said before, does not alone determine the question of nationality in the civilized States of Europe. Nationality now-a-days is determined by a synthesis of both the principles of *jus soli* (Law of the soil) and *jus sanguinis* (Law of the blood). Even England, very conservative in the matter of legislation, has adopted the principle of *jus sanguinis*. British nationality and status of Aliens Act (4 and 5 Geo. 5. c 17) is a combination of the principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. So, it would be unfortunate if the principle of *jus sanguinis* is totally discarded by the Indian Constituent Assembly in framing the nationality clause. This would be more

unfortunate having regard to the circumstances under which India is going to be divided. As the present situation stands, there shall be two or more Sovereign States in India and if *jus soli* be the only determining factor then all persons of the States other than Indian Union would be aliens in the Indian Union. If the Hindus of Sind, the Sikhs of a part of the Punjab and the Hindus of the East Bengal are deprived of their Indian nationality because they happen to belong to those parts of the country which under most unfortunate circumstances form a different State (Pakistan), it would be doing great injustice to them and alienating them for ever from their motherland. An alien is generally looked upon as a stranger and persons are always loath to have social ties with aliens. To the inevitable result of treating the Hindus of Pakistan as aliens in the Indian Union is to sever all social connections with them and to make them aliens in the popular sense of the term. It is, therefore, desirable that under the peculiar circumstances of the country, the benefit of Indian nationality should be conferred upon the Hindus of Pakistan *ipso facto* so that they may have connection with their motherland. Indeed, they will be subjects of Pakistan and if Union nationality is conferred upon them they would acquire double nationality. But double nationality is not unknown in the sphere of Private International Law, the essence of which is to find out a workable harmony in the conflict of laws. The case of one Kramer, who according to German law, was German and according to English law was British, came before the courts in 1922. It was held that he could be treated as a German in order to sequester his property under the Treaty of Peace Order 1919 [*Kramer vs. Alt-Gen* (1923) A.C. 528].

Difficulties due to double nationality may appear in times of hostility between the two States, e.g., if an Union national in Pakistan owing allegiance to both these States join any one in times of hostility, he would be liable for treason by the other. But his difficulty may be overcome by allowing option to them. Such persons with double nationality may also be allowed to make a declaration of alienage and on making the same shall cease to be a Union subject. Under Sec. 14 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914, persons of double nationality are entitled to make a declaration of alienage. Such a declaration of alienage may also be made in times of war if unaccompanied by the intention or followed by the fact of adhering to the King's enemies. But Sec. 16 of the said Act makes it clear that such a declaration has no retrospective effect and that a British subject who ceases to be so, remains subject to any obligation, duty or

liability in respect of any act committed by him before he ceased to be a British subject.

It may be argued that there is no reason why Union nationality should be conferred upon the Hindus only of Pakistan, for, logically the Muslims also can get the benefit of Union nationality if it is conferred upon one sect. Indian Union will certainly not be a Hindu State but a State in the modern sense of the term—a *Kulturstaat*—a culture state of Hegel where the end would be to raise the humanity to perfection by affiliation of law with culture. But it is fallacious to say that because the Indian Union would not be a sectarian (Hindu) State like the Pakistan, so the Hindus only can not get the benefit of Union nationality and it can not be *ipso facto* conferred upon them. Every law is enacted with reference to the peculiar circumstances of the situation. In the present circumstances the Muslims of Pakistan do not want Union nationality. In fact, their absurd two-nation theory is responsible for the unfortunate division of the indivisible India. The Muslims of Pakistan feel glory in their separate nationality and would reject any offer of Union nationality even if it is conferred upon them. But what is the case of the Hindus of the Pakistan State? They eagerly hatch the Indian Union as their mother State and would feel glory in their Union nationality. They submit to Pakistan nationality with reluctance and under pressure of circumstances. So, there is no harm in granting Union nationality to the Hindus of Pakistan who may assert the same within a particular period from the inception of the State. We must not forget that the consent of the people is an essential factor in determining their nationality at the present time. The wider principle of national self-determination was first enunciated by Erasmus in 1517 when he declared that authority over men and beasts is not of the same order, that all power and authority over people rest on their consent and that title by conquest is a fallacy. In this view, he was

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supported by Grotius, Puffendorf and Vattel—the master Jurists of the Continent.

Another argument that may be made against the conferring of Union nationality to the Hindus of Pakistan is that as the tie of allegiance is in the words of Coke *a duplex et reciprocum ligamen* involving the duty of obedience on the one hand and protection on the other, how can Indian Union enforce obedience and ensure protection to the subjects of Pakistan. This argument also should not stand in the way of granting Union nationality *ipso facto* to the Hindus of Pakistan, for the Indian Union can enforce obedience in certain spheres and can extend its protecting arms to the Hindus of Pakistan in various ways, e.g., by treaty, by giving facilities of naturalisation and by indirect pressure—economic or otherwise upon the other State.

The third argument that may be put forward against granting of Union nationality to persons living beyond the Union is that provision may be made for acquisition of Union nationality by way of naturalisation. Indeed, there must be law of naturalisation in Indian Union. The apprehension that Pakistan State might not allow nationality to be acquired by a person born in the Union, need not stand in the way of having a law of naturalisation for the Union itself. But naturalisation requires certain condition precedents such as intention to reside in the Union, etc., which may not be feasible in most of the cases.

True that nationality is always in principle single and where a person is claimed by two States either from a conflict between *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* or for any other reason, we are in presence of jarring claims to his entire allegiance. But for the reasons stated above Private International Law in India which will grow new from day to day, should not follow the beaten track and must make provision for the acquisition of Union nationality by the Hindus of Pakistan although it may give rise to jarring claims.

A CORPUS OF ORIGINAL SOURCES OF LATER BENGAL HISTORY

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

REQUESTED by Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S. (Eng.), President, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, (1945), I submitted the following scheme for the best way of commemorating the 200th birth-year of Sir William Jones (1946). It would be a mistake to publish a Festschrift to mark the occasion, because such a bundle of detached essays on a variety of subjects and of diverse value, is of no use except to be consulted by some minute specialist once in two years, and the progress or research will render it obsolete in a decade or two. The only tribute worthy of Sir W. Jones and of the Society's gratitude to its founder would be the publication of a book or books of enduring value and very wide appeal, which every earnest student of Indian history would feel bound to keep at his elbow.

Riyaz-us-Salatin is the sole refuge of enquirers into Bengal history in the Muslim age, but it is a very derivative, recent, and useless authority.

I suggest, instead of a Festschrift, a number of volumes forming a Corpus of the original sources of Bengal-Bihar history during the Muslim times; it will, in the main, include material not yet printed, but also a few sources, which are now available only in corrupt translations, should be printed in order to complete the series. The material should be mainly published in English translations, enriched with notes and corrections from Marathi records and from other Persian authorities like those used in J. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. The Gackwad Oriental Series prefers to publish English translations and

A CORPUS OF ORIGINAL SOURCE OF LATER BENGAL HISTORY

not Persian texts, as the sale and use of the former is a hundred times that of the latter.

A. The first stage of the scheme:

1. Persian despatches and news-reports (*akhbarat*) relating to Murshid Quli Khan—MSS. and English translations with Sir J. Sarkar, supplemented by a few from Khan Sahib Askari (Prof., Patna College). 200 pp.

2. A new, correct, and complete translation of Salimullah's *Tarikh-i-Bangala*, replacing Gladwin's unreliable version "A Narrative of Transactions..." (Calcutta, 1788) and correcting the proper names. With additional information from Marathi sources. 100 pp.

3. An English translation of Yusuf Ali's *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jung* (the full history of Alivardi Khan). Persian text with J. Sarkar. Probable size, octavo 350 pp.

B. Second stage: Planning publication 5 years ahead, the following historical undertakings are suggested in the order of their urgency:

4. An English version of *Fathiyya-i-Ibriyya* (or Mir Jumla's conquest of Assam and Cooch Bihar) with its supplement preserved in the Bodleian MS. and treating of Shajista Khan's conquest of Chargaon. See *J.A.S.B.* 1872 Pt. 1 No. 1 (Blochmann) and 1906-7 (J. Sarkar). Full translation ready with J. Sarkar (requires revision and typing). 300 pp.

5. (a) Description of Bengal in 1608-9 by Abdul Latif (trans. by Sarkar in *Bengal Past and Present*).

(b) Bengal-Oriassa official letters written by Abul Hasan, 1656-1667. (Rampur MS. copy with J. Sarkar). (a and b) 150 pp.

6. An English translation (abridged by omitting the verses and ornamental rhetoric) of the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (the full history of Aurangzeb) made by Sarkar. Typed copy ready. Such a book will have a good sale. Size 360 octavo pages, fully printed by September, 1947.

7. A new translation of Namatullah's *Makhzan-i-Alghana*, Bengal-Bihar history only, replacing Dorn's incorrect and clumsily arranged version (of 1829). MSS. with R.A.S.B. and J. Sarkar. The longer recension of the original must be followed.

8. A new English translation of the most authoritative and interesting portion of *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin*, namely, from Alivardi's accession to the fall of Siraj-ud-daulah,—with elucidations and corrections from the Marathi records, English factory correspondence, French despatches (printed), and other Persian sources, (for the importance of the last see Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*). The printed Persian text of the entire book, *Seezar-ool-Mutakh-reen*, ed. by Hakeem Abd'ol Mujeed, Calcutta Medical Press, in 1833, contains 420 plus 115 pages, 36 lines per page, each line 7 inches long. The portion

selected by me covers pp 100-233 of the first section. The translation of it would occupy 550 octavo pages in print. 550 pp.

Siyar (Calcutta, 1833 edition).

Book I pp. 1-99, *Delhi History*, 1707-1739.

Book I pp. 100-233, *Alivardi and Siraj*.

Book I pp. 233-420, *Delhi and Bengal History down to 1758*.

Book II pp. 1-115, *Delhi, Nizam, Marathas etc.* 1740-1784.

The third section of Book I 233—420 pp. is also important and interesting, but its translation should be taken up last of all.

9. A reprint of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, first published by the Society in 1834 and 1835 in two parts (pp. 92 plus 187, small type). Add corrections and notes on recent advances in research from the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and modern works on the history of mathematics. Bring the chronology up to date and greatly expand it. The editing on these lines will take some years and requires the co-operation of 3 or 4 real scholars. But the book will have an immense and steady sale. 280 pp.

The original Persian Text of No. 1 deserves to be printed, but only after the English version. (80 pp.). The Persian text of No. 4 may be printed later, as a first-rate specimen of Indo-Persian prose, no way inferior to Abul Fazl's style. Text with variants, in Sarkar's hand. (200 pp.).

Economise paper by forbidding all hypercritical notes and notices of obvious copyist's errors and useless variants in the text. These latter must be silently corrected.

The above scheme was accepted by the Council of the R.A.S.B. and the work has been started. Most fortunately, the then Governor Mr. Richard Casey, sanctioned an annual grant of ten thousand rupees for five years from the Bengal revenue, to carry the scheme to completion. In spite of disturbances the work is being steadily pushed on. The English translation of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, the original source for the history of Aurangzeb, has been prepared and is being seen through the press with the assistance of Prof. N. B. Roy, M.A., who has been engaged by the Society for work on the series. The book will be out before December next. A new edition of *Asir-i-Akbari*, (English translation) revised by Sarkar, is also being brought out, and one-fourth of volume III has been already printed. The other items are being attended to and with peace and honest Government in Calcutta, we hope to print three more volumes of the series in 1948.



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: AN EXPRESSION OF AMERICAN IDEALS

On July 4 of this year the United States celebrates the 171st anniversary of Independence Day. The United States most of its text is an itemisation of the specific reasons for the former colonies to declare independence from Great Britain. Its opening sentence forms a statement of basic principles of freedom and of democratic government which are applicable to all peoples. These famous words—among the most famous in the English language—are:



The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are on public display in glass-covered cases in a marble shrine in the Library of Congress in Washington

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The Declaration of Independence was the culmination of 150 years of life and development of the colonies in the United States.

States is considered to have come into being as a nation on July 4, 1776, although the War of Independence began more than a year earlier and despite the fact that the U. S. Government under the constitution did not begin until nearly 13 years later. The reason is that on that day in 1776 a formal proclamation was made of what the whole world calls the Declaration of Independence.

The historic document marking the birth of a new nation sets forth the fundamental principles of good government and declared the independence of the thirteen colonies of Great Britain in North America. The declaration was written in accordance with a resolution introduced in the Congress on June 7, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, acting under instructions from the convention of his state.

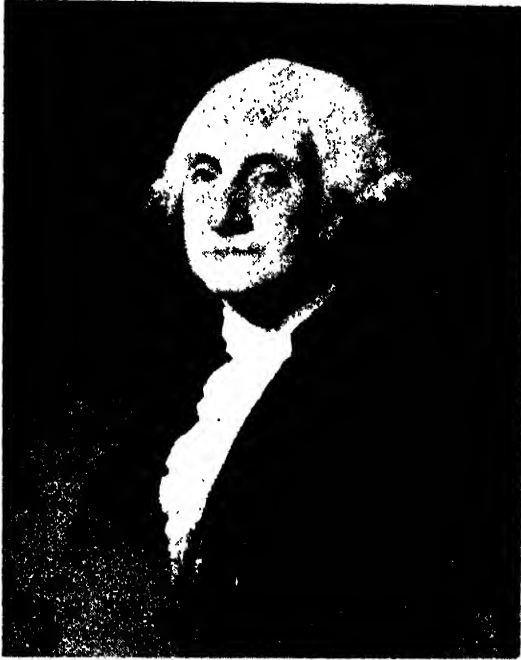
Four days later, the Congress appointed Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Robert R. Livingston of New York as a committee to draft a declaration. Jefferson wrote the original draft. The Declaration was reported to Congress on June 28, 1776. Lee's famous resolution was approved on July 2, and broke the tie which connected the colonies with Britain. Two days later, July 4, 1776, the Congress adopted the Declaration, which was signed by 56 delegates representing the thirteen colonies. The historic parchment is on public display in a shrine in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., capital of the United States.

The Declaration of Independence is considered to be essentially an international document, although



The Liberty Bell in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, seat of the Continental Congress which adopted the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776

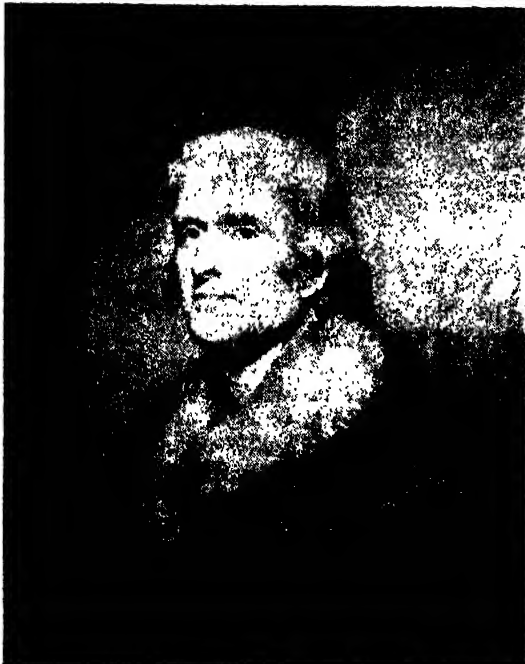
During this long period what is called the "American way of life" was born and this world-stirring announcement represented the outcome and the experience of many generations of men striving toward freedom.



George Washington, first President of the United States was Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces in the field, when the Continental Congress, to which he was a delegate, adopted the Declaration of Independence



Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania : American statesman, author, scientist and printer, served on the Continental Congress Committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence



Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, was the author and one of the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence



John Adam of Massachusetts, was one of the committee of five members of the Continental Congress appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence

The celebration of the Fourth of July, began in Philadelphia, which was then the capital of the country. A particularly elaborate celebration was held here in 1788 to mark the ratification of the constitution by

the requisite number of states—nine—for establishment of a federal Union. The observance of the Fourth of July spread throughout the country and into the new states as they joined the Union. The use of fireworks in the celebration also became general in the course of the years.—*USIS*.

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G. K. CHESTERTON

By DOUGLAS WOODRUFF

It is just over ten years since G. K. Chesterton died, but the slump which so often overtakes the works of men, who have made a great impression on their own day, in the years that follow their death, has not as yet shown any signs of visiting Chesterton's books. They are in great demand and too many of them,

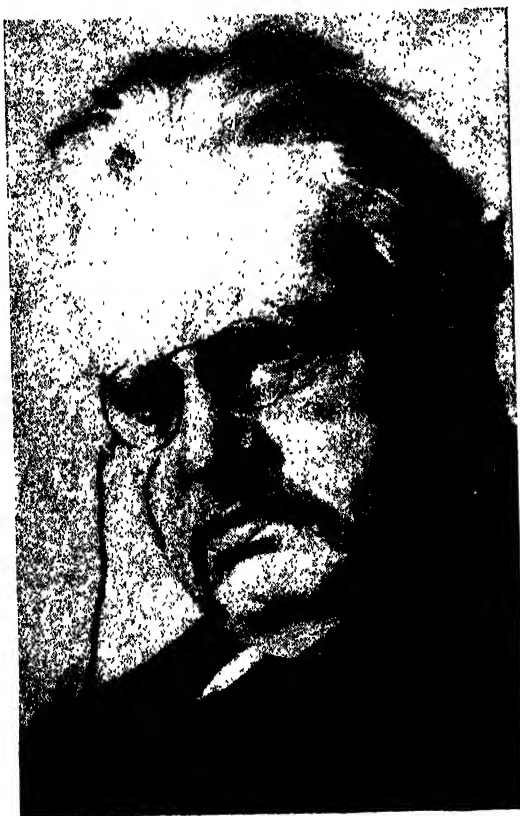
Victoria died in 1901, when, as he has recorded, he burst into tears. He emerged from the Victorian middle-class, the son of a moderately prosperous house-agent, in a society which believed itself more secure and settled than any other has ever done.

It was a society more settled than happy, for though it believed itself to have social security, it also had what the Germans called *Weltschmerz*, a pain of the heart, and suffered from a grey pessimism which was the projection of its unbelief. It believed the world to be nothing more than the perpetual movement of particles of matter, a movement to which, granted sufficient subtlety of description, all the activities and the emotions of human beings could be reduced.

Chesterton grew up under this pessimism which had succeeded the self-confident optimism of the first generation of secularists, who had believed that by bowing God out of the universe they were taking possession, in the name of man, of a fine estate in which humanity would be happy. But the second generation saw more clearly what was really involved in getting rid of religion by treating man as a part of nature, by thrusting him back entirely inside the natural order. That order lived under the law of death, and if man was part of it he, too, was under that law and with him all his works, whether of artistic genius or political and collective achievement.

The first great influence in Chesterton's reaction against this pessimism was the American poet, Walt Whitman, who affirmed the excellence of the world and of life but affirmed it from high spirits and illogically. It was only as he made his way back from the conventional agnosticism of the eighteen-eighties and nineties to a Christian view of life, that Chesterton found solid intellectual ground for his defiance of the pessimists. He came to see that not only did unbelief breed pessimism but that cheerfulness was the proper soil and preparation for belief, for the act of faith of which healthy men are most capable.

At the end of his life, in his Autobiography, he summed up what he had been trying to do as "teaching men to take life with gratitude and not to take it for granted." Elsewhere he describes the attitude of the pessimists as men looking at life like a cabman looking at an insufficient tip.



G. K. Chesterton (1874-1936)

owing to the present shortage of paper in Britain, are unprocureable. What is the source of vitality in books written thirty and forty years ago, against the background of the England of 1901-1910 and often against the background of an earlier England still?

For Chesterton was a Victorian born in London in 1874 and was twenty-six years old when Queen

Chesterton as a young man intended to be not a writer but an artist. He had an extraordinary eye for colour and enjoyment of colour and shape, which initiated his repudiation of the pessimistic school.

He could see a beauty of symbolism as well as of colour and shape in Victorian London, which became the starting point of his early poems and early novels. That poetry is full of this visual delight, evoking bright images, so that anyone who sets out to write a parody of Chesterton will bring the stars, if not the sun and moon, into the first lines. The early romances, *Man Alive*, or *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*, *The Ball and the Cross*, or *The Man Who was Thursday*, are all concerned to establish the great truth, to which he continually recurred, that looking at things is not the same as seeing them, and that most people having eyes see not.

Presented in the form of novels in which the characters are much less interesting than what they say, and are often con-stands for ideas, the central theme is that the truth in the romantic view of life is not in the least dependent on there being a romantic setting. The action all takes place in the London of the years around 1900, but the subject-matter is universal and could equally well have been placed in the setting of the days of the troubadours or Sir Thomas Malory.

Thus *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* celebrates a local patriotism, *The Ball and the Cross* fidelity to convictions, and both are concerned to detach the essence of chivalry from the conventional coloured setting of the Middle Ages in which people generally think of it. It is, indeed, curious that Chesterton should be so often described as a man who made the Middle Ages look more romantic than they were, when his whole point was that all life and all ages were equally and intensely romantic, and these novels, which first established his fame, were devoted to showing the romance of Edwardian London.

Chesterton's point was that human nature is itself romantic and, therefore, every age since the creation of man cannot fail to reflect the same characteristic. And this is the answer to the question why he remains so vital a writer; that his subject does not date, because his subject is the nature of man.

When he was nearly fifty, in 1922, Chesterton was received into the Roman Catholic Church and for the

remaining fourteen years of his life lived ever more completely inside it. But ever since he had published in 1908, when he was thirty-four, the book called *Orthodoxy*, men had thought of him as a dogmatic and doctrinal Christian. For he was concerned to establish the nature of man as that of a dependent and a servant, for whom the great virtue was fidelity during a period of discouragement and difficulty. That had been the theme of the greatest of the fantastic novels, *The Man Who Was Thursday*, published the year before *Orthodoxy*, and it was equally the theme of his great epic poem, "The Ballad of the White Horse," published three years after *Orthodoxy*.

The Man Who Was Thursday is the story of a man who joins a band of anarchists believing himself to be the only supporter and champion of the law, only to discover as the story unfolds that each of the other anarchists has entered from the same motive, and believes himself isolated and alone among enemies. This story was to come to have a special significance as the twentieth century went on and the political movements were so continually to present the temptation to men to pretend to accept them and to wear their insignia. So that today we can read that book with much more understanding of what is meant by its study of internal loneliness and of the temptation to go with an apparent majority which is not, in ultimate reality, a majority at all but a succession of individual deceptions, each man wearing a mask to other men.

"The Ballad of the White Horse" is the study of a Christian fighting with the odds heavily against him, of Alfred the Great, the king who defended England successfully against the Danes in the ninth century. It has been frequently quoted in England during the recent world war, and is now a part of the accepted body of English poetry, and it is not an over-estimation to call it the chief celebration in English letters of the great theological virtue of hope.

Three years after he became a Catholic, Chesterton published what may rank as the greatest of his books, *The Everlasting Man*, a work of Christian apologetics which first demonstrates how man is unique among created things—and in this Chesterton is continuing his earliest writing—but in the second half demonstrates the uniqueness of Christ among men.



EARLY YEARS OF THE CALCUTTA MEDICAL COLLEGE

[Based on Educational Records]

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

MEDICAL education in India on improved scientific lines began, practically speaking, with the foundation of the Calcutta Medical College. Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, appointed in 1833 a committee consisting of Dr. John Grant, J. C. C. Sutherland, C. C. Trevelyan, Dr. M. J. Bramley and Ram Comul Sen to report on the existing state of medical education in India and devise ways and means for its improvement. The Committee submitted a lengthy report on 20th October, 1834. On the recommendations of this committee the Governor-General in Council issued an order¹ on 28th January, 1835 abolishing the Native Medical Institute under Dr.

as *free* students. They would have to bear their own expenses. The medium of instruction would be English.

According to the order, Mountford Joseph Bramley, Asst. Surgeon and a prominent member of the committee, was appointed Superintendent of the proposed college on February 1, 1835, and was given the sole charge of organising it. He, however, had to act under the supervision of the General Committee of Public Instruction. In the periodical reports submitted to the Committee, Dr. Bramley was to give an account of the progress the Institution had made from time to time. But as his life was cut short by death on 19th January, 1837, we have got to rest content



David Hare

Tytler's charge as well as the medical classes of the Sanscrit College and the Calcutta Madrasa. They further resolved to establish a medical college immediately and laid down some general principles to be followed in the course of its setting up. Some of these should be noted. The college would start with fifty students, called foundation students, to be divided into 3 classes according to the amount of their stipend. Age-limit would be fourteen and twenty. The course would be completed in four years. No student would be allowed to continue his studies in the college for more than six years. Students other than stipendiary would also be admitted



Pandit Madhusudan Gupta

with only one account from his pen. Dr. Bramley later came to be designated as Principal Bramley. His services for the organisation of the Medical College were unique, and it was from his account that we have a very authentic history of the origin and the first stage of development of the Institution. It should be noted here that Dr. H. H. Goodeve was appointed assistant to him on February 9, his duty being to teach Anatomy and Surgery, and Pandit Madhusudan Gupta, the Medical teacher of the Sanscrit College—demonstrator in the subject on March 17, 1835. After preliminary remarks on the origin of the College, Dr. Bramley referred to the able assistance and guidance

¹ The Centenary of the Medical College, Bengal (1935), Appendix V, pp. 129-33.



Some professors of the Calcutta Medical College in its early days
From left to right : (1) Dr. H. H. Goodeve, (2) Dr. C. C. Egerton, and (3) Dr. N. Wallich.

rendered by David Hare to tide over all sorts of difficulties as follows:

"I do not intend to dwell upon my difficulties, but it is necessary for a full comprehension of the subject, that I should allude to them, and I feel it to be my duty to do so in a somewhat marked manner, in justice to him through whose instrumentality, chiefly, they were surmounted. This zealous co-adjutor and invaluable assistant was Mr. David Hare. Scarcely had the order of Government for the institution of the college appeared, before this gentleman, prompted by the dictates of his own benevolent spirit, having ascertained the objects of the undertaking and becoming convinced of the vast benefits likely to accrue from it, immediately afforded me his influence in furtherance of the ends it had in view.

"His advice and assistance have been to me at all times, most valuable; his frequent attendance at the Lectures, and at the Institution generally, have materially tended to promote that spirit of good feeling and friendly union among the pupils, so essential to the well-working of the system; nor must I omit to mention, that his patience and discretion have animated and supported me under circumstances of peculiar difficulty which at one time appeared to threaten the very existence of the Institution. In truth, I may say, that without Mr. Hare's influence, any attempt to form a Hindu Medical Class would have been futile, and under this feeling I trust I may bespeak the indulgence of the Committee, in availing myself of the present opportunity to record publicly, though inadequately, how much the cause of Native Medical Education, owes to that gentleman as well as the extent of my own deep obligation to him personally.

"... The majority of the students of the originally formed class had received their education at the Hindu College; or at Mr. Hare's school; hence from the earliest period of the undertaking, I had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with most of them, through information derived from Mr. Hare, who was not only familiar with their habits and their mode of thought, but even with the individual history and character of every youth whom he brought into the College."

According to the order, a candidate for admission into the College must possess some elementary knowledge of English and Hindusthani or Bengali. Regarding the mode of selection of the foundation students Dr. Bramley wrote that J. C. C. Sutherland, Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction, held a preliminary examination of the candidates on 1st May, 1835. In the examination of Bengali he was assisted by Pandit Madhusudan Gupta. From amongst about a hundred candidates, the requisite number were selected. Hare's School, the Hindu College and the General Assembly's Institution supplied most of them. After the selection of the candidates, the actual teaching work began in the form of a course of lectures on 1st June, 1835, which may be regarded as the date of actual opening of the Institution. Dr. Bramley wrote:

"A course of lectures was accordingly commenced on the 1st June, 1835, opening with an inaugural address, explanatory of the general objects of the Institution. This discourse was introductory to a series of lectures on osteology which were delivered tri-weekly until the 30th September following."

"The College having closed during the holidays, on the 1st October 1835, when a more extended course of lectures on Anatomy was commenced which continued till the 31st March 1836."

"The summer session from April to September having been occupied by lectures on Chemistry and the practice of Physic, the second regular anatomical course did not commence till October 1836. The introductory lecture to this course, delivered by myself, was made as public as possible, and was honored by the presence of the Right Honorable the Governor-General (Lord Auckland) and a large body of distinguished persons both native and European, whose visits to this as upon all occasions, are of material service to the College, in marking to the pupils and the native community the interest which the government and the European public take in the prosperity of the College, and the importance they attach to it as a national Institution."

2. Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, for the year eighteen-thirty-six. Late Principal Bramley's Report, pp. 34-5.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3.

Dissection of human body was looked upon with disfavour by the generality of the Hindus. But within a few days after the session's work had commenced, that is, on 28th October, 1836, four young men of the Institution were bold enough to discountenance this prejudice and take to the dissection of human body. Dr. Bramley has left us a graphic description of this event and has called it an eventful era in the annals of the Medical College.



Dwarkanath Tagore

His account will prove highly interesting and instructive even today. He says:

"On that day (28th October, 1836), which may be regarded as an eventful era in the annals of the Medical College, four of the most intelligent and respectable pupils, at their own solicitation undertook the dissection of the human subject, and in the presence of all the professors of the College and of fourteen of their brother-pupils, demonstrated with accuracy and nicety, several of the most interesting parts of the body, and thus was accomplished, through the admirable example of these four native youths, the greatest step in the progress towards true civilization which education has as yet effected. At this first attempt, all their companions present assisted, and it was delightful to witness the emulation amongst them, in displaying their willingness to recognize the importance of, and adopt a mode of study hitherto contemplated with such horror by their own countrymen; since this time dissections have been regularly practised by all the senior class with one solitary exception; and in point of knowledge derivable from this source, the majority of the students may be considered on a par with the pupils of the English schools of medicine, possessing the same, if not more abundant, opportunities for its acquisition, equal intelligence, zeal, and industry.

"It would appear but a just reward for the and moral courage of the students who

have thus more especially distinguished themselves, were their names brought to the notice of government in the present report; but the same reason which induces them to conceal their anatomical labours, and the probable publicity of this document, forbids my making the disclosure.

"This course of lectures is still in progress of delivery, and will not terminate till the 1st of April 1837. A public examination will then be held, when the munificent prizes given by Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, and the gold and the silver medals given by Government will be contested for; I look forward with confident expectation that the results of these will prove alike creditable to the students, and to the Institution."

In the above excerpts Dr. Bramley admitted that, given equal opportunities, Indian youths were on a par with English youths, and this encomium of his, the former have all along deserved, not only in medical studies but in other departments of science as well. The four youths who first volunteered to dissect human body, it should be mentioned here, were Umacharan Set. Rajkrishna De, Dwarkanath Gupta and Nabin Chandra Mitra.⁷ Dr. Bramley also referred to the munificent prizes of Dwarkanath Tagore obtainable by students on the results of the examination of 1837. These latter deserve more than a passing notice. That the Indian gentry were solicitous of the success of the cause the Medical College stands for, will be evident from the following letter dated 24th March, 1836. Dwarkanath Tagore addressed to Dr. Bramley in response to the latter's appeal for funds. Dwarkanath wrote:

"I am unwilling to offer you my congratulations upon the success which has attended your undertakings in the Medical College, without showing that my feelings towards the Institution are more substantial than those which words only can express.

"Should all your expectations be realised, and there is every reason to believe they will, the Medical College cannot fail to produce the happiest results amongst my countrymen. No man, I assure you, is more sensible than I am, of the benefits which such an Institution is calculated to dispense, but I know also that you have many very grave difficulties before you, and the greater part of these you will have to contend with at the outset. My own experience enables me to tell you that no inducement to Native exertion is so strong as that of pecuniary reward, and I am convinced you will find difficulties disappear in proportion to the encouragement offered to the students in this particular.

"As an individual member of the Native community, I feel it belongs to us to aid, as far as lies in our power, the promotion of your good cause. At present this can hardly be expected on any very great scale, but as example may be of service to you, I for one will not be backward to accept your invitation to my countrymen to support the College.

"I beg therefore as an inducement to the Native pupils now studying in the Institution, and to those who may hereafter, to offer the annual sum of 2,000 Rupees for the ensuing three years, to be distributed in the form of Prizes. In order that these may be

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

7. In the Report for 1837 (p. 75) occurs the following: ". . . the four candidates above named addressed the examiners by letter, stating that they had assiduously practised the capital operations of surgery during two years on the dead body, and many of the minor ones on the living patients. . . ."

of substantial value to the candidates, I propose that the prizes should not exceed 8 or 10 in number, and that they should be available to foundation students only and native *bona fide* pupils of the College. All other arrangements in regard to their distribution I leave to your discretion."

Dr. Bramley forwarded the letter to the General Committee which thankfully accepted the offer and provisionally divided the amount (Rs. 2000) into ten annual prizes. These prizes as well as those of the Government were awarded to the best boys of the Institution on 29th June, 1837, as hinted in Dr. Bramley's report. Dr. Bramley could not, however, live long to see these happy results.

After the death of Principal Bramley in January, 1837, some new arrangements were made for the administration of the College by the Government. In a letter to the General Committee of Public Instruction, H. T. Prinsep (Secretary to Government) wrote on 1st February, 1837:

"... lastly Mr. D. Hare has been nominated Secretary to the Medical College with a salary of 400 Rupees to cover (with the aid of such establishment of clerks, etc., as was allowed to Dr. Bramley) all charges of accounts and correspondence, and the general business of the College.

"The several professors above named (Drs. Goodeve, R. O'Shaughnessy, C. C. Egerton, T. Chapman, D. Wallich) will form a Council for the management of the general affairs of the College to which Mr. Hare will be Secretary."

Hare's interest in the Medical College had been borne ample testimony to by Dr. Bramley, as we have already seen. Just a month after his appointment as Secretary to the College, he wrote on March 9, 1837, to the Secretary of the General Committee for the starting of a hospital to be attached to the College. It took about thirteen months for the authorities to make necessary preparations in this behalf. The hospital was opened with about twenty beds, and an out-patient department on 1st April, 1838.

Though the students were required to complete four years' course, some of them proved so much efficient by the middle of 1838 that they were allowed to appear at their final examination at one year less than the scheduled period. The first final examination was, therefore, commenced on 30th October, 1838. The examiners in their report to the Government spoke highly of the following four candidates—Umacharan Set, Rajkrishna Dey, Dwaikanath Gupta and Nabin Chandra Mitra's—wonderful progress in all the subjects examined by them. On the solicitation of the four, they were again examined on 9th November, 1838 in "Practice of Surgery and Operations" and proved quite successful. The examiners wrote to the Government:

"To Umachurn Set, Dwaikanath Gupta, Rajkrishna Dey, and Nobin Chunder Mitter, we have unanimously come to the decision of granting letters testimonial that we consider them competent to the practice of medicine and surgery we beg to recommend them accordingly to the liberal consideration of Government as the first Hindoos who rising superior to the trammels of prejudice and obstacles of no ordinary character, have distinguished them-

selves by attaining to a complete medical education upon enlightened principles. It also affords us great gratification to report from the testimony of the officers of the Medical College, that the conduct of these young men has been uniformly correct, steady, and satisfactory."

On the results of this first final examination, T. A. Wise, M.D., Secretary to the General Committee of Public



Ram Gopal Ghose

Instruction, also wrote to Prinsep, Secretary to the Government, on 21st March, 1839 as follows:

"It has proved that in capacity of acquirement, the Hindoo is in no way inferior to the European. It has proved that we can without reference to Europe provide a most valuable supply of sound Medical Science, and advice for the benefit of the people at large, who now suffer so grievously for the melancholy want of both . . .

"The four young men reported to be entitled to letters testimonial, have passed their final examination in one year less than the shortest period contemplated for their absolvment from the College."

From the year 1839, an additional class, later called the 'secondary class,' was introduced in the College. In the Educational report for 1839-40, we have:

"An additional class has been formed for the purpose of educating Native doctors for employment in the Army, and at Civil Stations. This body of servants was much needed, as the requisite supply of these subordinates has entirely ceased since the abolition of Dr. Tytler's Native Medical School, and the demand for their services, in the Native Regiments especially, has become very urgent. It was resolved therefore by Government, upon the recommendation of the Education Committee, to make use of the College as the means of instructing these individuals. The plan of this arrangement, and its details, were drawn up by Dr. O'Shaughnessy. . .

"In the month of October (1839) fifty students were selected, from a very large assemblage of young men. . ."

8. *Vide Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction, etc., for the year 1835 (published in July, 1836), pp. 32-3.*

9. *Ibid.*, for 1836, p. 66.

10. *Ibid.*, for 1837, p. 77.

11. *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 95.

12. *Report, etc.*, for the year 1839-40, pp. 31-4.

Students seeking admission to this class were recruited mostly from provinces other than Bengal, and the medium of instruction was Hindusthani. The success attained by this class even in two years induced those in authority to think favourably of the possibility of vernacular medium even in the most technical science as medicine. The General Committee of Public Instruction concurred in the following remarks of the College Council :

"On the whole, the Council are unanimously of opinion that the secondary class has succeeded as far as could possibly be accomplished within two years from its establishment : that its Teachers, Sub-Assistant Surgeons Nava Krishna Gopto and Seebchunder Karmakar, deserve the highest credit for what they have accomplished under circumstances of peculiar and novel difficulty : that their success is decisive of the great fact of the practicability, of raising from the English College as a Normal School, the *eleves* as the teachers, through the vernacular dialect, of the useful instruction of medical knowledge to numerous classes which could not otherwise receive instruction. The Council look forward with anxious interest to that period now fast approaching, when the Institution of this school will be imitated in other parts of the country, the great final measure contemplated by Government at the commencement of the experiment, which has now been so satisfactorily completed."¹³

The year 1841 is important for the Medical College for more than one reason. It was in this year that Dr. F. J. Monat joined the college as one of its professors. His interest in Indian education was only surpassed by that of Hare. He holds a unique place in the history of English education in India. This year David Hare resigned the secretaryship, but he was taken in as an Honorary Member of the College Council. His death on 1st June, 1842, however, deprived the College of his sound and mature advice. But the College sustained the progress it had been making since its inception. The General Committee has summarised the account of Professor Goodeve in its report of 1840-41 and 1841-42 which equally shows the unusual interest of the Indian youths in this branch of science. The report says :

"Professor Goodeve reported to the College Council his entire concurrence in the general approbation expressed, and the great satisfaction he had derived from the diligence, good conduct and attention of the students of Anatomy and Physiology. Men of high caste and good family are now found pursuing a study, which but a very short time since was nearly an insuperable barrier to the acquisition of Medical knowledge as taught among the more civilized and enlightened nations of the Western world. Much of this good result was attributed by Professor Goodeve to the valuable aid and assistance, which he received from the Native Demonstrator, Pundit Moodhoosooden Gopto, whose high caste, extensive acquirements, and unremitting attention to his duties entitled him to the unqualified approbation of the Council. Dr. Goodeve likewise reported the zealous and valuable assistance received from Prossono Coomar Mittre, Samachurn Sircar, Satcourse Dutt, and Mr. Kirckenback, in preparing the subjects required to illustrate his lectures."¹⁴

13. Report of the late General Committee of Public Instruction for 1840-41 and for 1841-42, pp. 98.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Ram Gopal Ghose, Rustomjee Cowasjee, Ram Comul Sen, Krishnanath Roy—all belonging to the Indian community, supported the cause of the Medical College like Dwarkanath Tagore. Ram Gopal Ghose had previously presented 19 volumes of new medical works to the College so early as 1835. In 1842 he gave a case of medical instruments worth Rs. 500 to the best boy in the Institution, Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, himself distributed the prize and enquired for Ram Gopal Ghose, who had presented it for the purpose of personally conveying to him his sentiments in regard to his conduct. H. V. Baley, then Secretary to the Council of Education, conveyed



Rustomjee Cowasjee

this in a letter to Ram Gopal on 22nd February, 1842. Ram Gopal's reply¹⁵ is inserted here :

Sir,

I am honoured with your communication of the 26th (?) ultimo, and in replying beg to express my warmest acknowledgements for the kind and most unexampled notice of my very humble efforts in the cause of Native amelioration, on the part of the Council of Education.

Permit me also to express my very grateful sense of the encouraging notice taken by the Supreme Government of my conduct in reference to the education of my countrymen. When I think of the isolated and poor exertions I have sometimes made in that good cause, and consider, on the other hand, the distinction that has been conferred upon me by the approbation conveyed in your letter, I feel humiliated, knowing that it results less from any merits of mine than the kindly and fostering disposition thus generously evinced by the Government and the Council of Education.

In conclusion I venture to express a hope that, in the letter to which I am thus inadequately reply-

15. General Report, etc., for 1840-41 and 1841-42, Appendix N, pp. cxviii-cxix.

ing, I may find an additional motive to do all the little I can to further the great object of your council, and that if my life be spared, a day may come when I may claim such commendations as a deserved reward.

Calcutta,
3rd March, 1842

I have the honor to be Sir,
Your most obedient servant
RAMGOPAL GHOSE

It should be noted here that Badan Chandra Chaudhury was the recipient of the Ramgopal Ghose prize in 1841-42.¹⁶ Rustomjee Cowasjee, the Parsi merchant of Calcutta, offered in a letter¹⁷ in 1842 to Dr. F. J. Mowat, Secretary to the Medical College, a gold medal to the best student in Anatomy. This letter also deserves to be quoted:

Sir,

Having watched with no ordinary interest, the rise, progress and triumphant success of the Medical College, and as I still feel the deepest anxiety for the continued prosperity of that noble Institution and the future welfare of the youths who are favoured with its bounty, through whom the blessings of the Medical Science will be diffused amongst their suffering fellow countrymen, and reach the poor man's hut as well as the palace of the richest in the land, I am anxious to mark the interest with which I watch their progress, and my sympathy with their teachers, by offering a prize, which may serve as stimulus, by producing a wholesome spirit of emulation amongst them, to attain distinction in some branch of their professional studies.

As it has been suggested to me, that Anatomy is the ground-work of all Medical and Surgical Science, without the knowledge of which there can be no successful Physician, or skilful Surgeon, I beg to propose that each year a gold medal be presented to that student who at the general examination, is most distinguished as a practical Anatomist, to defray the expense of which, I beg, herewith, to forward a cheque on the Bank of Bengal for six hundred rupees, to be devoted to the purchase of an annual medal as above suggested.

With the best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Medical College,

I have, etc.,

Calcutta, (Signed) RUSTOMJEE COWASJEE
the 14th December, 1842

On behalf of the Council of Education which was the final authority to accept the offer, H. V. Bayley, its Secretary, wrote thanking Mr. Cowasjee for the offer made and intimated to him that the gold medal would be denominated the 'Rustomjee Cowasjee Medal.'

Dr. N. Wallich, Professor of Botany, went home on sick leave in 1843. Dewan Ram Comul Sen, to commemorate his services in the cause of Botanical researches in India, endowed for three consecutive years a gold medal,

named "Wallich Medal", the first recipient of which was Prasanna Kumar Mitra in 1842-43.¹⁸

So far as donations were concerned, this session was very prolific. Raja Krishnanath Roy presented to the funds of College a munificent donation of Rupees 700. Professor Goodeve instituted a scholarship called "Goodeve Scholarship," the recipient of which would get Rs. 16 monthly from him. The Council of Education states:

"The 'Goodeve Scholarship' for the best student in Mid-wifery mentioned in the Report of the late General Committee of Public Instruction, was announced for public competition during the month of November; the scholarship to be held for two years, and the successful competitor to reside during the term in the Female Hospital. The only candidate who presented himself was Prosunno Coomar Mitter, the resident Surgeon of the Midwifery Hospital... The examiners concluded their report in the following terms:

"In recommending Prosunno Coomar Mitter for the scholarship, we have much pleasure in adding that he has made himself delivered upwards of one hundred women, many of whom were private patients and cases of difficulty which occurred in the city, where the benefit of a superior plan of treatment is already beginning to be felt."¹⁹

Professor Goodeve reported to the Council of Education that the progress of the College was duly maintained. He said in part:

"The voluntary and gratuitous aid of Prosunno Coomar Mitter, in assisting to instruct the pupils in the dissecting room, as well as in superintending preparation of illustrations... were declared to have been most valuable, as were likewise the continued zealous services of the native teacher, Baboo Mudhusudan Goopto, whose great merits have repeatedly been brought to the favourable notice of the Council..."²⁰

The Calcutta Medical College had already won the approbation of the Hindu community. Let us conclude with the following remarks of the College Council summarised in the Report of the Education Council for 1842-43 as follows:

"The College Council stated that Baboo Doorgachurn Bannerjee, late Head Master of Mr. Hare's School, and Ganindramohun Tagore, a distinguished pupil, and scholar of the Hindoo College, and son of Baboo Prosunnocoomar Tagore, together with the Apothecary to the General Hospital, were attending the lectures delivered in the College, as amateurs, and for the information to be acquired by so doing, affording a gratifying proof of the estimation in which the institution and the branches of science taught within its walls, are beginning to be held among the members of the community."²¹

16. *Ibid.*, "List of Prizes and Honors for 1841-42." p. 99.

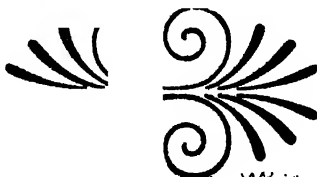
17. *General Report on Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency for 1842-43*, pp. cxxviii-cxxix.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 86.



COULEE DAM

Great Irrigation Project

By RICHARD H. SPRING

MAN's greatest single attempt to revitalize drought-parched soil began officially July 21, 1945, at Coulee Dam in the State of Washington, in the northwestern United States.



A view of the Coulee Dam under construction

On that date the majority of some six thousand landowners of the area voted to join the U.S. Government's Columbia River Basin Reclamation Project.

Their ballots will set in motion an irrigation system planned to bring water eventually to 1,029,000 acres of arid and semi-arid land thoroughly baked after over two decades of insufficient rainfall.

There is nothing wrong with the land except lack of water, soil experts say. It is deep, rich loam which was left behind when glacial waters of the "Ice Age" receded. Much of it was homesteaded successfully 30 to 40 years ago in a wet cycle before the drought came. Once revived, agriculturists say, the Columbia basin lands will grow any and all crops common to the temperate zone—grain, hay, beans, peas and other vegetables and fruits.

All this, if and when completed, will provide homes for thousands of people in the area where hundreds now work to eke out an existence. When finished, the project's adherents estimate, it will support approximately 85,000 persons on 17,000 farm

units and another 170,000 in new towns to be created.

The source of this potential bounty is the huge Grand Coulee Dam. This largest of man-made structures stretches across the upper Columbia River. It backs up water in natural reservoirs and furnishes power to pump them through a maze of irrigation canals. The Grand Coulee Dam was first projected primarily for irrigation. When the war came along, however, irrigation phases were shelved and the dam's hydro-electric power was used to supply energy to shipyards, aluminium mills and other plants in the Pacific northwest.

Now U. S. Reclamation Bureau officials are making a new start on the original program. Reaching their goal, however, will require a good many years and a lot of money. Just getting a flow of irrigation water started



The main canal of the Coulee Dam will take anywhere from two years to twenty years or longer. As much as fifty years may be needed to complete the overall project. By then the cost will have mounted close to 500 million dollars. Already 180 million dollars has been spent to build the dam; at least another 280 million will be needed to install irrigation systems.

Building of the Grand Coulee Dam made work for thousands in the 1930's. Construction of irrigation facilities will be a much bigger undertaking. It will require an estimated 140 million manhours of labor, almost twice that expended on the dam and power plant.

At no time does any participating farmer advance money toward the cost of the irrigation project. All of it will be amortized out of his earnings.

Nor is the program mandatory. The landowner can stay out entirely if he wishes. He must, however, serve official notice of withdrawal before July 18 next. And



A concrete channel in the Coulee Dam bisects an alfalfa field

Most of the amortization is expected from sales of hydro-electric power but about 85 million dollars of the irrigation systems' cost is expected to be repaid (to the government) over a long term by farmers who agree to buy water.

The contract with the government providing for this repayment is what 6,000 landowners whose holdings range from one to 50,000 acres voted on, on July 21.

Costs of installing the irrigation network vary considerably because the expense is graduated according to quality of soil. The average is about 85 dollars in an acre for the whole project.



An irrigation ditch carries water through a bean-field in the Western U. S.

once his land is withdrawn it can never become part of the water project unless it is first sold at appraised values to government which then proposes to resell it in parcels.

Each parcel will contain 160 acres to conform with the government's project restrictions that no one farm receiving Grand Coulee water can exceed 160 acres in size and no farmer who contracts for water can own more than one tract.

Farmers who withdraw their land of course won't be affected by any project regulations. They can farm as they please but without the benefit of the Coulee water.



LAND OF THE LUSHAIS IN ASSAM—MIZORAM

By A. V. THAKKAR AND L. N. RAO

TRAVEL is still not given its proper place in the education of our Indian society. Our ignorance about our neighbouring provinces or even contiguous districts is often colossal. Provincial prejudices persist because of ignorance.

There have been various reasons for this kind of attitude which in recent years has changed considerably. In spite of extremely difficult conditions of travel during the war-time and even in the post-war period, people do travel much more now than in pre-war days. With the provision of more facilities for travel by railway and improvement in accommodation, the habit of travelling is bound to increase among all sections of the people, students, public workers and business people as well.

There are several extensive areas which are part of our great country but which are even today unknown to the rest of India, except on the map. These tracts are terra incognita even to their next door neighbours. That is so because of the political rule imposed on these districts or sub-districts, called Excluded areas by the British Government of India. One such tract is the district of Lushai Hills in the Province of Assam, in between Burma on the east and Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bengal (another excluded area) on the west.

Lushai Hills could not be visited by any eminent Congress leader of Assam or even by the rank and file of the Congress till April, 1947. Even traders have to possess permits to enter the district.

Lushai Hills—a rugged hill country—is 8,142 sq. miles in area and has a population of only one lakh and fifty-three thousand souls. Thus the density of population is hardly 19 per sq. mile. This sparse population is due mainly to the facts that the area consists mostly of high hills with very few facilities for agricultural or even industrial development, utter lack of communications and, last but not least, the political rule directly under the Governor and administered by European members of the I.C.S. The country could have been developed if only it had been opened up by good communications.

The people of the district are known in official reports as Lushais, a picturesque and sturdy race of hillmen. But they call themselves Mizos and they call their country Mizoram—(Ram meaning country). Lushais are only a section of the people of Mizoram and they are the hereditary chiefs of the tribe. The British subjugated these Lushai Chiefs as late as 1898 or thereabouts and occupied their territory, now called Lushai Hills District. The people were a wandering tribe with no settled habitations at the time of the British conquest. But now they are a settled people, and what more, they form one of the most progressive sections of the people of India or India-ram as Mizos call India. One would wonder how such a hilly and undeveloped area could have such a progressive, intelligent, and cultured population. Among the

male population literacy is as high as 40 per cent and even among women it is more than 15 per cent. Thus in literacy Mizoram stands next only to Travancore in India, indeed a great achievement for a comparatively short period or less than half a century.

It was early in the morning of April 17, 1947, that we set out on a visit to this hitherto unknown land of the Mizo people. The Sub-Committee of the Advisory Board set up by the Constituent Assembly of India on partially and fully excluded areas of Assam, with Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier of Assam as Chairman, visited Aijal, the capital of the District. The Sub-Committee included Hon'ble Rev. Mr. Nichols Roy, a Minister of Assam Government, a member of the Khasi tribe, Mr. Aliba Impti, a young graduate of the tribe of Nagas and Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society. Sir B. N. Rau, Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly of India accompanied the Sub-Committee to advise it in their enquiry and deliberations on the wishes of the people regarding the future administration and development of their district. Two intelligent young and well-educated public men of Mizoram, Mr. Khawtinkhuma and Mr. Lalbuai were co-opted as members of this Sub-Committee which conducted a detailed enquiry for two full days, 18th and 19th April, meeting representatives of all the important organisations and persons of Mizoram, official, quasi-official and non-official, and finding out their wishes and aspirations regarding the future of their land.

The journey from Silchar, the railway terminus to Aijal, is a very difficult one—a distance of 113 miles of which only for 23 miles the road is level and thereafter is at best jeepable. It was only a bridle path till a few years ago. During the war-time, for strategic reasons, this bridle path was widened at a huge cost. But it is not improved. Military vans and jeeps only can negotiate the steep road, and that too in fair weather. The road is of steep gradients of sometime 1 in 6 and of 1 in 10, not metalled, narrow and consisting of only wooden or bamboo bridges over deep ravines and brooks. It took ten full hours for the party to reach Aijal from Silchar and every one was terribly tired and exhausted at the end of the journey. The bumps, joltings and more than all that the tense atmosphere consequent on the difficulty and risk involved in the ride, shook every one to the point of shattering the nerves. But all this strain could be borne without much grumbling because of the panoramic beauty of the hills and dales. The tints of the setting sun on the hill tops covered with dense forests, the huts of the Mizo people perched on steep hills, the winding road with hairpin bends, the smiling children of the roadside village are all sweet sites pleasing to the eye and the mind as well. The houses are built of wood and bamboo and

always on piles. Almost invariably the Mizo villages are built on the edges of steep hills. The people have to go down the steep hill for fetching water. It looks as if were the Mizo people manage with very little water. But yet they are clean and well-dressed.

The dress of the Mizos is picturesque and charming, in spite of some western modes creeping in. Both men and women have adopted the modes of dress from foreign Christian Missionaries but over and above this dress, they still wear their picturesque many-coloured tribal robe, which is invariably woven by themselves.

These robes are worn in Roman fashion. In most of the villages the yarn also is handspun. The cost of these robes varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 200 per piece.

On the night of the 19th April there was a great gathering of the people of Mizoram at Aijal when the national dance of the Mizos was exhibited. The national beverage of the Mizos, the rice-beer, went round and every Mizo that attended the function enjoyed it. It was served in bamboo-cups, quite an interesting feature. In the dim light of a few petromax lanterns, as the gong sounded slowly and in measured timings, a group of two dozen Mizo men with black and red striped robes and feathers in their head tied to a tiara, danced gradually. It looked as if the whole group was a slow-moving wave. In that dim light, and the slow continuous sounds of the gong, the whole scene appeared weird and awe-inspiring.

A little more than 60 per cent of the Mizos have been converted to Christianity. The rest follow their ancient tribal faith. The plainmen who have been allowed to settle there either for trade, or after retirement for service, are only a few thousands. Thanks to the policy of the British Government no other mission except the Christian Missions, three in number, have been allowed to enter this area and work there. All the educational work was entrusted to the Christian Missions which was carried on with evangelising work. Because of the Missionaries' wonderful zeal Mizo language is now written and taught

in Roman script. Mizo literature has been developed and books have been written. However, though primary education has spread widely, the facilities for higher studies are wanting. The first High School in Mizoram has just been started. It is not yet a full High School. So Mizo young men and women too go to Shillong, Calcutta and other places for higher education.

The Mizos are found in Chittagong Hill Tracts as well as in the Chin Hills of Burma. But the present district of Lushai Hills forms their chief habitat. The people can be divided into two sections socially—the chiefs and the commons. The chiefs, also called Rajas, are no more than village headmen and they number about 350 at present in the district. At the time of British occupation of Mizoram they numbered only about 50.

The Mizos are politically highly conscious of their position and the needs of their future. They are keen on retaining as much local autonomy as possible while working together with the rest of Assam. They have a legitimate fear about the plains or Assamese people entering their area in large numbers and exploiting them, once the district is brought under normal administration, and opened to all without any restriction. Hence they seek safeguards in the future constitution of the province of Assam.

At present the revenue of the district is hardly two lakhs of rupees while the expenditure on the administration is about six lakhs excluding the expenditure on the maintenance of Assam Rifles stationed here for maintenance of peace and order and for strategic reasons. The deficit is met from the provincial revenues. In future also large subsidies will have to be made to develop the country as well as the people.

It is certain that in course of time the Mizos will come to occupy a very high place in the political and social life of not only Assam but also of the eastern part of Hindustan besides retaining their autonomy in internal matters. May the small tribe of Mizos increase and prosper in every field.

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THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN INDIA'S IDEAL OF FREEDOM

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CURIOUS as it may seem, modern India's freedom movement has been the direct outcome of those diverse influences which British rule itself was instrumental in implanting in this country. The Indian National Congress emerged as the outward embodiment of a new spirit and a new renaissance which were but a rich harvest of what had been sown earlier during the last century in the shape of English education and modern ideas of administration. But, India's quest for an ideal of freedom is a story of a constant struggle between the forces of the old order and the growing democratic spirit, and it was as a result of this struggle that India's ideal has undergone a continuous transformation since the Congress was founded in 1885. The political goal that the India of today has set before herself, though a natural culmination of the movement that was ushered in 1885, is nevertheless something which the founders of the Congress had in reality never aimed at.

India's political ideal emerged more as a protest against bureaucratic hegemony than as a move against the British connection as such. The founders of the Congress had unbounded faith in British justice and liberalism, and they honestly believed that the time would come when India would take her rightful place in the Empire under England's guidance with England's help. The early Congress leaders were so deeply conscious of the benefits of British rule that they disdained to be termed seditious conspirators or disloyalists. They proclaimed in no uncertain terms that they were loyal to the backbone, and they harboured no wild ideas of subverting the British power. What therefore they asked for did not amount to more than a very modest programme of administrative reform. They desired no snapping of the existing ties; they pleaded only for their loosening. If they opposed the existing system, they did not oppose for the mere sake of opposition.

The political ideal of the Congress therefore was very modest at the outset, and its leaders had a sincere desire to support the British Government by fair and helpful criticism and by keeping it informed of the views and demands of the people, for they were no dreaming idealists, sedition-mongers, or irresponsible agitators. A few years after the foundation of the Congress, the idea dawned in the minds of the leaders that a wider and more tangible goal was needed than the position that had been taken up in the initial stage. This new idea was thus expressed by Mr. C. Sankaran Nair in his presidential address of 1897:

"We must insist on perfect equality. Inequality means race inferiority and national abasement. This demand was given a concrete shape by Mr. B. C.

Dutt who in his presidential speech of 1899 made a case for government by the people and urged, '... you cannot permanently secure the welfare of people, if you tie up the hands of the people themselves.'"

This change in outlook was due to the emergence of the extremists in the Congress who demanded freedom as the nation's birthright.

The Congress, however, officially still followed what has been termed a mendicant policy, and did not visualise a goal nobler than limited self-government of the colonial pattern. Even this humble demand came under pressure from those forward elements who first rose to prominence by their opposition to Curzon's reactionary policy. The establishment of a United States of India, placed on an equal footing with the self-governing parts of the Empire was still the highest ideal of India's future, and Sir Henry Cotton in his presidential speech of 1904 said:

"The ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, under the aegis of Great Britain."

At the next session of 1905, Mr. G. K. Gokhale definitely stated in his presidential address that India's goal was to be the attainment of a form of government which existed in the self-governing parts of the Empire. Mr. Gokhale also frankly admitted that the advance to this goal was bound to be gradual, for it was necessary for India "to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one." The moderate leaders of those days stuck to this position in spite of the opposition of the extremists led by Tilak. The result was the historic split at the Congress session held at Surat in 1907.

Revolutionary activity and the cult of the bomb which were the immediate outcome of the repression following in the wake of the agitation against Bengal partition symbolised the advent of a more radical outlook on India's political future. But, as the Congress was held by the moderates up to the First World War, the revolutionary ideal made little impression on the Congress opinion, the moderates had nothing but contempt for those wild extremists who talked about abolishing British rule at once and completely. They ridiculed the thought that the British power could be shaken by a little picric acid or a few flasks of g-n-powder. Dr. Rashbehari Ghose in his presidential speech of 1908 said:

"We condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements and we condemn anarchism most, because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as man."

The creed of the Congress as finally laid down in the revised constitution of 1934 was stated to be the attainment of colonial self-government by constitutional means. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya thus clarified this newly-defined creed in his presidential speech of 1930 :

"The creed we have adopted is, however, no new creed. It has been the creed of the Congress from the beginning. The foundation of the Congress rests on loyalty to the British Government. We have made it absolutely clear that we want self-government within the Empire."

Colonial self-government seemed so attractive to the moderates that year after year from 1906 they glorified it as a noble ideal. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar went so far as to claim in his presidential speech of 1912 that the British connection was a Providential dispensation. These leaders were doubtless opposed to a perpetual tutelage, but they were equally opposed to a separation from England and absolute independence. They pleaded that liberty could not descend as a free gift, nor could it be wrested by force. So, they emphasised the value of constitutional means by which alone, they held, India could attain self-government within the Empire. Mrs. Annie Besant sought to give a philosophic basis to the political faith of the moderates through her Home Rule movement. According to her, the demand for self-government was a demand for the evolution of national character for the service of humanity. The War proved too strong for a faith like this, and the events moved too rapidly for the moderates.

The end of the War witnessed the birth of a new epoch in India's freedom movement. Though the revolutionaries had failed to bring about an armed rising in India with German help, they had at least justified their existence as "the sappers and miners" of India's national advance by forcing Britain to concede the reforms of 1919. But, the Satyagraha movement started by Mahatma Gandhi changed the whole political scene, for it was a novel force introduced into Indian politics. India's masses were awakened for the first time and the national movement was no longer a monopoly of the educated middle class alone. As a mass movement, non-co-operation was not a doctrine of despair, nor was it a doctrine of negation. It was an affirmation of India's spiritual strength as the real basis of the demand for freedom. This new political philosophy of Satyagraha and non-co-operation finally broke the hold of the moderates over the Congress, and ushered in the new demand for Swaraj. Thus began the Gandhian era in the Indian freedom movement.

The ideal of Swaraj was not to be confused with that of mere *Swarajya*, for Swaraj, unlike the political conception of *Swarajya*, comprehended the nation's entire spiritual mind. Mahatma Gandhi's movement for Swaraj was therefore essentially a moral revolt

against alien domination on the basis of truth, fearlessness and non-violence. It did not directly aim at the paralysis of British rule ; its immediate aim was to remove the nation's own paralysis by non-violent rearmament of its soul. As for independence, Mahatma Gandhi made it clear in his presidential address of 1924 that he would strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. The Madras Congress of 1927, however, approved the goal of complete independence. Then came the Nehru Committee Report of 1928, which declared Dominion Status as the national goal. Not that Pandit Motilal Nehru was against the ideal of complete independence, but his point of view was that of a realist,

"I am for complete independence, but I am not against full Dominion Status, provided I get it before it loses its attraction."

The march of events, however, proved too strong for those who might be content with the substance of independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's lead established the doctrine of complete independence from British imperialism as well as from all forms of capitalistic exploitation. This socialist trend gave a new shape to India's ideal of freedom. In his presidential speech of 1929, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said :

"We stand for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way."

This was bound to lead the goal of *Purna Swaraj* which the Congress finally accepted in its revised constitution of 1934. The supreme sanction behind this new creed was non-violence which is the finest legacy of India's freedom movement to humanity. India's acceptance of the ideal of *Purna Swaraj* was the culmination of the Gandhian era of national struggle, but the national demand received a powerful impetus from Netaji Subhas Bose's *Azad Hind* movement during the last War, which is one of the most dramatic and poignant episodes of the history of India's fight for freedom.

The goal of a sovereign, independent republic finally accepted by the Constituent Assembly is the natural outcome of all that the freedom movement in India has hitherto stood for. It also marks the end of the Gandhian era of non-violent struggle. What shape this new ideal will take in a partitioned India is for the future to unfold. There are patriots who have begun to feel that Pakistan is the logical result of the non-violent political creed of the Congress. It is a moot question, however, if India could have reached her present position so quickly by violent methods alone. In any case, the curtain has risen on the drama which will unfold the future destiny of India's freedom movement.



THE LIFE IN U. S. S. R.

By JACQUES NICOLLE

I had the honour to be one of the members of the delegation deputed to represent France at the celebrations of the 220th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R. in June-July, 1945.*

Having stayed in Moscow for a month after the departure of my compatriots, my sojourn in the Soviet Union had a duration of six weeks. Except the five days at Leningrad, I have passed all that time in Moscow. During the first part of my voyage I saw what I would not have been able to see if I had been alone. I was present at the grand manifestations of the Academy of Sciences, at the various receptions and, in particular, at a sumptuous banquet presided, in a hall at the Kremlin, by Generalissimo Stalin. During the second part of my sojourn, I saw what I could not see except while all alone, that is to say that I led the life of an inhabitant of Moscow moving about by means of ordinary transport, visiting places of entertainment like a simple spectator (and no more the organized manifestations like the celebrations of the Academy of Sciences) and being, moreover, invited daily into intimacy by numerous persons of every category.

Our first contact with the Soviet Union took place at the Bourget aerodrome. Our delegation having taken their seats in two grand and very comfortable Soviet planes, left exactly at 7 o'clock in the morning in the eastern direction. Thanks to an altimeter which M. Francis Perrin carried with him we were in a position to ascertain that we were rapidly taking to the height and arriving in the region of 3,000 metres. Precisely three hours later we were over Berlin, and the pilots had the courtesy of allowing us a tour of the city at a low altitude. We had been allowed to see the most extraordinary scenes that we ever had to contemplate. A few metres below us there were hundreds and hundreds of blocks of houses of which there remained only the walls, the incendiary bombs having destroyed the roofs, the timber framework, the flights of stairs, in a word, all the combustible portions. A few minutes later we landed at the Adelshof aerodrome and found ourselves amidst the Red Army soldiers. In a hutting the young Soviet women served us with tea, coffee, milk, black bread, butter and cucumbers; we had already begun to mix in Russian life. Finally, three hours later, we started again for the Soviet capital and at 17 hours we began to see that immense and magnificent city over which we flew before landing at the central aerodrome. We were immediately received by the Government representatives, numerous personalities, principal members of the Academy of Sciences, journalists, and cine-photographers.

A few moments later, with my friend Professor Aubel, we had installed ourselves quietly in a vast room situated on the sixth storey of the immense Moskva, in the city's very centre, in Okhotni Ryad.

A GRAND HOTEL IN MOSCOW

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the hotel in which we had got down, is purely Sovietish; the foreigners, generally, go to Metropole, National or Savoy. It was due to shortage of accommodation that we

were installed at the Hotel Moskva, because it so happened that the delegates of all the countries of the world and all the republics of the U.S.S.R. were in Moscow at just the same time as we were. It is a fine building which possesses a dozen storeys to which one gets by means of numerous lifts. It has a considerable number of apartments with bath room and toilet cabinet. The furniture is very comfortable; central heating is installed in each room.

Each of us had a radio set and a telephone by the bed-side. The telephone number of Moskva is K. 22. If somebody wants to ring up a boarder from outside the number of the room has to be added to that of the hotel. Thus, we had with M. Aubel the room 651, which meant that we were at the sixth storey, room 51 (100 numbers per storey). A person in the city had only to compose on dial the number K. 22. 651 for ringing us in order to enter communication with us, for that matter, directly and without intermediary. I may point out, by the way, that the Moscovites use, or rather misuse, the telephone and for doing that they have no fixed time for it. It often happened that I had talks on the 'phone at two o'clock in the morning, as well as four or eleven o'clock in the evening. In fact, the majority of the persons there having big responsibilities are often obliged to be at home for visitors during the day, and take advantage of the night for working quietly, and equally for preventing their friends from sleeping. The night preceding my departure, I received 23 calls from 9 o'clock in the evening to 2 o'clock in the morning.

The hotel comprises a very large personnel, extremely good, very obliging, without any obsequiousness, and accomplishing their work with good humour and exactitude. There is a very grand restaurant in this building, situated on the third storey and in whose hall a very grand banquet given by the President of the Academy of Sciences to its 2,000 invitees had taken place.

If we descend the superb staircase covered with extremely beautiful tapestry we shall find ourselves in a vast hall where various services of information, library, sale of postage stamps and diverse objects of travellers' interests such as banking business are functioning. There is equally a special bureau for automobile carriages at the entrance. While our delegation was at Moscow, more than two hundred vehicles had been earmarked for the invitees of the Academy of Sciences, and for making a passage, however, one could address himself to "Automobile" Bureau of the hotel which would provide you immediately with a carriage with a chauffeur generally belonging to fair sex.

PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET LIFE

So we are now in Moscow, and I propose to you to come with me out of the hotel for establishing the first contact with the street. But, before we proceed with our investigations and are able to derive any profitable lesson from the observations and the experiences which we are

* This article reproduces a talk at a conference held recently at the house of the chemist under the auspices of the Franco-U.S.S.R. Cultural and Economic Centre in Paris.

going to have, I believe it will be good. first of all, if we recall in a few words what is described as "regle du jeu", that is to say, we should review the essential principles which regulate every activity in the Soviet Union, principles without which it is impossible to form an exact idea of what we are going to see. Besides, every example which will be given will be attached directly to one of the essential principles of the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. is a Union freely consented to by the Soviet Peoples who have equal rights. The citizens' rights are as follows:—

- (a) the right to work;
- (b) the right to rest;
- (c) the right to material assurance in case of accident, illness, and for old age;
- (d) the right to education;
- (e) the equality of woman and man;
- (f) the equality of all citizens, without distinction of race or nationality;
- (g) the liberty of conscience;
- (h) equal political rights

In his turn—and too much stress is laid upon this point—each and every citizen of the U.S.S.R. has:—

- 1. to observe the Constitution;
- 2. to observe the discipline of work;
- 3. to fulfill his social duty honestly;
- 4. to respect the rules of socialist social life;
- 5. to safeguard the social property;
- 6. to defend the socialist fatherland.

The Soviet economy is a socialist system in which only the State possesses the principal collective means of production and distribution. It should be pointed out that the citizens can decidedly possess the articles of consumption and utilisation, and in very large proportions too. The exploitation of man by man is prohibited. Finally, with its electoral system and the way in which it is applied, the U.S.S.R. has a democratic government in which a minority is charged with the task of carrying out the majority's wishes. This is, in my opinion, the true definition of liberty in complete opposition to various negative and hypocritical formulas. In this connection I can't do better than quote the words of Stalin himself:—

"I can hardly understand," said Stalin, "what is called 'individual liberty' in case of an unemployed who suffers from hunger and does not find any work. True liberty exists only where exploitation has been suppressed, where there is neither unemployment nor misery, where the man is not afraid of losing his work, his home and his bread-to-morrow. It is only in such a society that true liberty and not liberty on paper, whether individual or otherwise, is possible."

I equally wish to draw your attention to the fact that we are in the post-war Moscow. The normal economy of peace time is not there. The torture has committed great ravages in the country. Millions of human beings have perished, directly or indirectly, as a result of the war. The wounded, the sick, still suffer throughout the length and breadth of the country. The towns have been destroyed, the countryside ravaged. The barbarians have set fire to the kolkhozes and the forests, demolished the factories. The

Spanish Blue Division who had no doubt come to bestow the fruits of western civilization, have destroyed the palace of Peterhof from top to bottom and left it in the same condition as we were able to verify, with our friend Joliot. According to M. Molotov's report the material damages caused by the war are estimated to be 679 milliard roubles. But the Soviet people, who have made willingly enormous sacrifices and accomplished gigantic feats, by whose grace we shall never forget, Europe and France have been saved, are stronger and more enthusiastic than ever. We are therefore going to find ourselves in a city which vibrates still with the hard battles fought at its very doors, and the sacrifices of each and every of its inhabitants. That is why we see amongst the civilians a considerable majority of women and children, and on the other side, of innumerable soldiers.

ON MOSCOW'S STREETS

Having said so much, we can now throw ourselves across the roads of the capital and observe the life as it presents itself to us, beginning with the simple one and then proceeding to the complicated one.

Let us begin, if you are willing, by having a round on foot around our hotel. In the Okhotni Ryad, where we are staying, we are in the very centre of the city. We are face to face with the Peoples' Commissariats and various other buildings of grand stature. If we take to our right we arrive at the place Sverdlovsk, surrounded by the hotel Metropole, the grand store Univermag, the Grand Theatre (Opera), the Maly Theatre or the theatre of drama, other buildings and an entrance to the Metro. If, on the contrary, we turn to our left, we arrive at the Manege, where is situated the "M'nege" (the riding school) itself (now transformed into the central garage) and which forms the side of a right angle whose other side is constituted by the United States embassy, the University, the National Hotel. From behind our hotel we pass in front of the Lenin Museum and then we reach the celebrated Red Place with the Kremlin and the Church so characteristic of the blessed Saint-Basile. So you see that Moscow is a very ancient and very modern city at the same time. For having a proper idea of the "street", it is better to proceed on towards Oulitsa Gorkova, the Gorki Street, the ancient Tverskaia. Besides we have to pass through that important artery for arriving at the central airport of the city.

In 1937, I had seen important works going on for enlarging that radial street. The construction of huge buildings had begun, and exactly a year later, in 1938, I was able to see rapid disappearance of minor constructions behind which the big ones had been erected now, we can admire a causeway equivalent to that of our Champs-Elysees with large footpaths. I must point out that the latest modern processes have been employed for restoring certain big houses on the alignment which have permitted displacement of the houses on a length of several meters, without disturbing in any way the tranquillity of the residents.

While raising our eyes, we see all along the length of the street tall buildings covered with plaster and painted in diverse colours. The others have been strengthened by cement. Gradually we come across numerous public edi-

ices, the new telephone Central, a museum, a theatre, concert halls, churches, and a large number of buildings which shelter private lodgings or offices within their multiple storeys, and shops on the ground floor.

A large crowd can be seen moving about in the streets. Many of them belong to the military, whose chests are shining brightly with military decorations, and some are civilians who display with a feeling of pride the medals of the Defence of Moscow, majority of them being women. A great many children accompany their parents while the others run out of breath across the legs of the passersby. Every type of the most variegated of the diverse peoples of the Soviet Union are met with in the capital. From Slavs of the North to Tajiks, while passing by the Ukrainians and the Uzbeks. All this population seems conscious of the great achievement which has been realised and is imbued with optimism, towards a future full of promise.

While some people are reading the newspapers posted on the placards (because the circulation of newspapers is not yet sufficient, *Pravda* of Moscow, however, printing 3 million copies), the announcements of concerts and theatres, other Moscovites are breaking out into numerous stores and making copious purchases: in bakery and butchery shops, in general provision shops, book-shops, furniture stores, perfumeries or hairdressing saloons, the number of the latter being incalculable. The young dealers in mirrors at the State Trust are almost invaded by the customers while the petty artisans silently sell waxing laces at corners of the main streets.

It must be pointed out that at the newspaper stalls, you can obtain, at moderate price, the addresses of no matter any inhabitant of the city; this, however, existed in Russia long before the Revolution.

The civilians many of whom are in their regional costumes are properly, though moderately, dressed, all the effort and attention being paid to the needs of the army. The watchword "All for the Front" has not been a vain word as can be seen. Several persons have told me that they were receiving two pairs of shoes per year.

The city is very good, frequently sprinkled with water in summer; numerous gardens separating the different quarters, while permitting ventilation, and providing comfort and agreeableness. One meets here and there a few statues of Pushkin, Gogol, Timirazey among others, but indeed as a result of lack of stone, sculpture (outside the range of the wood) is known neither in Russia nor in the Soviet Union as a significant development.

It is particularly recommended to follow the studded passages while crossing the streets because the traffic is intense and rapid. The policing of the street and the system of regulating the vehicles is carried out by young militia-women putting on boots and dressed in blue uniforms and whose ease of manner and charm have won over several members of our delegation. Numerous illuminated signals function in every street. The white marks indicate what the conductors of various vehicles should do. It is particularly prohibited to turn directly into a street. There is neither "embouteillage" nor any altercation between the conductors.

THE MEANS OF TRANSPORT

The moment has now arrived, for us, to make a review of different means of transport. As Kroupenskov has written:

At the beginning of the 20th century one could see on the roads of Moscow a grinding and terrible fracas caused by small wagonets drawn by two or three horses in the narrow streets. These tramways displayed such rapidity that the pleasant Moscovites had composed a little song wherein two newly married ones returned from one end of the city to the other, having mounted at two and descended at four, that is to say, in two hours at the end of their drive.

The Soviet Union possesses all the means of modern transport on a vast scale.

Aviation: One word only. All those aeroplanes, which bring us to Moscow at the Central Aerodrome and from this land leave for every corner of the U.S.S.R. and countries occupied by the Soviets, and those carrying post and transporting men and material, are owned by the Soviet. Thus, you can daily go from Moscow to Leningrad, Gorki, Stalingrad, Tashkend, and likewise to Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Warsaw, Bucharest, Budapest, etc. In view of the immensity of their territories the Soviets run a large number of air transports. I have often seen young family mothers with their babies a few months old at the airports where absolutely special sitting arrangements have been provided for them.

Tramways, Trolleybus, Autobus: Here and there we come across tramway rails in the city's centre. But the tramways themselves run on the periphery and for the suburbs only. They have been replaced by the trolleybus and the autobus whose number increases day by day, but which are still insufficient for the population, having been requisitioned for the needs of the front. Most of them are roofless and resemble our Parisian transports more than the buses of London. You are often obliged to wait in a queue at a halt for catching a bus, you enter last and come out first. That would have been a good thing in normal times, but during the exceptional period like the present, when corridors are often crowded with stout persons, it happens that it becomes impossible to get down at any fixed station. One day, having been invited by the President of the *Pravda*, to visit the office of that important journal, I had taken an autobus ahead of the line at the Manege, in Moscow's centre, and had mounted in the carriage last. After twenty minutes, having made desperate attempts, I was able to reach half way in the corridor so that at the end of Moscow I was not in front of *Pravda*, but at a stoppage situated at more than 600 metres from the place I wanted to go.

It should be noted down that in these vehicles which are conducted and controlled by women, the ticket collector does not move and it is you who must take the amount to her from your place for purchasing the ticket. As often one cannot move from his or her place the money is passed from hand to hand. An average journey in Moscow costs from 40 to 80 kopecks.

The Metro (or the underground railway traffic): In course of our promenade we come across numerous en-

trances to the metropolitan. It must not be forgotten that the metro of Moscow which is certainly the best in the whole world was constructed 10 years ago, the first train having commenced running on the 14th May, 1935. Evidently, it has been perfected by the latest modern technique. Besides, the variegated and sumptuous architecture of the stations' interior certainly constitutes one of the most beautiful monuments of our epoch. The work of metropolitan's construction was undertaken and carried to successful conclusion when Lazare Kaganovitch was People's Commissar for Transports. It should be noted that the People's Commissar has not been content with merely presiding at the works, but he has participated in the elaboration and construction of every process by working desperately. It often happened that he had to ring up foremen, architects, engineers at midnight for giving them instructions regarding new modifications and simplifications to be introduced in the works.

By way of information I must give here some figures which will enable you to form an idea of the importance of this means of transport. While in London the metro transported in 1940 per kilometre and per year 3 million passengers, it carried in the same conditions 4 millions in New York, 7 millions in Paris and 144 millions in Moscow. The number of passengers carried literally in the Soviet capital is one million per day. The speed of exploitation is a little higher than that of London, Paris and New York. Nearly three thousand women are employed in the different services of whom 27 are engineers and 32 technicians. Depth of stations varies from 10 to 50 metres.

Individual tickets or ticket books are delivered to us at a counter, each unit costing 40 kopecks. There are no return tickets, but the tickets are valid in the whole precincts of the metro. We then enter the vestibule where we find numerous shop windows of diverse products including newspapers and books. On getting down the mechanical staircase your tickets are checked by young girls. We arrive then at the platform which is always centrally situated, that is to say, we have a tunnel each way, on our right and left, in both the directions. All the stations have been constructed and decorated by different architects. Some are in rose marble, others are in green porphyry. Maiakovski station is entirely covered with steel. Lighting is indirect nearly everywhere. Many stations are called after the parts of Moscow wherein they are situated; "Okhotni Ryad", "Lenin Library", "Place of the Revolution", "Culture Park", etc. One is dedicated to the partisans, the other to the mine workers, the third to those of the metallurgy, etc. Let us catch the first train which comes and stops 20 seconds at the station and we must take care not to get in the first carriage, which is generally reserved for old men, invalids, children, otherwise a militia-woman would immediately impose on us a fine of three roubles. The same fine would be imposed on us if we tried to enter by the exit or if we threw a paper on the platform.

When I was in pre-war Moscow it was a pleasure to travel in a metro when we could sit comfortably, perpendicularly in the moving train. Now nothing of that sort.

There is such a crowd in the metro that one should be happy if he or she can get a place to stand. The carriages are, however, very comfortable and theoretically carry more than 44 seats, 110 standing, whose coach has been built of a single piece and with four doors. Ventilation is excellent and lighting arrangement is perfectly studied. I have travelled in metro very often in the morning or in the evening on all the lines which are actually three in number. The fourth one which is under construction will go round the city. It must be noted down that three stations have entirely been built during the war when the enemy was only a few kilometres from the capital and when air-raid warnings generally interfered with everyday life. During that period the metro served as shelter for women and children. Anti-gas watertights are still seen between the double doors. The valid persons who were not at the front were not authorised to descend these shelters; they were required to go on the roofs of their respective houses where with appropriate materials they extinguished incendiary bombs. In this way a large number of buildings have been saved from destruction. As I have mentioned in the case of surface transports the metro of Moscow also is entirely in female hands. It is they who check and distribute tickets, regulate the signalling, act as traffic and station police, conduct the machines. I had equally the pleasure to visit Moscow's Metro and its forty kilometre line in company with the Director General of that organisation who permitted me to collect a large number of information which unfortunately I cannot give here.

The Railways: I shall not leave the question of transports without mentioning a word about the railways which distinguish themselves from ours by a very large route and by the fact that in most of the important journeys there are only four travellers per compartment which permits everyone to sleep. The journeys by these means are in fact long enough because of numerous destructions caused by the enemy, but being given terrible rapidity and gigantic effort of reconstruction it can be said that the principal routes are already in a state of functioning. In almost every train there is a wagon-restaurant and in each wagon, an employee supervises the samovar and distributes tea and coffee to passengers regularly. During my last sojourn I had only two journeys by rail: Moscow-Leningrad and return. As you know, at the big stations there are rooms called the "Rooms of the mother and the child", which allow family mothers to repose comfortably, to bathe and lull their children to sleep, or attend to correspondence, or wait for the break of day if they have arrived at an unknown place during the night.

Water Transports: Water transport is very much in use in the Soviet Union. An ultra-modern fluvial station has been built on the outskirts of Moscow near the airport, the Khimki station, which permits circulation in numerous rivers and canals and connects the Soviet Capital with the five seas of the Union. With that object in view large and comfortable boats have been built which can be utilised as means of ordinary transport or for holiday cruising during the normal season. In course of our sojourn the French delegation had made a beautiful trip

in two comfortable boats on the Volga-Moscow canal. Many persons thus pass their vacations; they take the boat at Moscow, mount on the canal, descend on the Volga in the water stream, passing through Yaroslavl, Gorki, Stalingrad. The Moscow-Astrakhan and return journey takes fifteen days. The cabins are comfortable. There is a restaurant, an infirmary and bathrooms on board. At the halts the kolkhoziens bring fruits, eggs, poultry and fried fish to the wharf.

ALIMENTATION

Now let us study the question of alimentation. We come across several alimentary stores on the street. If we enter we can verify an extraordinary abundance of diverse products perfectly arranged in shop windows. These large stores are generally called "Gastronomes." A considerable crowd is constantly coming in and out. Besides the banquets given to us and which were rather exceptional ones, I have been received by numerous Soviet citizens of every category and I have taken repast in the restaurants belonging to various organisations and notably at the Scholars' House which belongs to the Academy of Sciences. From all that it results that as much in city's stores as in particular stores, nourishment is an abundance, healthy and well-prepared. The moment has arrived now, I believe, to explain to you in what way it is possible to revictual in alimentary provisions in the Soviet.

Besides his or her card for cloth, tobacco, the Soviet citizen actually possesses, since the war, a card for alimentation. As in our and other countries, there are different categories in kinds of alimentation for the infants, the adults, and according to the profession. I must add that members of the Academy of Sciences are among the most favoured category.

The Three Markets : The First Market: With his card for alimentation the Soviet citizen can take up his repast at a restaurant of the organisation to which he belongs: Scholars' House for those under the jurisdiction of the Academy of Sciences, restaurant of the footgears' syndicate for the personnel of the factories of that category, restaurants of the Metro for the employees, engineers, workers of that organisation, etc. Or else he can purchase his provisions from the store of his quarter. All these purchases are made at a normal price of the taxed commodities. The quantities distributed in last June-July varied wholesale for meat from 3 to 15 kg. per month for adults, from 550 gr. to 1 kg. of bread per day, from 800 gr. to 5 kg. of butter per month, from 500 gr. to 4 kg. of sugar per month. By the way it must be pointed out that in the same stores men and women having equal work to do have equivalent cards as well and they can obtain particularly, (at the price of 5 to 6 roubles per packet of 20) 600 cigarettes per month.

The Second Market: As you have already seen the minimum essentials have been raised to a higher standard and every inhabitant can live largely with the rations attributed to him. It must also be pointed out here that the tickets issued for each month are always honoured. Besides the afore-mentioned cards it is optional for the consumers to procure for themselves any commodity they like from the Gastronome stores; while passing with to-

beats going as far as for jams, while passing by the bread, chocolate and caviar, but at much higher prices, generally 6 to 10 times than that of the taxed commodity. Nevertheless, these prices are fixed uniformly in every store for the same article. There is no question of black market in it as certain malignant newspapers have chosen to make us believe, but rather it is a transitory measure to the benefit of the State. Besides what is called black-market is a market which makes the normal products rare for re-selling them at exorbitant prices. Here the market being too large, it is nothing but superfluous and the purchaser visiting these stores spends money on things which are a sort of luxury. Besides that I must point out, that cards of alimentation equally give reduction from 15 to 30 per cent in the second market for many categories.

The Third Market or the market of Kolkhoziens : As you know, every kolkhozien is the proprietor of a piece of land and a house which constitute a small family exploitation besides the kolkhoz itself. When the kolkhoz has delivered the share imposed upon it by its contract with the State, the surplus is again divided, after amortization and payment to the social works funds, between the various kolkhoziens in proportion to the days of work accomplished. The kolkhozien is then free to sell the products and you can buy them from him after transacting a private bargain. This constitutes the third source of supply of provisions prices of which are variable.

RESIDENCE

Theoretically, a person employed in a category of Soviet economy and who inhabits, for example, Moscow, such as the Director of the *Pravda* combine, the big paper which you know, (I choose this example purposely, because I discussed it personally with the Director) has two possibilities for lodging himself :

1. He can obtain a residence in the buildings which belong to the *Pravda* combine.
2. He can look for an apartment in the buildings of Moscow Soviet (such as those we have here belonging to the City of Paris).

The same is the case with a scientist who can choose between the buildings of the Academy of Sciences and those of the Moscow Soviet. Such instances can be infinitely multiplied. As I have already mentioned in the beginning it is a theoretical example, because as a result of actual excessive population of Moscow and non-reconstruction during the war, it is very difficult, as in Paris these days, to find an apartment unoccupied in the same quarter where one wants it. But in normal times the enunciated rule is arbitrary. In principle, the best workers are favoured with regard to choice of quarters and re-orientation of lodgings. It must be pointed out that the number of apartments allotted is single functioning of the number of the family members. Thus, the Director of the *Pravda* combine and an ordinary worker would have the same apartment if both of them are unmarried. As a set-off, if one is married and has two children, his apartment will be bigger than that of a bachelor without a child. The rent is only a fraction of the salary. An average engineer interrogated by us at Leningrad, declared that out of a salary of 1000 roubles per month 40 roubles were retained

for the flat, 10 for the gas, 20 for the electricity and his alimentary expenses amounted to 150 roubles.

I may point out that every flat which I visited was attractive, well managed and particularly good, admitting of every important installation of central heating and the favourite instrument of the Moscovites, the telephone.

Majority of the buildings have lifts. As a result of war numerous repairs have not been done in the houses but it is a purely temporary situation.

Generally speaking, the families are numerous and seem to be very united. As a journalist of *Pravda* has written :

"The State helps the family; it however does not relieve the parents of their duty, which is to take care of their children. Only a father and a mother really love their children. These convictions form the basis of the Soviet family, which is a powerful and morally solid nucleus of the society."

Russian hospitality is proverbial. I had always had more invitations than I could accept, be they for repast, for afternoon Sunday, for example, for a cup of tea (week is the same as ours, with Sunday, the day for rest). It must be told what they mean by a cup of tea. It is a mass of cakes, most diverse kinds of sandwiches, with caviar, cold meat and also the tea.

When both husband and wife work—which is generally the case—they engage a person for keeping the household who makes purchases of provisions, runs the house and the kitchen. That is not at all contrary to the principle which prohibits the exploitation of man by man, since none draws any profit from the employment of that person, who besides is protected by a very powerful syndicate and it is not rare to find a person who keeps a household parallelly following a course in the schools or even in the University and consequently becoming a technician, engineer or professor.

The State has sought to render the life of a family much more rational by creating creches, the children's parks, which does not hamper, rather the contrary, the family's life by making it not strenuous. Children of medium age are veritable comrades of their parents who leave no stone unturned to put them in the current of the highest progress of technique and science and initiate them in the most diverse kinds of arts, particularly music. Family is graciously affable; they receive a number of friends, the younger ones often visiting others, and a big rivalry develops out of this fact

LEISURE

The moment has now arrived to say a word about leisure.

Article 119 of the Constitution commences with these words:

"The citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right of rest"

In 1896 the day of work was 14 hours. In 1927 it was not more than 7 hours for ordinary work and 6 hours for unwholesome work. Holidays which varied from 15 days to 2 months were suppressed on 25th June, 1941 and during this period the day of work increased considerably.

Finally, on the 1st July, 1945 the integrity of the holidays has been restored. The Soviet worker has a vast network of rest houses (known there as House for a Day's Rest) and sanatoriums on the sea coast, in the mountains, and in the forests at his disposal. Every enterprise has a club. The great factory of Stalin Automobiles has its own Palace of Culture. In 1940, there were 4000 fields for football, 45000 fields for volleyballs, 1200 tennis courts and 6000 ski-stations.

I passed a day with the Academician Lina Stern at Ouzkoie, 20 km. from Moscow, at the rest house of the Academy of Sciences, installed in the ancient chateau of Prince Trounetskoi. Each boarder has a very comfortable room, he can get his repast served in his room or descend into the common dining hall, he gets the benefit of a superb park facing the woods, an artificial lake, can talk with his colleagues or remain completely isolated, respect for individual liberty being an absolute rule and observed by all.

In all the big cities there are parks of culture and rest where one can devote himself to various sports, dance, learning of foreign languages, or geography and listen to concerts or attend theatrical shows.

In the beginning of 1941, there were 885 theatres against 153 before the Revolution, 31000 cinemas and numerous concert halls. Among the principal theatres may be mentioned the academic Grand Theatre of the State of Moscow, Maly Theatre, Gorky Theatre of Art, Kamerny Theatre, Stanislavski Theatre, Theatre of the Red Army, Dramatic Theatre of Leningrad, Opera of Leningrad, etc. I must be permitted to say a few words about Obraztsov Theatre, the theatre of the puppets. I was present in July last at a representation of *Mowgli*, based on the *Book of the Jungle* of Rudyard Kipling, and it is certainly the most beautiful performance that I have seen in the Soviet Union. The creator and the director Obraztsov received me during the interval and allowed me to visit his theatre in details and explained to me the efforts made for showing such a piece. It has required in fact six months of preparations by five persons for acquiring the extraordinary precision of that spectacle. The decorations representing the rising of the sun in the jungle displayed an artistic surety and a perfection of exceptional realisation.

I may point out a considerable number of museums, about 800, frequented incessantly by the population in the same way as the libraries which are counted among the world's largest and which possess books in all the languages.

Upon the whole, and not in conclusion—for it is for you and not for me to conclude—we have all together made a promenade of the Soviet capital.

These people pursue their magnificent destiny with its men and women whose character has been moistened with struggle and with its children full of health who represent the nation's future.

The torment having passed, the reconstruction and construction have been taken with dash and enthusiasm without parallel.

The day is finished, let us have a round this evening

on the river-side, the night has fallen, the red stars of the Kremlin are shining in the peaceful sky, thousands of lights are shining in the windows of houses, one scents that the joy reigns in every hearth, young soldiers are

passing hand in hand with the young girls. The battle of peace is won, they proceed now towards life.

[Translated from "La Pe-see," a quarterly of Paris, by Raj Narain, with the kind permission of its Editor.]

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THE LATE NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI

By NIRADBANDHU SANYAL

On the 6th February, 1947, the death occurred of Dr. Nalini Kanta Bhattachali, M.A., Ph.D., the well-known Curator of the Dacca Museum at Dacca, at the age of 57. He combined in himself consummate scholarship with remarkable organising abilities, and his work at the Dacca Museum has been an ideal for all museum men. Indeed, to his sincere devotion and untiring exertions the Dacca Museum owes in a considerable measure the position it is in today. Not only the cause of antiquarian studies in Bengal but also the Museum movement in this country has suffered a great loss by his death.

Nalinikanta was born in 1890 of a Brahmin family of Vikrampur (Dacca). Even in his school days, young Bhattachali was fond of literary studies. He was also proficient in drawing. He passed the Entrance Examination in the first division in 1905 from the Sorargaon G. R. C. Institution with drawing as a special subject. He passed the first Examination in Arts from the Dacca College in 1907, and in this examination he secured a distinction for proficiency in original Bengali composition. From the same College, he graduated in 1909 and obtained also his M.A. degree in History in 1912. In the same year he contributed an original paper to the *Indian Antiquary* on "King Lakshmanasena of Bengal and his era" (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, 1912, pp. 167-169). This paper reveals how he had already made himself familiar with the knotty problems of Ancient Indian History and the methods of scientific investigation to deal with them.

After concluding his studies in the College, Bhattachali was moving from place to place in search of employment. He began his career as a teacher, serving the Ichhapura, and the Balurghat H. E. Schools. He served also the Victoria College, Comilla, for some time as a lecturer in History.

In July, 1912, a movement was started at Dacca to build there a local Museum for preservation and exhibition of relics of the past which came from East Bengal. The organisers of the movement arranged a *conversazione* in the Northbrooke Hall to consider the project. H. E. Lord Carmichael, the then Governor of Bengal, lent his weighty support to the movement. In connection with this *conversazione*, an Exhibition was organised at Dacca. Exhibits of varieties were lent to this Exhibition from various parts of East Bengal. The movement achieved its success and the Dacca Museum was finally inaugurated in 1914. For housing the Museum, the Government of Bengal ac-

corded their sanction to the restoration and handing over to the Museum Committee, of the Audience Chamber (Baradwari) and the adjoining gate-house of the former Nawabs of Dacca. Bhattachali was called upon to assume charge of this Museum in July, 1914.

At the conclusion of the Exhibition, referred to above, some of the exhibits sent for it were left behind. They included six ancient sculptures and only these six pieces formed the nucleus of the collections of the Dacca Museum. The growth of this new-born Institution thus depended entirely on the resourcefulness and ability of its Curator and Bhattachali proved himself singularly fit for this difficult task. To enrich the museum he pursued the methods shown by the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. He approached rich and influential people of the locality. With their aid and co-operation he began regular tours of exploration in search of archaeological treasures. In these tours he had to manage the entire work himself. He had his own camera and he was his own photographer. Not only this,—he tried to create an enthusiasm for his Museum among local workers, who brought to him not only news but often real finds for the Museum. He also approached men who were known to be in possession of antiquities and often succeeded in persuading them to make over the relics to the Museum. In 1916, he undertook also an excavation work near the ruins of Rampal. Finds from this as well as from other private excavations also enriched the Dacca Museum. A splendid service was thus organised,—exhibits were pouring in, and the Museum began to grow by rapid strides. The magnificent collection of ancient sculptures which the Dacca Museum has achieved today, its fine assortment of inscriptions and also its rich cabinet of coins, which is a special distinction of this small museum, eloquently speak of the rare abilities of its Curator.

Also in the formation of the library of Sanskrit and Bengali Manuscripts of the Dacca University, which was entrusted to him, he proved himself equally competent. Two reports in this connection which were published in the *Indian Antiquary*, give us a true account of the admirable work he did there (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LV, 1926, pp. 121-122, Vol. LVII, 1928, pp. 1-3). It will be recalled that his work on the University was purely a labour of love.

Even at the inception stage of the Dacca Museum, Bhattachali recognised that a Museum can neither grow nor fulfil its task if it is not based on the solid foundation

of popular sympathy and support. To win this, he was giving guide talks to visitors inside the Museum and also popular lectures and broadcasts outside. The growing popularity and usefulness of the Dacca Museum prove that even in these efforts he achieved his object.

His studies covered every domain of Indian Archaeology. His first work *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal* was submitted as a thesis for the Griffith Memorial prize and won for him one of the prizes awarded by the Calcutta University of the fund in 1920. It was published in 1922. His second work *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* was published in 1929. This work was approved by the Dacca University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy which was awarded to him in 1934. The wide scope of his studies and the depth of his scholarship will however be hardly appreciated without a mention of his other publications. A list of more important of these is given below :

- (1) 'Determination of the epoch of the Parganati Era'—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, 1923, pp. 314-320.
- (2) 'English translation of the Bhagavadgita',—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVIII, 1929, p. 40.
- (3) 'The lost Bhowal copper-plate of Lakshmanasena-deva of Bengal'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, 1927, pp. 89-96.
- (4) 'Rohitagiri in the plate of Sri Chandra'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, 1927, p. 418.
- (5) 'Md. Bakhtyar's Expedition to Tibet'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 49-62.
- (6) 'Location of Krishna's capital Dvaravati'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 541-550.
- (7) 'Two inscriptions of Gopala III of Bengal'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 207-222.
- (8) 'The New Saktipur grant of Lakshmanasena-deva and Geographical divisions of Ancient Bengal'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1935, pp. 73-113.
- (9) 'Location of the land granted by the Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa, (early 7th century A.D.)'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 419-427.
- (10) 'The date of Sher Shah's accession'—*Islamic Culture*, 1936, p. 127.
- (11) 'Antiquities of the lower Ganges and its courses'—*Science and Culture*, 1941, pp. 233-239.
- (12) 'The Badganga Rock Inscription of Maharajadhiraja Bhutivarman'—*Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 138-39.
- (13) 'The Khonamukh copper-plate grant of Dharmapala'—*Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1-3.
- (14) 'The second struggle of Bhima and his friend Hari in the Ramacharitam'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, 1943, pp. 126-138.
- (15) 'New lights on the history of Asam'—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 19-28, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 1-14.
- (16) 'Attribution of the imitation Gupta coins'—*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXI, 1925, Numismatic Suppl. pp. 1N-6N.
- (17) 'The Kedarpur plate of Srichandra'—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-192.
- (18) 'Stone image inscriptions from East Bengal'—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 349-356.
- (19) 'Maurya chronology and connected problems'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1932, pp. 273-288.
- (20) 'An inquiry into the origin of the city of Dacca'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 447-453.
- (21) 'The Rajavadi (Bhawal) plate of Lakshmanasena-deva'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 1-37 and 381-383.
- (22) 'Wood-carving in ancient Bengal'—*Prabasi*, 1344, B.S., pp. 649-59.
- (23) 'The New Nalanda stone Inscription of Yasovarman-deva'—*The Modern Review*, Vol. L, pp. 306 ff.
- (24) 'A broken fragment of a new charter of Samalavarman, a well-known Bengal king of the 11th century, *The Modern Review*, Vol. LII, pp. 529-532.
- (25) 'The story of Pratapsditya'—*Prabasi*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 362-363.
- (26) 'Bengal chief's struggle for independence in the reign of Akbar and Jahangir'—*Bengal Past and Present*, No. 69, pp. 25-39 ; No. 70, pp. 134-142 ; No. 71, pp. 32-50 ; No. 75, pp. 19-47.
- (27) 'Wooden sculptures of Ancient Bengal'—*The Modern Review*, Vol. XLV, pp. 442-443.
- (28) 'Old coins and how they help History'—*The Modern Review*, Vol. XLV pp. 38-44.

Although in the last days of his life he was not keeping very well he never sat idle. He was either with his books or writing his articles. He joined the Numismatic Society of India as a member in 1941 and subsequently joined also the Editorial Board of its Journal. On the 6th of February last, he had a sudden attack in the heart in the morning and succumbed to it almost immediately. Thus ended a noble life sincerely devoted to the cause of Learning and Research. His loss has been deeply mourned by a host of friends and admirers in Dacca and outside. His memory will be cherished with deep respect and affection by all lovers of Art and Archaeology in India. At last he has won a well-earned rest. May his soul rest in peace !

THE BASIC FACTOR OF INDUSTRIALISATION

By PROBODH CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY

Modern industry rests to an ever-increasing extent on the foundation of science. The continual advance in the field of fundamental research provides materials upon which the applied scientist works, and gives momentum to industrial progress; and economic progress of a country depends a great deal on the alertness, on the part of those persons who control the fortunes of productive enterprises, in seizing upon and applying the latest discoveries and developments of science.

Our industries starting very late will have to be ready for speeding up the succeeding progressive adjustments which, with the onward march of science, industries in the west had already made. Naturally they will have to make very big strides and modernise themselves in the quickest possible time. Indian industries at the present moment cannot stop at turning out once-designed goods but will have to change quickly with the changing outlook and attitude of the consumer. There will be an increasing diversification of consumer's needs and demands and at the same time there will be an urgent necessity of bringing down with the help of fully efficient mass production the prices of a number of goods which are now on the border line of luxuries and necessities.

In the background of industrialisation, it must be recognised that application of the results of science would give rise to the immense problem of obsolescence, not only of plan and machinery, but also of human skill. Technical progress cannot be so speeded up as to do without the adoption of extensive measures of compensation and retraining. In the midst of an inflated currency, such a policy of scrapping and rebuilding might prove nearer to success. The social and economic problems that will raise their heads in such a planning can easily be handled in a society which is pledged to a full use of its resources, under a definite governmental responsibility for the maintenance of full employment. We should not allow the volume of employment to regulate itself and leave free the forces of technological development to be exploited by coteries. Men have regarded science as an enemy threatening unemployment and until the forces of production springing from science can be utilised for social benefit the scientist will continue to be painted in black colour. The nineteenth century, during which a vast advance in the application of science to industry was made, saw highly beneficial results; political and economic stability was not threatened because the forces of production were not yet controlled by competition and monopoly. Science has amply demonstrated its power to advance the standards of living. Foundations are to be secured so that we may enjoy the benefits of still greater scientific progress.

When we think of any new industry we are made aware of the sorrowful state of things, namely, our lack of technical knowledge. For the older industries like cotton, the capitalist coteries feel no need of technical efficiency and they have grown complacent because the demand is so great that there is no need of any fear in the near future. There is no urge for quick and imaginative adaptability to new processes and new products. If there be any dumping, they will look to the Government for protective tariffs. The cotton textile industry which has developed for the last forty years into a very fat-profit-making venture has slept over the idea of a research laboratory. It may be noted here that the European jute mills have established their research laboratory which is contemplated to be linked up with the University research departments. The European tea gardens also have a research organisation. Scientific research, it must be emphasized, cannot be bifurcated into water-tight compartments of academic research and applied research. One leads to another, and as present tendencies reveal even ideas are not exclusive to any particular branch of science, there being a constant borrowing and interchange in the realms of physics, chemistry and biology. In the interest of industry we can at the most choose some scientists to direct their attention solely to applying the fundamental scientific discoveries to practical affairs. Research suffers on the one hand from lack of funds and organisation and on the other from a deficiency in the supply of trained research workers. The lack of funds is due largely to the lack of appreciation of what research can achieve and this lack of money has been responsible for the inadequate supply of workers. For the moment, therefore, the vital question that brooks no delay in solution is, how much the country must spend immediately in order to reap the fullest possible advantage of our resources of man-power and productive capacity. At present, we have or can have at the universities and other research centres persons ready to be set to development work relating to industrial processes. There is a large team of young men who can be utilised if only the appreciation of their service is forthcoming. The war has demonstrated that workers on fundamental research by virtue of their method of study can successfully apply their knowledge to eminently practical issues. A physicist working on nuclear fusion was responsible for the destruction of U-boats by altering the method of depth-charges.

The scientist, when he joins an industry, should rightfully claim, first, that science should be accorded a high status and must have an assertive voice in the framing of policy, secondly, that something must be done to remove the shackles that bind up production

and distribution overlooking the quantity of actual demand of the whole community (the underlying policy would be to organise the economic system in such a way as to ensure a steadily expanding volume of employment in the production of things for use), and thirdly, that steps should be taken to deal effectively with ignorance permeating through all industries which has prevented a rapid diffusion of the results of scientific advance.

Universities and research institutions should naturally be at the apex of any scientific organisation. Lest some University professors should stand aloof from practical problems and fail to give the necessary outlook to their students, interchange of scientists between Universities and industrial organisations to hold executive posts in the latter will be a very good plan for maintaining close contacts between them. The main bulk of applied research will evidently be undertaken by three groups of research centres, viz., (a) the Government's own research stations and laboratories, (b) research associations collectively maintained to serve particular industries and (c) individual firms. Here also there must be some freedom for academic research because research work in industrial laboratories will languish unless those engaged in research are given the opportunity of dealing also to some extent with fundamental problems. In default of this, the staff engaged in applied research will in effect be living on the capital with which they had joined and will fail to preserve either their up-to-dateness or their originality of mind. Ultimately the whole thing boils down to this. The University as the centre of research must have funds, and the industries with a long-range view should provide a large part of these funds, even if they have their own research stations, without hampering conditions. University authorities should be left with a wide margin of freedom to control their allocation to particular research projects and types of teaching. The University on its part, in conjunction with business firms, should give students during their period at the University opportunities to appreciate the character and possibility of scientific work in industry, and thus help industry in attracting some of the best brains into its fold. To encourage this spirit and help research work, the State on its part can extend tax allowances to industrial firms which will meet recurrent research expenditure.

There is another structure to be built in a scheme of industrial research. It is concerned with the post-laboratory stage leading to industrial development of the research results. Specially endowed institutes with research fellowships should be devoted to handle such problems out of the laboratory stage. An example of this is the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research at Pittsburgh, U.S.A. The interested manufacturer pays the salaries and running expenses, while the Institute provides the laboratory facilities, technical assistance and expert direction in the matters of organisation and methods of industrial research. The results of

research become the exclusive property of the donors of the fellowships in question. The Institute has its independent staff for pure and applied research not directed to individual profit-making, the results being published regularly. Sometimes a University in pursuance of its fundamental research will gain knowledge which has high commercial value. In keeping with the tradition the University should rise above the temptation of regarding scientific work as a possible source of profit, particularly as a source of unmerited profit to others. In order to secure the utilisation of such discoveries in the interests of economic progress and the consuming public, following the U. S. example, an autonomous body like a Research Corporation should be created "to transact business for the advancement of science to which the profits are applied." The main functions of the corporation will be to take over and patent discoveries and to apply the proceeds to grants-in-aid for research work to be carried out in the institutions where the discovery is made.

The Department of Education of the Government of India is now moving to stimulate, foster and co-ordinate technical education in India on an all-India basis and is contemplating the establishment of a National Council of Technical Education. Their idea of a full-fledged Institute for supplying the trained personnel for the industries is likely to take concrete shape very soon. To start immediately, the scientific personnel as distinct from the technical staff will have to be guided by the following rules :

(1) Schools of fundamental research must be fostered in the Universities. At present, young people dissipate their energies with some problem till they can get a permanent job elsewhere. The fellowship in the Universities are terminated to make room for a younger batch of students.

(2) All graduates with an aptitude for research should be offered full maintenance while working for a higher degree.

(3) Research fellowships should be provided for those who have taken a doctorate degree.

(4) When men are appointed mainly for research work, they should have the same status and salary as those appointed mainly for teaching.

(5) Research committees should be set up in every University to watch over the development of research, especially in border-line subjects and prepare an annual research budget, which may be renewed with the progress reports year by year. Some of the Indian universities packed with non-academic and non-scientific men often fail to appreciate the value of research and the above supervision may lessen their opposition to increased grants for works not immediately tangible to us. At the same time duplication will be avoided on problems of joint interest (a physicist and a chemist may have the same interest) and a co-ordination among different Universities may be possible.

LITERATURE AND ACTIVE POLITICS

A SIDELIGHT FROM *BACON*

By PROF. B. S. MATHUR, M.A.

To those who regard literature as infinitely ethereal, having very little to do with the world, where all are busy ceaselessly in the achievement of the best and the highest, my answer is the one that was given by Mark Twain at the news of his reported death: "The news is greatly exaggerated." They may consider literature synonymous with a magic wand, which instantly after touch, introduces people to a new dreamland of beautiful and fruitful valleys. Perhaps Dr. Johnson's view that literature must teach people to enjoy and to endure life may point this way, or his advice as reported by Boswell, that in melancholy, people can divert themselves by the study of some books, is responsible for this view of literature. It is true that, at times, it is an escape from personality, which involves escaping from sorrows and depressing worries. Here the essence is self-forgetfulness. A person has lost his precious and loving thing; melancholy has befriended him. Let him then turn to a novel in which he meets a multitude of characters and actions, which create an impression of a succession of personalities with the result that he forgets his own personality. He is then not sad. He is lost: he is diverted.

This is true of some literature: all literature is not an escape, a diversion or a trap into the bliss of ignorance. Literature has a double function, to delight and to instruct, and ultimately it must move to heroic action: knowledge of things is useful. Philosophy may instruct us but literature has both to instruct and to lead. It has a message of action: knowledge must travel and make people travel. So literature has a great responsibility: it is active politics itself. The business of life, the achievement of success in life, the improvement of society, these are, I think, some of the aims of an artist in literature. Even novels, dramas and stories, which delight, are considerable sources of light and knowledge, of course in a characteristic fashion. Great themes of love and adventure are worked out bringing men face to face with peculiar situations of heroism and immense grief. Now imagine the result. Internally we feel a stirring-up and we quite logically visualise a victory over those situations which demand extreme heroism from us. Is it not facing the reality of characteristic sadness of life?

Think of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is a big story and one feels lost; at times the head, too, is lost. But what is the ultimate feeling? The feeling is of victory or defeat in accordance with our own temperament, and we seem to have enthroned in our mind a store of knowledge which makes us live our life more happily than before. It has been simultaneously a sure and silent instruction. We feel that life is a trial and all round we have dangers and tribulations to face. And when we have faced them we emerge happy. Victory beams over us. Literature here acts to our advantage in life, in actual politics. Take Francis Bacon.

Bacon has said:

"Studies serve for delight, for ornament and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring: for ornament, is in discourse: and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business."

Here a man of study is considered in three spheres and his wide reading helps him in all; alone, left to himself, he passes his time in the company of books; when he is in the company of his friends, his reading adorns his talk which is dignified and has a significant grace to mark him from the common run of unrefined people: and when he is involved in business, in active politics, he is not "put out" as maintained by William Hazlitt in his essay, "On the Ignorance of the Learned." "General counsels, and the plots and marshalling affairs come best from those who are learned"—says Bacon. It is most true of Bacon himself. Generally people think him to be a learned man whose knowledge is all derived from books and not from actual experience, which is learning by experiment. And for this impression, Bacon himself is to blame. His works, especially essays, are so packed with information and advice that one takes him to be a man of books. Had he not declared himself that he had taken all knowledge to be his portion of life? But let us consider his role in his essays, which are a veritable ocean of sound advice, for a man whose motto in life is success. His essays come home to men's business and bosoms. They are dispersed meditations—certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously but in them there are things that are mostly found in experience and seldom in books. In his essays Bacon appears a great man of the world: his morality aims at success in active politics. Ethical considerations do not touch him. In fact, he has no scruples. He is thoroughly a man of action, hence devoid of conscience. Mark his statement:

"Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not."

Here is a statement that shows clearly his mind; you may find fault with him morally but who can doubt the success of his aim? Success in life is an assured thing if one acts up to his advice.

Now take this advice to a man whose aim is to make a headway in politics; in his essay "Of Faction?" he has:

"Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy, whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in order-

ing those things which are general and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree ; or in dealing with correspondence to particular person, one by one."

Bacon has declared that he is not in favour of the policy of divide and rule. His advice is very sound. He stands for the amalgamation of factions or he wants them to disappear one by one. Mark his cautiousness and moderation—"One by one." He cannot compromise with factions for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies : when factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes."

Or again note Bacon's worldly wisdom in his essay "Ceremonies and Respect":

"Men's behaviour should be like then apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion."

Bacon is at once for ceremonies and for their curtailment. He cannot forget his moderation as a way to success in life. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments, for be they never so sufficient otherwise, then enviers will be sure to give them that attribute to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. People may resort to fawning but it should not reach a stage to be synonymous with apparent flattery. He wants success : that is not all. There should be no impression that success is achieved cheaply : of course, it may be achieved so but cheapness should not appear to be made a virtue. The emphasis is on the words "appear to be made." Remember he is all for show and pretension but he must appear to shun these. That is his path : that may lead to success and solid achievement.

So Bacon, as moralist, dreams of worldly success, success in life on this earth. He never thinks of a preparation that may be made for life beyond this life. Death and what happens thereafter are not plain and hence he cannot stop to think of what is dark and un-understandable. Nevertheless, he is complete in his instructions for a man who must lead a happy and apparently virtuous life, enjoying success after success. A pertinent question is : What is Bacon's conception of a son of success in this world ? Bacon's watchwords are caution, moderation and hypocrisy with an infinite fund of knowledge, actual or assumed.

Here I simply wonder how Bacon, generally regarded as a man of books, is capable of this worldly wisdom which is packed so harmoniously into his essays. There can be only one conclusion : literature is both to delight and to instruct ; to instruct implies correctness and an emphasis on illustrations. It is thus that literature assumes the significance of a true preparation for actual life. So literature has a message to those who cannot shirk from real life : literature and life are inextricably connected with each other. Life symbolises active politics and literature has its contribution to make which is to enable men to succeed in active politics.

Literature, therefore, is not an escape, merely. True, it is an escape to some extent, and that too in

a definite fashion. Certainly it tries to enable and ultimately strengthen a person to endure life by recommending a certain forgetfulness of the present. In so far as it does so it is an escape. But try to think rather deeply and see for yourself that even this escape is really a way out, a way that teaches how to endure our sufferings. I should think it to be a sufficiently practical end ; for it will give success to a person, who is in the thick of the fight.

Literature, then, teaches delightfully : it combines instruction and pleasure in a unique measure. That is, life is made happy and worth living and this is truly a great thing. Perhaps the real aim of life is to be happy in action and work. Blessed are those who have found their work. This literature does. It means that literature is helpful in facing life's difficulties and tribulations. A quotation from Sir Philip Sidney will clear the point. Sidney, in his *Apology for Poetry*, refers to the power of poetry, but that power is and can be exercised by literature in general too :

"Now doth the peerless poet perform both : for whatsoever the philosopher sayth should be done, he giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom he presupposeth it was done. So he completh the general notion with the particular example. A perfect picture I say for he yieldeth to the powers of mind an image of that whereof the philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description."

Instead of poetry, think of literature in general, in the quotation and the power of literature to be instrumental in life and active politics is immensely indicated. In a way, as suggested by Sidney, literature is superior to all other branches of knowledge and it is a powerful weapon in our armoury to win in the battle of life.

After all, literature is a definite prelude to real action. It is said that great thoughts make great men. There are great men as a consequence of heroic performances. Man lives in his performances. Performances are to be preceded by thoughts. Without thoughts and planning there can be no action, hence no greatness. Just remember these words of Lord Krishna : "Work is more excellent than idleness ; the body's life proceeds not, lacking work." But just before this he has said : "For thought is act in fancy." Putting these together one gets the reality that will make us successful in life, which is active politics. It is true that work alone is noble and on the wave of noble actions, a man is trying to reach perfection. But these noble deeds have to be the consummation of noble thinking. As such, there has to be a combination of thought and action. In a way, thought symbolises literature, and action symbolises active politics. And so there is a continuous connection between literature and active politics. Exactly, literature is facing life, its difficulties and dangers. It is never utterly an escape. It can certainly act as a balm : but this balm is just to face life, just to make man successful in active politics.

FOOD POSITION IN BENGAL

By RABINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

For the last few years the people of Bengal do not know what is sufficiency of food. A large portion of the vast masses of the province, the once reputed granary of India, are either unfed or only half-fed. Since the outbreak of the World War II, the food shortage has become a menacing aspect. It reached the climax in the year 1943, when an unprecedented famine annihilated thousands of people. The Famine Enquiry Commission made a thorough enquiry and assigned various causes to this devastating force, and made suggestions to ameliorate the condition. But even today, reports of soaring prices of foodgrains pour in and the groaning of hungry hundreds is heard in the farthest villages. True, the present food-shortage in Bengal represents only a portion in the transverse section of the world's food shortage and in future years when different parts of India and of the world at large will grow sufficient food. Bengal will be fed by imported foodgrains. But still, it will not be out of place to study in brief the actual food position of the province.

For this purpose, firstly we are to study the natural condition and secondly, to make a two-sided analysis, viz., (1) the quantity of total output of food and (2) the number of population and the total requirement.

NATURAL CONDITION

Bengal is the largest province in India and comprises 43,172,000 acres of land. Two of the greatest rivers of India, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra with their number of tributaries flow over the plains making her land easily cultivable and fertile. The whole province may be divided into (1) the northern, (2) the western, (3) the central and (4) the eastern zones. The northern zone excluding the hill tracts of Darjeeling and an elevated area on the south-west consists of large tracts of alluvial soil. The western zone is subdivided into two blocks—the eastern west and the western west. The former is a low alluvial tract, while the latter is comparatively high and rocky. The more it approaches near the hills of Chota Nagpur, the more “undulating” it becomes. The central zone was formerly the delta of the Ganges, but new land formation has ceased in this area. The eastern zone is the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. New land formation still continues in this area and consists of fine alluvial soil.

The two monsoons that arise from the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea blow over the province causing sufficient rain-fall from April to October. The average rainfall in the province is 50 ins. to 100 ins. This is highly conducive to paddy cultivation.

The soil of the Province is of two types—(1) New alluvium and (2) older alluvium. The latter is “laterite formation of varying grades of sand and clay with nodules of haematite.” The former class is found in greater portion of the province, easily cultivable and fertile. Thus endowed with all natural gifts which are in every respect favourable to agriculture, Bengal became the granary of India and was rightly described as the *sujala, sufala, sashyasamala Bangla*. But it is

a tragedy that her people are dying of starvation to-day.

DIVISION OF LAND

The Crop Survey Committee of Bengal has divided the total acreage of land into 4 different heads.

Area of Land in Acres

Unculturable waste	7,786,000
Culturable waste	4,000,000
Current fallow	958,000
Net cropped area	30,435,000

Total 43,177,000

The unculturable waste land comprises (1) *Beels*, *Khals*, etc., (2) Paths, Roads and Railways, (3) Temples, Mosques, School-buildings, etc., (4) camping and grazing grounds, (5) other unidentified areas, (6) reserve and *sal* forests. By the year 1944-45, the unculturable waste land increased from 7,229,000 acres to the above area; due to more housings, railways and roads construction, etc., and an increase in the acreage specified for sugar, cane and tobacco cultivation, the culturable waste has decreased by 24 p.c.

In any particular year, some portion of the cultivable land remains uncultivated. It has been brought under the head of current fallows. Perhaps the poverty of cultivators and absence of any scientific preventive measure against natural phenomena like flood, drought, etc., are some of the main causes that are responsible for this.

PRODUCT

Rice is the main agricultural product of the province and is grown in about 27 million acres of land. Jute, sugarcane, pulses, wheat are some of the other products which are grown in the rest of the cropped area. But in some areas, crop is grown twice a year and thus the total cropped area is about 35 million acres.

Aman, *Aus* and *Boro* are the three types of paddy that grow in Bengal. But *Aman* is the most important type and is widely cultivated.

Acreage of land under each type (in acres)

Aman	20,762,548
Aus	6,549,100
Boro	556,264

The above figures are given by the Crop Survey Committee. The committee has also pointed out that due to the “Grow More Food Campaign” land under *Aman* crop has increased by 9 per cent.

OUTPUT

In Bengal the average output of *Aman* rice per acre is 10.2 mds and that of *Aus* and *Boro* is 8.0 mds. per acre. Hence the total output of rice in Bengal is 26,855 million mds. (approximately).

But some qualifications are necessary to the above result. Firstly, in Bengal, wheat is consumed in some areas of the province. The Famine Enquiry Commission has pointed out that wheat accounts for about

4 per cent of the total cereals consumed in the province. But of this 4 per cent only about 1.25 per cent of wheat is grown in the province. The acreage under wheat, according to the Crop Survey Committee is about 198,000 acres. So, we can say that approximately 2 million mds. of wheat is available in the province. Secondly, account must be taken of the seed-paddy which is not available for consumption. Approximately 25 seers of paddy or 16.5 seers of rice is required as seed, per acre. Hence the total quantity of seed for 27 million acres is roughly about 11.13 million mds. of rice. Thus the total quantity of food available for consumption is about 259.42 million mds.

POPULATION

The population of the province is increasing rather at a rapid rate. In 1901, the population was 42.1 millions, while in 1941, it became nearly 60 millions. That is to say there is an increase of 43 per cent during 30 years or roughly about 14 per cent increment per decade. But population of India has increased by 37 per cent during this 30 years. During the present decade however calamities like famine, war and Direct Action have swept over the province and have destroyed a large number of lives. So roughly we can say that the present population of the province stands somewhere at 64.5 millions.

CONSUMPTION

There is no easy formula to find out directly the total consumption of so vast a people in any particular year. For (1) there are different age groups, consumption of people in each group differs widely; (2) even consumption of people of the same age group employed in different occupations is not the same. The manual labourers and those engaged in hard physical labour consume more than those employed in other occupations. (3) Besides, there is no accurate and comprehensive statistics about these. An indirect calculation can be made by taking the balance of total import and export and the output in the province. But this requires comprehensive statistical study which is not possible in a short space. Considering all these it is better to proceed with direct calculation on the lines suggested by the Famine Enquiry Commission. The Commission has calculated that the minimum and the maximum limits of per capita consumption per week are 3.2 and 3.6 seers respectively, and the consumption of one million people in one year will be between 4,207,500 mds. and 4,730,000 mds. respectively. For the sake of simplicity let us take the minimum limit as an index. Hence the average consumption of 64.5 million people in one year will be 271,383,750 mds.

Total population (in millions)	64.5
Total available food (in million mds.) approx.	259.42
Total consumption (in million mds.) approx.	271.38
+Surplus or -deficit (in million mds.) approx.	-11.96

The above table shows that the approximate deficit is about 12 million mds. The real picture may be somewhat different, but the position remains almost the same.

RACE BETWEEN POPULATION AND PRODUCTION

The picture of deficit is not an accidental one. In almost all the countries there is a race between growth of population and the volume of production. It is this particular phenomenon that induced Malthus to formulate his well-known theory of population, which states that population of a country increases in Geometrical Progression while the wealth (Malthus means agricultural product) increases only in Arithmetical Progression. Other countries have annulled the theory by bringing about scientific and other improvement in agriculture. But this country, India, as a whole and almost all of its provinces still stand today to declare the triumph of the worn-out Malthusian theory. In Bengal population has been increasing by 12 to 15 per cent per decade, whereas the food product increases only nominally or in Arithmetical Progression.

(A)

	1928-32	1933-37	1938-42
Average acreage under rice (in million acres)	23.71	24.53	25.53
P.C. increase in 5 years	—	3.5	4.1
Average output per acre (in tons)	0.39	0.40	0.37

(B)

Rates of normal yield (in maunds per acre)

	Aman	Aus
1928-32	12.6	11.4
1933-37	12.5	11.1
1938-42	12.4	10.9

These two tables as drawn up by the Famine Enquiry Commission reveal that in an average of five years, the area under rice increased by one million acres, but neither the average rate of yield nor the normal yield per acre increases in the same proportion. During the period 1938-42, both the average and the normal yield per acre diminish in spite of an increase in the acreage.

So it can safely be said that the yield from land in Bengal exhibits a clear case of 'Diminishing Return.' Population increases more rapidly and consequently the pressure on every acre of land is growing heavy. More men turn to the almost same acreage and so the per head output per acre, diminishes. This state of affairs has made Bengal rely more on food imported from outside. True, there has been some increase in the total acreage under rice after the "Great Famine" of 1943, but this increase is extremely meagre in proportion to the increase in population.

THE WAY OUT

Agriculture in Bengal is the life spirit and maintains about 80 per cent of her people. But the deplorable aspect as stated above will necessarily create a gloomy picture in the mind of every Bengalee. From the above analysis, it will, however, be wrong to conclude that Bengal is over-populated and so remedy should be sought in a negative way. On the contrary, it will be right to give a start in the positive direction,

i.e., to do something constructive, instead of undoing with the population by direct and indirect actions. Productivity of land in Bengal has not yet been exploited to the greatest extent. The potentiality of land should be transformed into the kinetic form to secure the maximum output. Average output of rice per acre in Bengal is about 820 lbs. Whereas that of China, Japan and the U.S.A. are 2433 lbs., 3070 lbs. and 1680 lbs. respectively. Output in Bengal can be increased by wide application of scientific measures including organic and inorganic manuring. Fragmentation of land should be finally prevented by legislation because scientific improvement is not possible in fragmented areas. Besides, (1) attempts should be made to reclaim cultivable wastes and current fallows. A large portion of the cultivable waste is water-logged. In some cases, presence of saline water destroys the fertility of land. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee has pointed out that many alkaline and saline land and water-logged areas can be brought under cultivation by proper liming, draining, green manuring, using of fertilisers and planting of trees, etc. "Sparting Townsendi"—a species of rice grass helps in reclaiming salt-marshes. (2) The Government should thoroughly enquire into the causes which are responsible for "current fallows" and should take all necessary steps to induce the cultivators to cultivate these areas. Scientific measures should be adopted to meet the crises like flood and drought, etc. (3) The Government should follow a thorough land development scheme and should carry out the scheme through the financial assistance of the "Land Mortgage Bank." (4) A balanced agricultural policy should be followed. In Bengal jute and sugarcane as cash crops have altered the system of rotation of crops. Cultivation of these two crops has lessened the field for growing some *rabi* crops which are either substitutes for or complimentary to rice. The Government should, with a view to maximise the food crop, fix the price and quotas of acreage for each crop. In some jute-growing

areas *rabi* crops can be cultivated, only if the Government and the cultivators are willing to undertake additional troubles. This will add nitrogen—a vital chemical for fertility, to the soil. Apart from all these, vegetables which have greater food value should widely be grown. In short, all the ten measures prescribed by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee to develop the food position in India as a whole, may, be followed in Bengal too.

CONCLUSION

Though faced with the imminent danger of continuous food shortage, Bengal follows conservative and worn-out methods of agriculture. In spite of the presence of all possible favourable natural conditions which would make Bengal the most prosperous province, she has become an object of mercy, simply due to her ignorance and mal-utilisation of those priceless gifts. The wide range of scientific developments which have brought forth new life and vigour to agriculture in the outside world, has failed to penetrate the veils of ignorance of the cultivators in Bengal and in India at large. So, there is nothing to be surprised to see the world reaping a good harvest and utilising all the resources to the greatest extent and Bengal and India only gleaning and begging with bowls. It is a tragedy that there is no well-developed Research Institute of Agricultural Economy and Botany in a province like Bengal. It is, therefore, high time for the Government of Bengal to awake from its state of callousness and apathy and to make proper arrangement for a joint Research of Economics, Botany and Statistics and to exert itself to produce food for the hungry millions. Further, steps should be taken to train groups of patriotic youngmen irrespective of caste and creed, so that they may carry the message of well-being and improvement to the ignorant and superstitious villagers. Last but not least, the measure to abolish the Zamindari system and to nationalise land should be followed by a truly democratic People's Government.

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PLANNED ECONOMY

By PROF. P. B SANYAL, M.A.

THE demand for planning in recent years obviously rests on the belief that the distribution of economic resources under the present system of Free Enterprise does not contribute to the maximum welfare of society. This charge can be examined only in the light of our knowledge of the existing distribution of resources.

Profit-motive constitutes the mainspring of economic activity under private enterprise. The system does not however stand condemned by it, as it is often assumed to be by its critics. A fact that must surprise many of us is that there is no authority in our society for deciding what and how much should be produced for satisfying the needs of the society as a whole. But that it is not all a chaos must be admitted by everybody, however vehem-

ent a critic he may be of the present arrangements. The immediate decisions in this matter are no doubt taken by what the economists will call "Entrepreneurs" and the politicians, "Capitalists." But they are not their own masters. They work for profit—that crime of which every one of us is accused though it is easier to catch him because of the residual nature of his income. The lure of profit will attract resources—that is the bait the consumers or the purchasers of the commodity hold before him. The capitalist, in order to maximise his profit, will have to distribute his resources in different directions in such a way that the profit or "marginal returns" that he gets from his different investments are equal. If his return in one direction is higher than it is in another it will

naturally pay him to transfer resources between these uses till the returns are equalised. But higher returns in an investment, say cotton industry, only reflect greater demand for the products of that industry. So we see that you and I—the innumerable consumers—are the ultimate governors of the whole system. A change in our demand for a particular commodity or service by acting on the price reflects itself in an increase or decrease of profit and induces the Entrepreneur to invest more or less than before in that industry. There is no capitalist however big he may be—a Tata or a Birla, who can avoid bowing down to our wishes.

But if resources are distributed among different industries in such a way as to equalise the marginal returns from them it only implies that they satisfy a money-demand in one direction as equally urgent as a money-demand in another direction and this must, subject to the qualifications discussed later, maximise the satisfaction of the consumers.

Let us come to the qualifications. We have talked of “money-demand” and therein lies the whole difficulty. To influence the decision of the Entrepreneur demand must be backed up by purchasing power; demand must in the words of the economist be “effective demand”—an expression which shelves difficulties in a rather awkward manner. In the absence of equality of income in our society there is no ground for assuming that the existing distribution of resources determined by the pull of money-demand secures maximum welfare attainable with the existing resources.

Let us forget this limitation for the moment and discuss whether equality of marginal returns will mean the optimum distribution of resources even within the existing structure of demands. It may not be an *optimum optimum*, but will it not at least be an optimum? Answer unfortunately has to be in the negative. Maximum satisfaction, which such a distribution is said to secure, cannot be identified with maximum welfare. We desire things—stimulating alcoholic drinks, for example—which we should not. The things that we demand for our satisfaction do not, as we ourselves appreciate in our sober moments, contribute to our welfare and those that do contribute, do not find favour with us. “The good that I would I do not, the evil that I would not I do.” We are going very near the thin philosophical ice, so let us return to our own region and take up another consideration strictly economic in character.

The cost to the Entrepreneur may not always be identical with the cost to Society because of the uncompensated services or disservices rendered in course of producing the commodity. The setting up of a cotton mill, for example, pollutes the air of the surrounding area and increases the doctor's and the laundry bill of the people by the huge volume of smoke that it emits daily. But these costs will not enter into the calculations of the Entrepreneur because he is not made to pay for them. Thus the buyers of cloth will pay a price which does not cover its actual cost of production and more resources will be invested in this industry than is desirable from the social point of view. On the other hand, when a farmer constructs a canal not only does he benefit by it but also his neighbouring farms. The drainage of their lands is facilitated by the construction of the canal but they do not pay for

this advantage and the whole cost has to be borne by the farmer himself. Thus the cost to the farmer is higher than its cost to the society and as a result of this resources invested here will be less than is desirable. The classical economist failed to make note of a possible divergence between what Pigou has called “the private net product” or the gain to the individual investor and “the social net product” or the gain to the Society from an investment. Adam Smith's “invisible hand” can no longer be trusted to bring about desired objective automatically. State will have to assume the responsibility of directing the resources in different directions. It may, following the advice of Pigou, retain the capitalistic machinery but it will have to counteract the undesirable results that such a machinery is bound to produce from time to time by following a stimulation-cum-check policy. Profit mechanism, that is, will be retained; it will not be wise to do away with an incentive which works rather effectively; but we have to canalise it through taxes and subsidies in those directions where social welfare is maximum.

This sort of “Directed” or “Controlled Economy” as it has been called, attempting a reconciliation of the socialist ideal with the capitalist machinery, has been envisaged by our Bombay Planners also. But the proponents of this view do not seem to take into account the inherent difficulties of such an attempt. An assumption that we have tacitly made in our previous discussion must be examined now.

Apart from the misenterprise and the unenterprise that it brings in its train, is the equality of returns even in the narrower sense of private returns in different investments established in actual practice under private enterprise? This assumption of equality assumes perfect knowledge about the conditions in different industries, perfect mobility of the factors of production and their perfect divisibility, among other factors like stable structure of demand and the absence of monopoly which implies the restriction of right of entry itself in certain directions. The conditions have only to be stated to be shown that they are not present in any conspicuous degree in our society. They may be created by State action. The State may remove artificial restriction on the entry of new firms in a monopolized industry by breaking down existing monopolies and prohibiting the emergence of new ones, take steps to disseminate information and thereby improve the knowledge about market conditions among businessmen.

The catalogue of functions that the State has to assume to secure the benefits that are supposed to follow from “free competition” is a fairly wide one. There is much truth in the paradoxical statement, “The attainment of the beneficial results of *laissez faire* requires the abandonment of *laissez faire*.” A smooth and frictionless operation of the law of substitution assumed by the classical economists to prevail and make “the point of equilibrium the point of maximum satisfaction” is an unachieved ideal as yet. For this and other reasons already stated, their prescription of *laissez faire* is hardly acceptable to us. They erred not only in underrating the gravity of the disease but also in expecting too much of the patient.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

RICKSHAWALLA : By Manjeri S. Iyaran. *The Alliance Co., Mylapur, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Indian writers of English fiction were neither many nor significant until the beginning of the present century. Towards the end of the 19th century there was a good deal of literary activity through the medium of English, specially in Bengal; but fiction was written mainly in vernaculars. Soon after the great war, when India began to develop closer cultural contact with the West, when the tides of Russian and French literatures began to pour down into the rich and fertile genius of India, turning down old scales of values, it was then that the Indian writers began most seriously to write novels and short stories in English. Tagore wrote some of his most outstanding stories in this period, and many of his stories, appearing in English, opened up new vistas of thought and imagination. The impact of continental fictions was there, and the universal and supple medium of the English tongue was ready at hand, holding out an irresistible charm. Apart from this, there was also the demand for stories from the newly started journals in English, which also stimulated the growth of short stories to a great extent.

The post-war writers who practised this form of art with a high degree of excellence were Venkataramani, Shanker Ram, Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and others, who all represent a distinct phase of Indo-English literature. The author of this present volume of short stories has made his mark as an efficient artist, this being his third volume of stories. He is a sensitive observer of life. His grasp is sure and the human materials, with which his stories are full, are capable of stirring the depths of our emotional self. While at times they prove too obdurate for the magic touch of art, they very often put on a melancholy hue, whose appeal is unending and genuineness unquestioned. Most of the stories have the surprise and thrill peculiar to this art. But *Rickshawalla*, the first one, is rather a long story, sharing of the characteristic of a novel,—really a photograph of life, and not a snapshot. In some stories, it is an idea which is at the root; in others it is a character or characters. *The Dance of Siva*, a story of idea and not of character, is a beautiful story. *Passage Money*, another very successful story, has both idea and character. The style is sometimes full of an enjoyable irony, and almost always full of an enjoyable ease.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA : By Prof. Shanti Prasad Varma, M.A. Published by S. Chand & Co., Delhi. Pages—458. Price Rs. 7-8.

In the first half of this volume, Prof. Varma discusses the problem from various aspects—Hindu Muslim Relations, Muslim Politics and Growth of Communalism,

Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement, Relation between Britain and India since the early days of the East India Company to the latest development, and the changes due to two World Wars. The author discusses the relation between the various political parties in India particularly between the Congress and the Muslim League and the contact of each with the masses. The author's treatment of the subject comes up to Cripp's Mission offer, failure and the deadlock that followed. While discussing about the ultimate constitution of free India, the author seriously considers the claims of Pakistan and examines the proposal from every aspect but he is unable to accept it as a solution in the greatest interest of the country. Provincial Autonomy and a Federal Government at the Centre is the only solution of the Indian Political Problem with such safeguards in the constitution as may be necessary. The author admits that the solution of various social and economic problems is no less urgent for India's millions. But national independence is immediately necessary and that not on the basis of Partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan. The model which India is to follow must be that of U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. with such changes or modifications as may be required under Indian conditions. The author is confident that a union is possible provided all the political parties meet with an open heart for the real solution of the country's deadlock. The author has also discussed the claims of Urdu or Hindi as the All-India Language of Free India and has ventured to think that the Congress solution of the problem in recognising Hindusthani as the language for the purpose is the right one. He wants a Book on basic Hindusthani so that this may be popularised all over India particularly among the provinces which do not use Hindi or Urdu as their mother tongue. At the end of the Book, useful appendices such as Lahore Resolution of the League (Pakistan), the Cripp's Proposals, C. R. Formula and Statistical information re: Pakistan Provinces etc. have been given which will be of much help to the readers to understand the subjects discussed in this book. The book is a useful addition to the political literature of the country. [The above was written sometime before the attainment of Dominion Status by India.]

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE : By Dr. B. N. Ganguli. Published by India Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pages 244. Price Rs. 6.

In this timely publication the author discusses as to how India's foreign trade is to be reconstructed after the Second World War. The author makes an intensive use of the trade statistics for the period between two world wars to show that multilateral trade is more suitable to Indian conditions than a bilateral one and as such the Ottawa preferences improved the Empire trade at the expense of India's trade with countries outside the British Commonwealth. The position of Great Britain and that of U.S.A. after the War as trading nations are discussed and questions

like liquidation of sterling balances, stabilisation of agricultural prices, post-war currency policy, Anglo-American Loan Agreement, World Monetary Fund and International Bank are dealt with considerable clearness to interest not only students of economics but also businessmen and bankers.

As India shall have her full Independence in near future, it will devolve upon her ministers to formulate a policy of trade which will stimulate not only India's business relations with the other countries of the world but at the same time raise the standard of life of India's millions reducing unemployment, improving health, education and other requisites of civilized life or in one word, improve efficiency of the nation. In a divided India there will be complications internally as well as internationally, but the problems shall have to be tackled with a view to India's welfare in relation to world conditions. An independent India shall have a planned economy of reconstruction of her economic life and a currency policy worthy of the nation to benefit the masses of the country by an adjustment of Indian economy to that of world outside.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE? : By Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Ph.D. (Canada). Published by Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Pages 64. Price Re. 1-4.

The book contains six talks given by the author at the Bombay Radio Station in 1938. The subjects discussed are agriculture, industries, currency and finance, distribution and consumption. Besides, the author gives an economic policy to be followed by India to solve her problems. As the complicated subjects dealt with are meant for ordinary listeners of Radio, they are discussed in a very general way and in a manner easily understandable. As the talks were given before the Second World War, much of the force of the author's suggestions has been lost particularly since the assumption of the reins of administration by the Interim Government. As soon as a National Government with full powers of planning will come into existence many of the author's suggestions for agricultural, industrial and financial reforms will be taken up as matters of urgent necessity.

The book is an illuminating study of some of the burning questions of the country and as such should have a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOGI : By Paramahansa Yogananda. Published by the "Philosophical Library, Inc." 15 East 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.

For one who is not an ardent believer in things spiritual and one who is not initiated into the mysteries of religious life, it is somewhat embarrassing to have to express an opinion on a book of this kind. Apparently it is an autobiography. When one reads the autobiography of a Mill or Spencer or Nehru or even the "confessions" of Augustine or Rousseau, or Gandhi's *Experiments with Truth*, one expects to have some glimpses into the main course of events of those times and also to see the gradual unfolding of a great mind. An autobiography is of value only in so far as it depicts the reaction of a great mind to contemporary events. But an autobiography of the kind we have before us, is an undiluted, if not nauseating, self-advertisement of the author, replete with his own photographs at different ages, taken in different places and in different poses.

It is a rule in India with those who renounce the world not to encourage any discussions of their past worldly life—not even to divulge their parentage or

original name. This is only an attempt to forget the world left and its ties. Plotinus, it is said, would not allow a picture of himself to be made, for the body was not himself. We find no trace of such humility in this biographical self-laudation.

The author has spoken flauntingly of his many achievements, material as well as spiritual; from the founding of a school to the discovery of a re-born soul and the vitalising lectures on spiritual truths. He has been candid with his readers and has not forgotten to tell them that sometimes he apprehended an ovation of over-ripe tomatoes from his audience (p. 479).

There are many anecdotes of the author's life and experience, as there must be in an autobiography. But we hope the author will pardon us if we say that some of these may well rank with tales told by old grannies.

When the law of miracle is coupled with Einstein's law of relativity, it is itself half a miracle which will befuddle many but will not pass for science. When we hear of one man showing God to another, God is obviously a third entity to both. This is too crude a position for philosophy and is not good enough even for decent theology.

It is a patent fact that the many occult powers that the Yogis say they possess, constitute a psychological comfort to many, but they have not brought much benefit to the world at large. To the masses who toil in the fields or mill in the mills, or who die of starvation in the villages or at the assassin's hands in the bye-lanes of cities, this spiritual panacea has meant nothing at all. If humanity could solve its problems by tapping this secret source of power, the atom bomb should have been relegated to a museum as an archaic relic, and science should have taken leave of man.

The publishers call themselves "Philosophical Library"; but they will, we hope, put up with the query if this book also is of philosophy.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE ART OF HINDU DANCE : By Manjulika Bhadury and Santosh Chatterjee, M.A. To be had of B. C. Chatterjee, 123-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

The revival of the Art of Hindu dance is one of the memorable cultural movements of the modern world. The *Natyashastra* of Bharata gives an idea as to how it originated in India in the days of yore. It must not, however, be forgotten that there is a gulf of difference between the oriental and occidental art of dance. The soul of India chose the art of dance like the art of painting and sculpture, as a medium to express her eternal cravings. We were quite in the dark about this great cultural heritage of our motherland, until Anna Pavlova, one of the greatest artistes of the modern age, chanced to visit the Ajanta Caves and was charmed to see the graceful mural figure-paintings, exhibiting different dancing poses. She composed some Hindu dances, based on those paintings and it was she who first made the Western world conscious about the grace, charm, superiority and spiritual fervour of Hindu dance. Pavlova was assisted in her novel and noble venture by Udayshankara, the best exponent of the art of Hindu dance, and it is mainly due to his untiring efforts that it has, today, been universally recognized and appreciated.

Next to Udayshankara, the civilized world is indebted to Rabindranath for the revival of the Indian art of dance. The poet once told the present reviewer that in the year 1919 when he visited Sylhet he was very much impressed by the performance of the Manipuri Rasa Leela dance and afterwards made arrangements for teaching Manipuri dance in his educational institution at Santiniketan.

Previously the art of dance was very much neglected in our country but now things have changed and it has won proper recognition from the educated and cultured section of our country. We, therefore, wholeheartedly welcome this commendable publication which gives a comprehensive and graphic description of the Art of Hindu dance. The authors have unearthed heaps of materials from Sanskrit works like *Natya-shastra* of Bharata and all the untrodden realms of the long-forgotten art have been explored by them.

Some factual mistakes have crept into the book. Manipuri women are never called "Mitai" women, but they are known as Meithei women in their homeland. The writers are mistaken in supposing the terms 'Naga' and 'Manipuri' to be identical. Every student of anthropology knows that Nagas and Manipuris are two different tribes, the latter belonging to the Kuki-Chin group of the Mongolian race. The writers have done great injustice to Manipuri dance when in an unguarded way they have said: "The dance of Manipur may not be of a high order . . ." We do not know what they mean by 'high order' but Udayshankara whose artistic accomplishments are of the highest order, said on one occasion that he was simply enchanted to see the performance of Manipuri dance by the Manipuri girls of Macchampur, a village near Silchar in the Cachhar district. The graceful rhythmic movements of the dancers greatly appealed to his artistic and aesthetic sense.

In spite of these discrepancies, we have no hesitation to say that this book will be indispensable to all interested in the art of dance.

NALINI K. BHADRA

HINDI

HINDUSTAN KI KAHANI: By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Translated and edited by Ramchandra Tandon. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 720 + 20. Price Rs. 10.

The book under review is a Hindustani rendering of Pandit Nehru's latest work, *The Discovery of India*. That Pandit Nehru's imprisonment in 1942 has rather been a blessing in disguise is amply borne out by this monumental work. In it, he seems to have taken pains to look at the core of India and has not only discovered a heap of valuable knowledge, a veritable treasure of our civilization, which can with profit be applied to forge a glorious future, but has also discovered the soul of India, which the soil of times has not been able to dim or dull. It is a soul worth discovering on the part of every one who inhabits this sub-continent.

It is really gratifying to note that a Hindustani translation of this important work has now been made available to the vast multitude of readers unacquainted with the English language. But couched as it is in a sort of hybrid amalgam of Urdu and Hindi, the reader is bound to miss the style and choice of expression that is Pandit Nehru's own. We fail to see the wisdom of so dubious an experiment with such an important work, and more especially so when the translator himself was not very sure of his ground. Yet, in spite of this drawback, the translation is quite good and readable.

M. S. SENGAR

GUJARATI

(1) **BALAKONA VIVEKANAND**: By Prafulla P. Thakore. Cardboard cover. Pp. 60. Price As. 4.

(2) **SHRIMAD SHANKARACHARYA**: By Puratan J. Buch. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price As. 3.

(3) **JESAL ANE TORAL**: By the late Kalapi. Paper cover. Pp. 56. Price As. 3.

(4) **VICHAR SURYODAYA**: By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Paper cover. Pp. 52. Price As. 3.

Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, 1945.

All these four books represent the laudable effort made by the Society to place useful and popular books at the disposal of the public very cheaply. The Ramakrishna Seva Samiti of Ahmedabad has published a short biography of Swami Vivekananda, such as would interest children and this is a very easy translation of it. Similarly the second book is a very short biography of Shankaracharya, the founder of the four prominent Mathas in India. All the leading features of the Acharya's life and philosophy are ably noted here by one who has deeply studied both. The third one is a short dialogue, written by the prince-poet Kalapi on the spiritual subject of the soul and its *Mukti*, along with the well-known dialogue between Jalandhar and Gopichand. The fourth small book from the pen of Swami Madhavtirtha expressed the philosophy of Sadhana and shows how the Sadhak (Inquirer) can attain the latter by meditation of the soul.

(1) **KACHHNA SANT, ABAJI BAH**: By R. K. Oza. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price As. 3.

(2) **JAYA BHARATI**: By "Shayda". Pp. 36. Price As. 6.

Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, 1945.

The Kunbi (Agriculturist) caste of Cutch has produced a saint, who carried on the propaganda of Sahajanand Swami and attracted to its fold many simple villagers. The first book is a biography of that saint. The second book is a poem, by that well-known Muslim Ghalz writer, "Shayda" on the decline, fall and rise of our country. When read out to Gandhiji, at Juhu, at night on 14th June, 1944, he endorsed with his own hand, "Felt it to be very sweet." That autograph is published and adds to the value of the short poem.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

50 YEARS—A Golden Jubilee retrospect of the publishing house of Natesan's in the service of the nation for the last 50 years: By B. Natesan, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Pp. 73. Price not mentioned.

THIRTY YEARS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH or Bibliography of the published writings of P. K. Gode, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: Samarth Bharat Press, 41, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2. Third Edition. Pp. 76. Price Rs. 3.

WATERWAYS OF INDIA—Their problems and the administrative machinery required for obtaining maximum benefits: By N. D. Gulahati, Secretary, The Central Board of Irrigation, Kennedy House, Simla, S.-W. (India). Popular series, Leaflet No. 4. Pp. 38. Price not mentioned.

INDIAN RAILWAYS—A Cameo study: By I. A. Panikkar. Printed at The Times of India Press, Bombay. Pp. 46. Price Re. 1-8.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN DELEGATION ON CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN PALESTINE: Published by the Department of Agriculture, Government of India. Pp. 103. Price As. 9.

THE SECRET OF ETERNAL YOUTH—Being a plan for a natural life and reformed diet: By Andre Karpatt, Hungarian Artist. Hamara Hindustan Publications, Raja Bahadur Wadi, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay. Price Re. 1.

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI—A Biographical Sketch: By Ganpat Rai, Institute of Current Affairs, 1, Lytton Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 2-8.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Wonder of Wonders

The New Review observes :

When on August 15, President de Valera wished India all the blessings of God and of the Blessed Virgin, he, above all foreign governments, sensed the inner feelings of the Indian people. On that day there was indeed in the heart of every Indian a thrill of joy which lifted his thoughts to heaven and a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty Who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand.

Barring the Punjab where the stern realities of the division and the raw tempers of riotous crowds marred the vision of renaissance independence, the whole country was exuberant with pride and delirious with joy. Cities and villages went mad with enthusiasm, but Calcutta was possibly the maddest of all as the celebrations broke on the city as an anti-climax to a full year of blood-stained nightmare. The eve of the great day witnessed an emotional switch-over which looked miraculous. Both communities had grown sick to desperation at the never-ending series of assaults, arsons and murders; both had tired of suspicion, hatred and insecurity and were prepared for any change of mood. Then Gandhiji came who sensed the situation with his rarely mistaken intuition of popular feeling. He settled in the evacuated house of a Mohammedan, took the Mohammedan Premier as a willing hostage, and approached the leaders of both sides. Gandhiji gave his word of honour that the Hindus would in no way take undue advantage of their superiority in the city; the local Muslim League with commendable merit trusted his promise would be honoured by all, and ordered their supporters to rally to the national flag. Hindu merchants invited Mohammedan merchants to inter-communal tea and sweets, and this object-lesson in reconciliation by full-girted shop-keepers set on fire the imagination of youth, and lorry-loads of volunteers took through every street and lane the lusty message of reborn fraternization. The emotional surge swamped the whole city, and, what was a wonder by itself, even the *goondas* who had been prematurely charged with having got out of hand obeyed the 'cease fire' order with more discipline than the regular troops in Indonesia. The day began in a frenzy of visualised independence; the crowd found the flag-hoisting a tame ceremony and, in a frenzy for tangible tokens of democracy, took possession of Government House, rushed every hall and visited the bed-room of the new governor and the last tiffin-basket of departing imperialism. The tear-gas of the new regime sobered them down to the stern exigencies of law and order, and the celebrations ran their normal course which went on through the Id holidays. Thanks to its emotional gifts, Calcutta had shaken off its civic insanity, and gone back to its proud fancy that what Bengal does today India will do tomorrow.

THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION

The national festivities were hardly over when the award of the Boundary Commission gave everybody a feeling of the 'morning after.' It pleased nobody, and was called disappointing, unfair, abominable, etc. At first sight, it looks like a schoolboy's home-task, and in particular the new map of the two Bengals is a

puzzle. What of the Chittagong Hill Tract which was not provincial territory and is awarded to East Bengal? What of the Darjeeling District which is cut off from West Bengal? What of Khulna, etc.? Were there unofficial secret agreements about future re-arrangement which were anticipated in the award? It was most fortunate that the Governments of India and Pakistan had promised to abide by his award, and that a spirit of mutual goodwill had come upon Bengal. The matter will be re-opened in a friendly mood, an international Frontier Commission will be set up, and, if things proceed with the usual pace of such commissions, our grand-nephews will have frontiers that will suit some people.

The First Indian Woman Ambassador

The National Christian Council Review observes :

The appointment of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit as the first Ambassador of India to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, otherwise known as Russia, has evoked general commendation and satisfaction. She will have the unique distinction of being the first Indian Woman to hold a diplomatic position abroad; perhaps she is the first woman to hold such a position in the whole world. Mrs. Pandit's appointment is a signal vindication of the right of women to an equal part in social and political life. Surely, in this matter, India has excelled the Western democracies who claim to be the champions of the rights of women to equality of status with men. Her choice for this position may largely be attributed to her success as leader of the Indian delegation to the UNO. The exceptional ability and tact she displayed there marked her for diplomatic service. Mrs. Pandit has a most difficult job at Moscow. The differences in ideologies of the Western democracies and the U.S.S.R. are becoming important factors in the world situation today. Many people share with Mrs. Pandit her admiration for the achievements of Soviet Russia during the past 30 years, but at the same time, the same people realize also the many drawbacks of the Soviet brand of Republic, of which we are confident, she also is aware. Mrs. Pandit has personality and ability. She inherits besides a high family tradition of social and civic freedom. She should prove a complete success in her new role.

Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswamy

Some Reminiscences and an Appreciation

Dr. J. M. Hafiz Syed writes in *The Indian Review* :

My recollection of Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy dates back to the year 1907 when I was a student at Benares and he had come over to the Theosophical Society. His tall and slim and graceful figure, his intellectual and refined features and his Indian attire upon a foreign looking body attracted the attention of all who saw him. When it became known to us youngmen that he was a scientist by training and artist and philosopher by nature we were all the more impressed by the many-sided culture which we expected to

and in him. The fact that he lived in England and had foreign blood in his veins became more and more emphasised as a contrast to his understanding and burning love of Indian culture and civilisation and took our young imagination as if by storm. A kind of hero worship grew up in the mind of the younger generation who came into touch with him; and those of us who had read his articles published in the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, the *Indian Review* and the *Modern Review* in the opening years of this century regarded him as an outstanding force of the time.

The early years of the century were the years of great enthusiasm.

The Partition of Bengal and the surge of patriotic feeling that came with it, the Swadeshi Movement and the spirit of sacrifice that was liberated in support of it, the herculean effort which men like Gokhale and Lajpat Rai made for the unification of the politics of the Hindus and the Muslims of the country, all these and everything else that occupied the minds of men were germinally present in Dr. Coomarswamy's writings of those early years. Yet, inspite of the great surge of national feeling in the country, the general attitude of mind to things Indian was marked by ignorance and contempt in the so called English educated people.

Even the Indian National Congress in those early years lacked the national self-consciousness which Dr. Coomarswamy tried to awaken. As I look upon the resolution of the Indian National Congress adopted in those early years and remember the great speeches of the reformers of the time, I feel that the best that was attempted or desired by us was to make India in every way like England. Hardly any one mentioned the need of revitalizing the Indian ideal or evaluating the progress of things in terms of that ideal.

Dr. Coomarswamy's articles quickened a sense of pride and dignity in the minds of young Indians for the past of their civilization by giving them an understanding of the principles underlying their culture and civilization.

"What shall it profit India to gain the whole world if she lost her own soul in her effort to gain it," insisted Dr. Coomarswamy in a variety of ways.

His articles were read and re-read, discussed and pondered upon by the cleverest of the younger generation and became a kind of tonic for their future effort. Everywhere the most ardent admirers of Dr. Coomarswamy were young men to whom his words made a special appeal.

I remember how in every town and city which he visited for collecting pictures for the great exhibition at Allahabad in 1910, he made an impression on young minds and left crowds of them to ruminate on his central ideas. The great work that he did to educate public taste for Indian art exhibited at Allahabad stands out as a landmark in the evolution of modern India. Judging from his contribution towards the awakening of Indian consciousness to things Indian one cannot but regard him as one of the great builders of modern India.

He did not figure in the struggle for political freedom in any of its several phases.

But his writings supplied the energy and the motive for the deeper undercurrent that worked imperceptibly behind the outward symptoms. He was a critic of art and toured the country as a collector of pictures. But his definition of and his interpretation of pictures became many-sided appreciation of the national forces that had gone to the making of the national arts. Whether he wrote on Swadeshi or on Industry, on Indian jewellery or Indian statuary and buildings, he always seemed to harp back on the central realization behind Indian culture and philo-

sophy. When he wrote about education in India he displayed the same largeness of view and deep understanding of the Indian point of view which was neglected and ridiculed by the foreign educator of Indian youths. In short, whatever was the subject to which he applied his catholic and liberal mind, he always brought his readers to consider all things as rooted in the central reality of the Indian conception. Even now to his old admirers, the publication of a book by him is an outstanding event. And although he lives so far away in America we think of him as perpetually present behind the shaping energy of the times as one of its great main-spring. It is difficult to review his contribution to the making of modern India without taking away the essential dignity from the future Indian ideal. For, to quote his own words, "nations are built, not by politicians but by artists and philosophers."

It was he who insisted upon the fact that we want freedom for our country not merely for bread but for the sake of being what we have in ourselves to become.

It is impossible not to be thrilled by the appeal Dr. Coomarswamy made to the deeper self-respect of Indians whose latter-day history was devoid of all significance and substance and who from that cause were unable to make any contribution to the sum total of human culture and the civilization of mankind.

We have not said anything of Dr. Coomarswamy's contribution to making India understood by Europe and America. But even here he is a great worker. His lectures and books addressed to the Western people present India in the fairest possible terms. As to the Indians so to the English men, he talks of India as an essential link in the chain of human civilization and presents her case for freedom upon the level not of human conquest and slavery, but upon the level of the unity of mankind. His appeal is always couched in persuasive terms as would be that of a brotherly man talking to brotherly men. This is so because he is a lover of the best that England stands for and equally of that which free India can still evolve out of her many-sided culture for the solution of the many problems that face the modern world.

He used to say to us that "the future of India could not be postponed for ever." Swaraj or self-Government was the ideal of young India, and it depended upon the wisdom and sympathy of English rulers in India to say whether the growth of this idea of nationality throughout the country should be attended by violent disturbance or whether it should be allowed to proceed peacefully towards the inevitable goal. Episodes such as Hindu-Muslim riots, and the deportation of Indian agitators in those days were but the flashes that announced the conflict. They were not the struggle itself. Nor did they explain its significance. What then, according to him, was the deeper meaning of



the struggle? It was a part of a wider one, the conflict between the ideals of imperialism and the ideals of nationalism. Between these two ideals we had then to choose; and with the choice of England in particular we were then concerned. Upon that choice depended the salvation of much that was absolutely essential to the future greatness of civilization. For imperialism involved the subordination of many nationalities to one; a subordination not merely political but also economic and cultural. He thought that nationalism was inseparable from the idea of internationalism, recognizing the rights and worth of other nations to be even as one's own.

For Indians he held that the ideal was that of nationalism and internationalism.

He desired us, Indians to feel that loyalty for us consisted in loyalty to the idea of an Indian nation, politically, economically and mentally free; in other words he believed that India was for the Indians, not because we believed that every nation has its own part to play in the long tale of human progress, but that nations which were not free to develop their own individuality and their own character were also unable to make their contribution to the sum of human culture which the world has a right to expect of them. He was definitely of opinion that "so long as England's ideals were set upon an achievement of domination over others she could neither be free nor truly great." These precious words of his uttered forty years ago have come out to be true and his aspirations and prayers seem to have been fulfilled.

Much has been said and written by political thinkers on the value and importance of individuals and nations. Dr. Coomarswamy's view is no less valuable than that of some of the eminent thinkers of the West. He believes that "The world has progressed from the ideal of individual slavery to that of individual freedom; it has become an instinct to believe that men are equal at least to this degree, that every man must be regarded as an end in himself. But progress is only now being made from the idea of national slavery (empire) to that of national freedom (inter-nationalism). We have to learn that nations no less than men are ends in themselves; we have yet to realize that a nation can no more ultimately justify the ownership of other nations, than a man can justify the ownership of other men."

Let us not forget, he further adds, that in setting this ideal of nationalism before us, we are not merely striving for a right, but accepting a duty that is binding on us, that of self-realization to the utmost for the sake of others.

Deeply learned as he is in ancient lore of India and saturated as he is with the true spirit of Indian culture he lets no opportunity pass when he does not emphasize the need and importance of disseminating some of the vital ideals of ancient India that hold good for all time, and which the present erring and suffering world needs to no small extent.

He sincerely feels that India has to play a part among the comity of nations and has to contribute something definite to the spiritual and cultural evolution of mankind.

There is something in India in the form of spiritual values which is not found elsewhere in the world and it is that which India has to share with other nations in order to revitalise their outlook on life and reorientate their civilization. Every country like every individual has its own genius and special characteristics which have to be preserved in the interest of commonwealth and human welfare. He is one of those few thinkers and advocates of India's cause who always takes a deeper view of life and knows how to discriminate between the real and the unreal, between vital and unessential. Unhesitatingly and with full sense of confidence and responsibility, he enjoins his

countrymen (as he identifies himself with India and her aspirations) that "India's contribution to the civilization of the world does not and can never justify her children in believing that her work is done. There is work yet for her to do, which if not done by her, will remain for ever undone." He enjoins us "not to shirk our part in the re-organization of life which is needed to make life tolerable under changed conditions." He draws our attention to the fact that it is for us to show that great and lovely cities can be built again without the pollution of the air by smoke or the poisoning of the rivers by chemicals; "it is for us to show that man can be the master, not the slave of the mechanism he himself has created."

He desires us to bear in mind that "wisdom is greater than knowledge."

We should never forget that "art is something more than manual dexterity, or the mere imitation of natural forms."

He calls upon us "to investigate the physical and supersensual faculties anew, in the light of the discoveries of physical science and to show that science and faith may be reconciled on a higher plane than any reached as yet." It is for us, he emphasizes, "to spiritualize the religious conceptions of the West, and to show that the true meaning of religious toleration is not the refraining from persecution, but the real belief that different religions need not be mutually exclusive, the conviction that they are all equal roads suited to the varying capacities of those that tread them and leading to one end."

How few patriots are there in our sacred land, who have caught the true spirit of India's past glory and have faith in her immense possibilities in future. Dr. Coomarswamy is one of the very few of them who devoutly believes that the soul of India with its deeper and fuller significance, should be jealously guarded and carefully preserved. Every civilized nation is really proud of its national heritage and is never willing to destroy it. The true ideal of *swadharma*, doing one's own duty, however irksome and unpleasant it may be, must be pursued unflinchingly. He is one of those few persons who sounded a timely note of warning more than forty years ago that "the people of India should cease to imitate their rulers." Indian music, Indian art, Indian architecture, Indian philosophy, in short everything that is truly Indian must be preserved. He has rightly awakened us to our national consciousness and told us that "the best in us is still sleeping".

As a writer of great eminence and a thinker of no mean order, he is too well-known in the world of to-day to need any further mention.


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museum of which he is the worthy Curator. Although he is far away from us in a distant land, I have no doubt, that his heart is with us and he is watching our rising destiny closely from his abode of peace. May he long be spared to us by kind Providence to espouse our cause and to inspire us with his wonderful interpretation of Indian tradition, is the prayer of one of his oldest admirers in India.

The Limitations of Non-Violence

G. R. Malkani writes in *The Aryan Path* :

We in India are on the eve of independence. But we cannot retain this independence if certain false notions persist in the minds of the leaders of political thought. The Indian National Congress is largely dominated by Mahatma Gandhi; and Mahatma Gandhi has made of *ahimsa* or non-violence not only the highest kind of religion, but also a political principle of the greatest efficiency. It appears to us that it is nothing of the sort, and that this exaltation of the principle of non-violence involves some confusion of thought, in respect of both religion and politics.

We can understand that a person may be so mentally elevated that he regards no one as his enemy. He has, so to say, effaced his own individuality. The world is to him kith and kin. If any one is hostile to him, he shows love to him as to an erring brother. Love has great potency, and can subdue the wild animal, not to speak of human beings. But human love is necessarily limited and finite. It cannot achieve everything. It is only a theoretical belief that if love is infinite or sufficiently strong, nothing can stand in its way.

In actual practice, love can achieve only limited results.

All that we can say is that, given proper material, it can often do wonders. It can disarm a bitter enemy and win him over. If we can show an enemy that we are never offended no matter what he does to us, he is soon tired of doing any injury to us and surrenders to our love. But, once again, we emphasise the phrase "given proper material." If the enemy employs only harassing tactics, there is at least time in our favour. Our continued suffering without protest or thought of retaliation may impress him, and he may soon desist from his persecution and even reciprocate our feelings. Such conciliation can be permanent and lasting as no other conciliation can be. Ill-will is replaced by goodwill.

Again, we have to assume that the enemy is not lost to all considerations of humanity, and that his religion does not make him think that the pain and the suffering of the Kafir are of no account whatsoever and that he is obeying the behests of his religion when he kills the Kafir. Religious fanaticism is the worst type of fanaticism. You can never argue with a religious fanatic or impress him in any way. Granting, however, that there is no man but is a human being at heart and that even a granite heart could be impressed, nothing whatsoever can be done to a fanatic through love if he is out, not for harassing tactics, but for outright destruction and the imposition of his will. If he has closed his mind to argument and works on the single motto of "Sword or Koran!" he allows us absolutely no time to win him through our suffering. He would give hell to any one who raised his voice in protest or made any gesture of opposition.

It has sometimes occurred to us, in all humility, whether even Mahatma Gandhi, the prophet of *ahimsa*, could show any result in such a situation. There have been several occasions when he could have put his

philosophy to the test, but unfortunately (or, as I should think, fortunately), he has not availed himself of them. When the Huns of Sind were being suppressed, he protested against the employment of violence against them. But the world would indeed have been convinced most definitely about the efficacy of this weapon, if his non-violence could have succeeded where violence did not. Similarly in the case of mob-fury in some of the worst riots of recent times, we have had no ocular proof, and we think that none is possible.

Where Mahatma Gandhi has succeeded, the material was relatively good.

We shall now take a different line of argument, also suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. This argument takes the form of the question, What if you fail? You may get killed, but you will have served a great cause. We brush aside the question, which is quite pertinent here, whether any of us want to get killed in this way. But what cause should we have served by getting killed in meek or non-violent protest? We have in the above circumstances no opportunity of prolonged suffering through which we could so much as start Satyagraha. Whether we were true Satyagrahis or not would not be known even to ourselves. Our Satyagraha would not make any news. The proper word for it would be "slaughter." There is no scope for Satyagraha where reason on the other side is lacking and where there is a pure and unadulterated exhibition of naked force. We might console ourselves that we at least would have died bravely and with no enmity in our heart, and that the advertisement of newspapers is a modern evil which is best avoided. But let us not delude ourselves with the idea that this kind of Satyagraha has any kind of efficacy; and by efficacy we mean "power to touch the heart of the enemy and make him relent." There are occasions where force can produce an understanding which nothing else can.

In the present case, we shall have died without proving the social value of Satyagraha. We shall have served no social cause. We shall at best have sacrificed ourselves in the fires of fanaticism in order to give ourselves the spiritual consolation of saying: "What if we die! Is life worth living without love and non-violence?"

Then let us not speak of non-violence as a social or a political weapon. It is at best a spiritual weapon in the hands of a holy person who cares not for the goods of life, and who is content to depart when his religion demands it.

It is expecting too much of normal social beings with social responsibilities and when the honour of

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womenfolk is at stake, to demand that they should behave like such a holy person, or that any amount of preaching can make them love their enemies and entertain no bitterness in their hearts in the face of the worst kind of atrocities. Non-violence is a *religious ideal for the individual*; it is not a *social or political weapon*. We deceive ourselves, if we think otherwise.

But is non-violence even the highest form of religion? It is not so unconditionally. Hinduism is not a religion of non-violence, nor is Islam. Non-violence has been specially preached by Buddhism, Jainism and Christianity. But the Christian and the Buddhist nations have observed it only in the breach. No nation could live with non-violence as its only weapon. A nation is not made of men with no real interests in the world. It has to meet active violence from other nations, and it cannot effectively meet it without active preparation to meet violence with violence.

This violence on the political plane is quite consistent with the highest form of spiritual life and thought.

In the *Gita*, Arjuna gives the very arguments which an ardent Satyagrahi would give: "They are my kith and kin, my elders and *gurus* for whom I have respect—how can I kill them? What shall I do with all this wordly greatness by killing those very persons who are dear and near to me?" etc. But Sri Krishna called all this talk cowardly and unmanly. The duty of a *Kshatriya* is to fight for a righteous cause, unmindful of the result.

Violence can be a duty; and it is quite consistent with the highest form of spiritual insight. Does not Sri Krishna say that the real spirit, the *atma*, can never be killed, and that nobody ever kills or is killed? Knowing all that, on the plane of action, we cannot get away from our duty however irksome or unpleasant it may be. We have to do our duty without any desire for the fruit, simply because it is a duty. Sri Krishna goes even so far as to say that he had already killed all those people who were arrayed on the other side, and that if Arjuna thought that *he* could do anything he was really mistaken. All things that are ever done are done by the will of God. He is the only real actor if there is one. We mistakenly take the credit and the discredit to ourselves.

If we rise to that level, violence does not appear so heinous a thing. God attains His ends in various ways. We are only His instruments. We do not see far. We see only our duty. This we must do in the spirit of dedication to the cause of righteousness, and not by way of self-aggrandisement. If the integrity of society requires violence, let there be violence. Where persuasion would do and violence is unnecessary, let there be persuasion. But let us not make a religion of non-violence. It is only a one-sided religion. The higher religion is that which does not preach resort to violence, but which is not afraid of violence where it alone is indicated in the strange and variegated forms of human idiosyncrasies and human relationships.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India is Free

The New York Times, Friday, August 15, 1947, observes :

In a historic event equal in importance to the most momentous happenings of our crowded days, the British flag is being hauled down today all over India, and two hundred years of British rule over that teeming sub-continent and its ancient civilization comes to an end in a manner far more noble than it began. In place of the Union Jack, there rises the orange, white and green banner of the Indian Union and the white and green flag of Pakistan. With that ceremony the four hundred million Indian people assume among the powers of the earth their own separate and equal status, and establish for themselves new governments which to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. By the same token, the British Empire, which has held dominion over one-quarter of the globe and one-quarter of mankind, now enters into a process of self-liquidation which removes from it what has always been its backbone and richest prize. Yet, this dropping of an anachronistic pomp and circumstance holds out the promise of transforming an empire of unwilling subjects into a voluntary association and commonwealth of free men.

The birth of the new India comes not without pain and violence. But this violence is taking place between the Indians themselves, not between the British and their Indian subjects. And regrettable though it is, this violence is of minor import compared with the spectre of an Indian revolutionary war, which could scarcely be confined to India alone. *Indeed, it is part of the greatness of the day that the transition from British rule to Indian self-government is being accomplished by mutual agreement, and amid reciprocal good-will equalled in colonial history only within the British Empire itself, and outside of it only by the American grant of independence to the Philippines. In that respect it represents a triumph for both British and Indian statesmanship—for the British because it recognized the historic tide and did not attempt to beat it back, for the Indian because it accomplished its ends by compromise and the principle of non-violent resistance which carried the day at less cost than would have been possible otherwise.*

The technical significance of this day is that the Indian Union and Pakistan now become dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs," though still owing a common allegiance to the British Crown. But this condition is established only till June, 1948, at which date the British originally pledged themselves to terminate their rule. It will be in June next year, therefore, that the final pay-off of British rule will come; it is then that the Indian Governments will decide whether to hold on to the last ties that still unite them with the British for their common protection, or whether they will cut even the gossamer threads of dominion status in favor of complete independence.

The real significance of the day, however, is that it marks the twilight colonialism everywhere. The whole world of Kipling's imagery sinks into oblivion, the captains and the kings that strutted across the

scene of India's history depart, one hopes, never to return. Yet at its passing it is only fair to remember that with all its grandeur and its misery, colonialism, too, has performed an historic mission in bridging the cleavages between different civilizations, and that the British Raj in particular has been not without benefit to the Indian people. It left India more united and peaceful than that seething land of many races, many creeds and many invasions has ever been. And it advanced the democratic ideal of popular self-government much farther in India than other Oriental countries with their patriarchal traditions have been able to develop within themselves. Its last act of peaceful renunciation of power at the demand of the Indian people is the final proof thereof.

Now the power and the glory, but also the responsibility, devolve upon the Indian people and their leaders. It is now up to them to demonstrate that they can at least hold what British rule has achieved, and that they know how to proceed from there to do what the British have left undone, and to develop their country to its full potentiality. *The problems they face are many and complex, but there is hope that the same wise statesmanship and restraint which made this day possible will also guide them to a better future. In that hope, we welcome the new India into the family of the free nations of the world.*



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The Inter-Asian Relations Conference

In an article in the *Jewish Frontier*, June, 1947, Hugo Bergmann, the leader of the delegation of Jewish Palestine, thus describes his impressions of the great conference with special reference to the place of the Jews in its mission :

The first Inter-Asian Conference was convened by the Indian Council of World-Affairs, a body founded in 1943, whose aim is the promotion of the study of Indian and international questions. The convening of this conference, though it was defined from the very beginning as non-political, must have been a very difficult political and diplomatic task. The differences between China and Tibet, between Viet Nam and Cambodia, between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine, were felt at the Conference itself. Unfortunately the Moslem League in India decided to boycott the Conference, saying that it was only "a thinly disguised attempt on the part of the Hindu Congress to boost itself as the leader of Asiatic peoples." This attitude prejudiced the Middle East Moslem countries against the Conference. Only Egypt sent delegates. The seven states of the Arab League were merely represented by one "observer." The same obtains for Turkey. The following is the list of the countries represented at the Conference : Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Buthan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Egypt, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Korea, Malaya, Mongolia, Nepal, Palestine, Philippines, Siam, Tadzhikistan, Tibet, Uzbekistan, Viet Nam, Turkey, the Arab League. These are twenty-six, and with the Arab League states, thirty-three countries. This, in itself, was a great achievement of organizational and diplomatic skill on the part of the conveners of the Conference.

The chief importance of the Conference was the meeting of its delegations in itself. As one of the delegates said : "We have become Asian-minded," and this is not a small thing. The huge map of Asia above the dais of the Conference showed the gigantic dimensions of Asia, the gigantic totals of its populations. Pandit Nehru in his concluding speech said : "We are now in the process of finding ourselves, and others are also in the process of realizing that Asia is not merely a place for the rivalry of various imperialisms, but Asia consists of human beings with dignity, with a long past behind them, and human beings who are going to have a great future. This conference has been a landmark in the history of Asia and a landmark in the history of the world."

This assessment by Nehru of the conference which was convened and decisively influenced by him, was not exaggerated. The conference revealed to all its participants the huge potential of intellectual and cultural force which is now becoming free owing to the rise of the liberated peoples of Asia, and which is being brought into play with that great speed which distinguishes our time from other historical epochs.

Was the conference more than that ? Some people spoke of a "Pan-Asiatic" conference, as if it had been the expression of a political collective will. This may be doubted. Many voices, of course, suggested this way. Among the exceedingly rich documentary material handed to the delegates, there was, for instance, a memorandum of the Principal of Patnam College, P. G. Sinha, which advocated the creation, on the lines of the "Pan-American Conference," of a permanent Inter-Asian Conference—"for defense, economic development, reshaping of the Asian transport-system, reviving and developing of new overland routes." In suggesting this, Sinha draws the Western frontiers of Asia up to the Baltic, the Carpathians, and the Alps.

In order to come to his conclusion, Sinha has to diminish as far as possible the importance of the existing differences among and within the Asiatic peoples. Thus he states of the Islamic bloc in the Middle East : "This region has been attacked by the virus of various imperialisms which may convert it into a festering sore on the Asian body politic. The states in this region should be on the vanguard of our defense-system, like Japan at the other end, instead of being a Trojan Horse for Asia. It is a matter of vital importance for both Asia and Africa to consider how we can contribute towards a reorientation of the policies of the countries of the Middle East. The Middle East holds about 50 per cent of the world's oil resources, which would be her great dowry to the Asian joint family." But is this more than wishful thinking ? Can this reorientation be thought through to a conclusion, without taking into consideration the great conflict which today governs world-politics ? Sinha says about the Soviet Union : "The Soviet Union is our natural leader in the field of social and technological development. Her social sentiments are inspirations for the under-privileged millions in Asia,"—but he evades the actual political problem which dominates world affairs.

But an influential member of the Indian delegation, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, advanced an entirely different conception for a future world-political orientation of a free India. He did so in a pamphlet "The Basis of an Indo-British Treaty" which was published by the convener of the Conference, The Indian Council of World-Affairs. It is not her continental affiliations, he says, which are of decisive importance for India. "The essential fact is that India is a maritime State with a predominance of interest on the sea. The continental affiliations are comparatively negligible. From the continental point of view of Eurasia, she is only an abutting corner, walled off by impassable mountains. From the sea and air point of view, on the other hand, she is one of the great strategic centres." In consequence, Panikkar demands the inclusion of Free India in a maritime State system: the Western Block of that system would have Britain as its centre, and its Eastern Block would have India as its centre.

I do not bring up these opinions—which are diametrically opposed to each other—for their own sake. I quote them only in order to show that there was no unity of will at the basis of the Inter-Asian Conference, although the feelings of a great part of its participants were dominated by the still continuing fight for freedom against the Western powers. But the Indian conveners of the Conference, particularly, endeavored to attenuate as far as possible the mood of conflict with the West. They endeavored to allay apprehensions of a revival of the Japanese slogan "Asia for the

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Asiatics" and the creation of an anti-Western bloc. Gandhi pointed out in his speech at the close of the Conference that there was but one possible way in which the East could conquer the West: the conquest through love. Both Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess who presided at the Conference, emphasized its spiritual basis: the conception of Asia as the cradle of all religions, Asia the keeper of a spiritual tradition which the West does not know or appreciate, Asia which still has a message for mankind.

The tangible result of the Conference was the decision to establish a permanent body called the Asian Relations Organization. It will have as its objects: "To promote the study and understanding of Asian problems and relations in their Asian and world aspects; to foster friendly relations and co-operation among the peoples of Asia, and between them and the rest of the world; to further the progress and well-being of the peoples of Asia." A provisional General Council was appointed consisting of thirty representatives of the countries which had taken part at the Conference. The organization will be composed of national units, one in each country. The next Conference is to be held in 1949, in China.

In conclusion, reference should be made to the special circumstances under which the delegation of Jewish Palestine found itself in New Delhi. The Arabs of Palestine had sent no delegates, and this put our delegation in a somewhat strange position. Although we emphasized time and again that we represented Jewish Palestine, we were commonly addressed as the Palestine delegation. At the same time, every opportunity was used or seized upon by the Arabs present (the delegates of Egypt and the Arab League) to contest our legitimate right of attending the Conference. This led to a clash in the ceremonious opening session, which placed our delegation—much against its will—in the limelight of public interest. This incident increased our difficulties and intensified the Arab press propaganda against us. On the other hand, it had the advantage of turning the attention of the Conference towards the problem of Palestine.

The writer may be permitted here to make a more personal remark. After that clash in the opening session, I—as the leader of the Palestine delegation—approached the delegate of the Arab League, and we shook hands as a gesture of peace. The Conference applauded loudly. I should not wish, however, to create the impression that this was no more than an empty demonstration, a mere gesture. My attitude, with which the whole delegation identified itself, arose from my deep conviction that Arabs and Jews must come to an understanding. It arose from my sincere hope that our participation in the Conference, and the Conference itself, would—and should—contribute and help much in this respect.

Were we justified in participating at this Conference? Not one of our delegates was born in Asia. Did we stop being Europeans or Americans when we came to Palestine? I think the problem cannot be put this way. It is immaterial where our cradle happened to stand; the decisive point is that we are deeply rooted in our country—by law and in our heart. Our Hebrew language, most of all, gave us the right to speak at this Conference. It was more than a co-incidence that the Hebrew University was the first to be invited, before the Vaad Leumi, at the suggestion of the University, took over the formation of the delegation as one representing the whole Yishuv. That we made Hebrew our language in our old home—this was, and is, the deepest expression of a true and complete return to the Asian homeland.

A seat has now been given to us in the Council of the Thirty who are to govern the newly created organization. Our delegate there will raise his voice in the name of the Jewish people. Within the framework of the organization we shall be able to act an honest and worthy part when Jews all over the world will be prepared to fight the entirely unfounded prejudices which make the white race look down upon the other races. For the sake of this fight—it is true—there was no need for us to go to New Delhi. It is one of the basic teachings of Judaism that all men are created in the image of God.

In this spirit, we shall be sincere and loyal members of the Inter-Asian Relations Organization. We see in it a preliminary step towards the creation of One World, or—as we say—towards the messianic type of mankind.

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"The general consumer has come to believe that plastics are the 20th century's philosopher's stone." Although this observation of one of the leading plastics industrialists was regarded as a slight exaggeration, it did not hit too far off the mark.

Plastics output in the United States has jumped from 100,000,000 pounds in 1939 to a rate near 1,000,000,000 pounds in 1947. By May 1947, when the Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc., (SPI) met in Chicago for its second annual conference and exhibit, there were 30 raw material companies in the field, 125 extruders, 200 fabricators, 800 molding companies (300 injection molders and 500 compression molders), employing a total of 100,000 and doing an annual business of 1,000,000,000 dollars. And still, the industry was expanding. By 1949, it is expected to reach a capacity of 1,500,000,000 pounds, or more than twice its present volume. Order books were

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filled and there has been no abatement of the desire of foreign consumers for United States plastics.

But having outgrown its pre-war childhood and having rapidly converted from wartime to peacetime competition with other materials, the billion-dollar business that developed out of a chemical compound faced a new task: how to de-glamorize its product, which can be used—and misused—in myriad varieties; how to establish it not as a miracle chemical, but as the basic industrial product it actually is.

During the war, when steel and other metals were scarce, plastics had become a cure-all in replacing metals in civilian goods production. But the differences among the types and usages of plastics exceed by far those of the metals; some plastics soften in heat, some do not; some are rigid, others flexible; some are clear, some opaque. In short, plastics are not one but hundreds of different materials each with its own characteristic. While in general superior to the materials they are meant to replace, using plastics "all and sundry," as sometimes happened under the pressure of war scarcities, is prone to cast the wrong light on an essentially sound material.

The U.S. plastics industry therefore is now undertaking a conscious effort to make its transition from the formative state into that of well-classified and co-ordinated products. The "know-how" of producing and applying the right plastics to the correct purposes will be spread by an educational committee of the SPI from the manufacturer to the retailer and salesman. Plastics will be eliminated from jobs for which they are less suited than other materials. As a protection of the consumer against poorly conceived or outright faulty applications, another SPI committee is to promote the naming of products by the manufacturer. At the Chicago show one of the largest producers of plastics in the country labelled his exhibit: "The right plastic for every job."

Thus, the budding industry, conscious of its importance, has inaugurated a program of self-regulation. It extends into new uses being found practically every week. Plastics have become an integral part of housing, agricultural, automotive and electrical production, of apparel, shoes, and home furnishings. During the past year, new technical advances were carefully consolidated before they were offered as new machinery, new materials or new fabrics.

Similarly, markets are being developed also on the basis not of glamour sales but of thoroughly examined application. Although exports of plastics have been small compared to the hunger of the domestic market, foreign interest has continually been on the increase. Demand is practically insatiable, especially from countries which have not yet built their own plastics industries. U.S. exports to the other American republics, for example,



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jumped in the past six years from 2,700,000 pounds to 8,600,000 pounds. In 1946, principal importers were, in order, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Venezuela and Peru.

But the United States plastics industry does not expect exports to keep growing at such a rate or to become the mainstay of its production. Other countries, building industries for export or reconstructing their war-shattered productive plant, are rapidly discovering the potentialities of plastics and catching up with America's head-start.

In fact, America's plastics producers, on the basis of their rich experience with the new material, believe that plastics, like steel, will become a spur to industrialization in general, will draw countries poor in pre-plastics raw materials into the orbit of the industrial world. To further this development, C. C. Concanon, Chief of the U. S.

Commerce Department's chemical and drug division, proposed at the Chicago meeting of the SPI that the industry not only export its products but, just as much, its 'know-how'—that is equipment and technical assistance. "This business of being the world's largest producer of plastics and plastics materials carries with it a challenge," he said. "Increased shipments of plastics now would be one step in the right direction. Another and equally important one is the export of American 'brains' to aid the plastics industries of other countries."

In the end the "general consumer" might not have been entirely wrong. Plastics might not be the 20th century's philosopher's stone, but it might, in its own way, contribute to the post-war industrialization of the world. —USIS.



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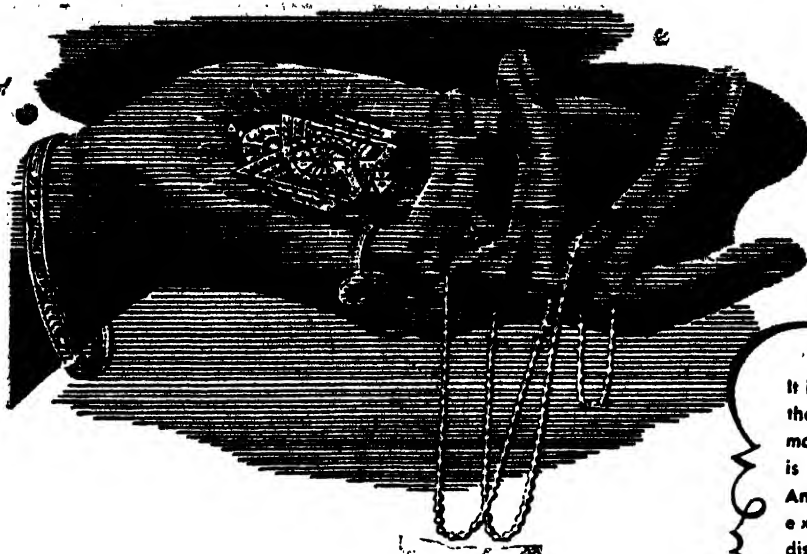
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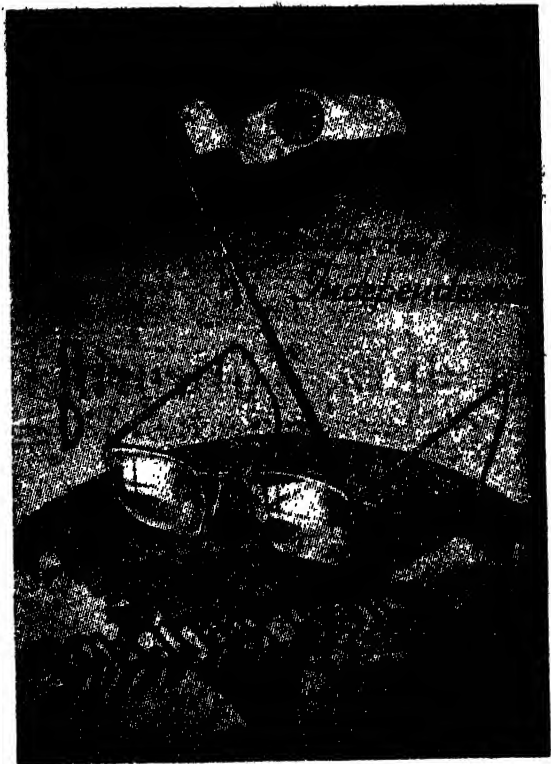
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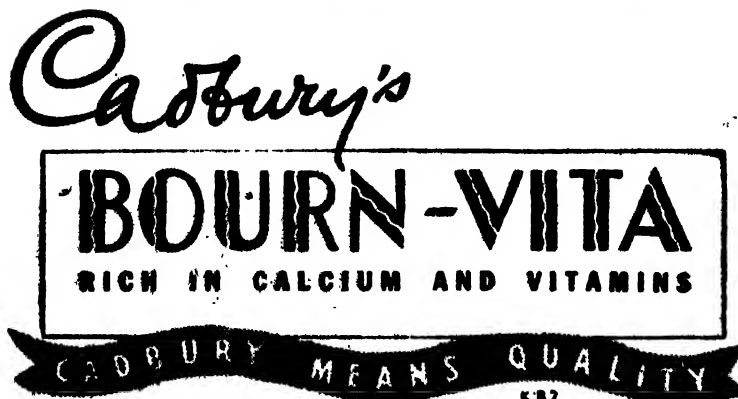
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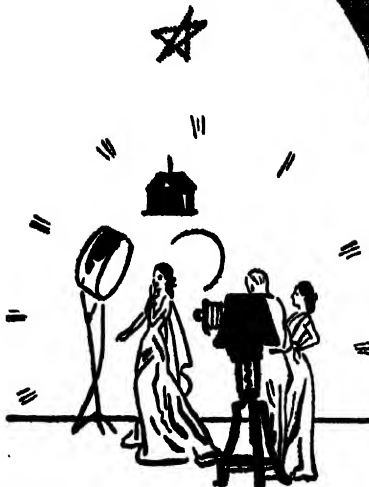
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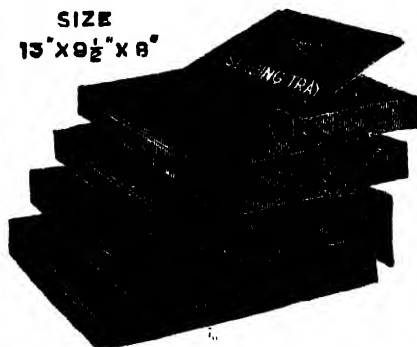
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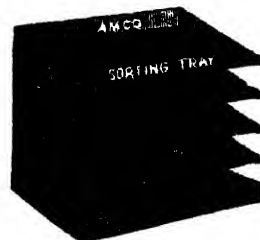
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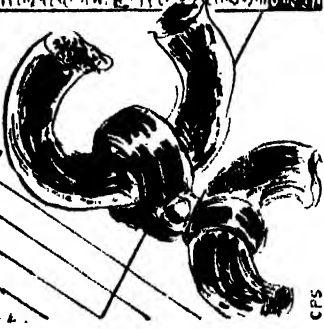
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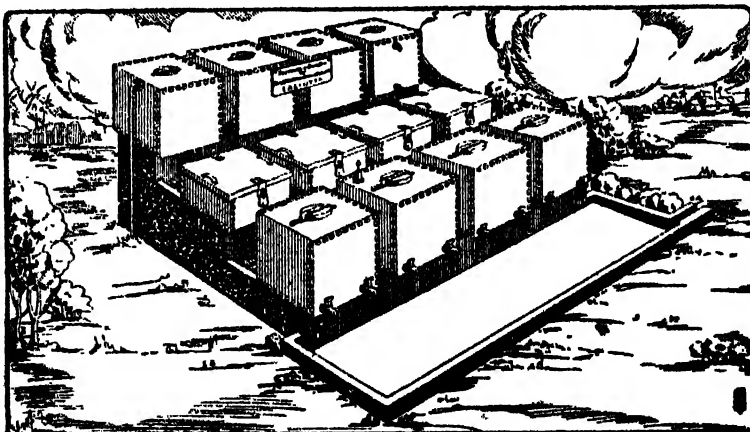
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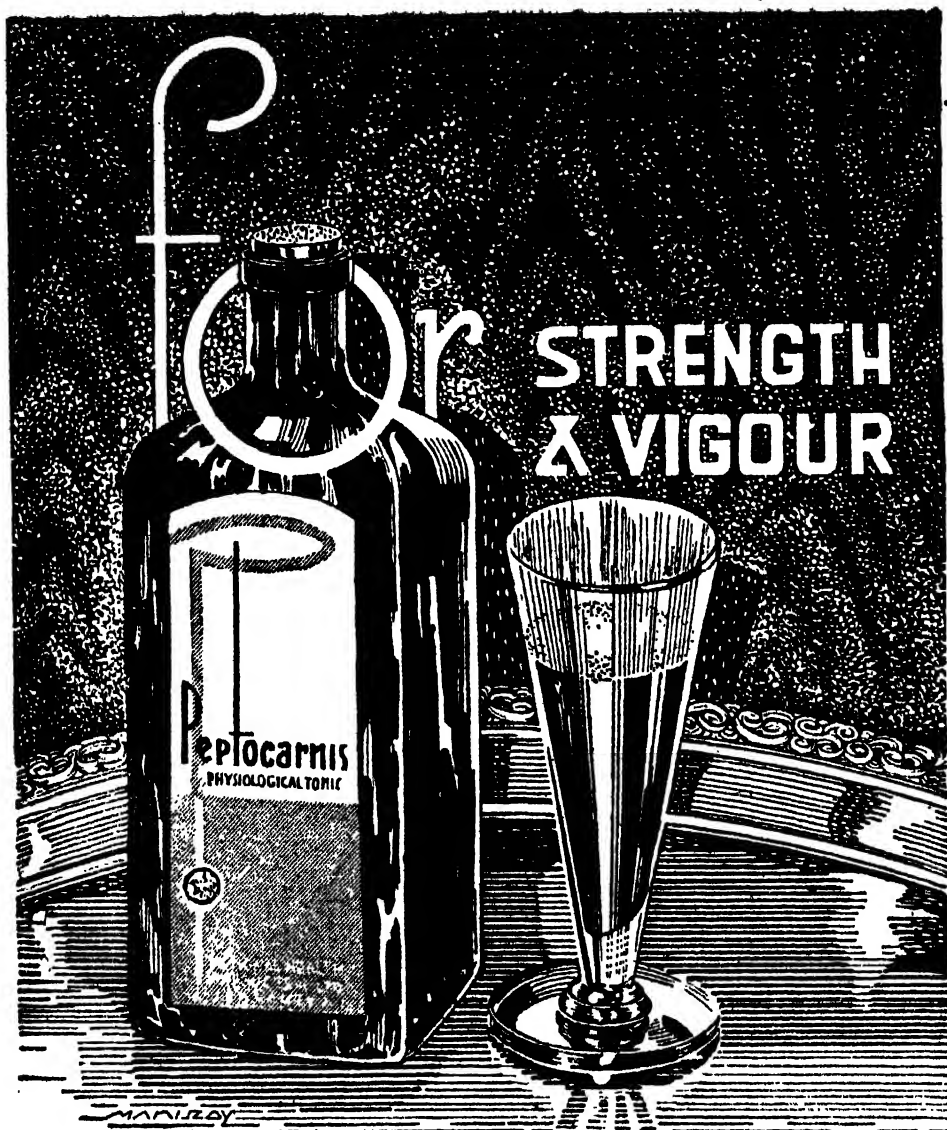
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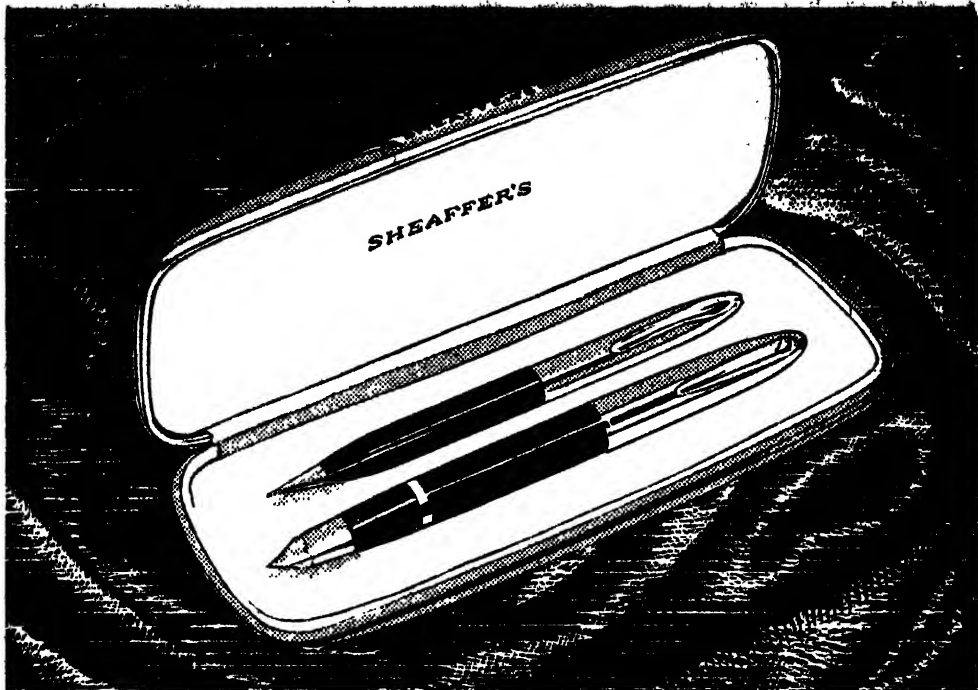
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VOL. LXXXII, No. 4.

WHOLE No. 490

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1947.

	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—At The Tryst (in colours)— <i>Baidyanath Das</i>	
NOTES—	253—272
Side-lights On The Indian Independence Act, 1947— <i>Dr. A. K. Ghosal, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)</i>	273
The Growth Of Communalism And Break- down Of The Bengal Administration— <i>Rai Bahadur Bejoy Bihari Mukherji</i>	277
Indians In Natal— <i>Prof. Sudhansubimal Mukherji, M.A.</i>	286
Early Years Of The Calcutta Medical College (<i>illust.</i>)— <i>Jogesh C. Bagal</i>	291
Rural Electrification In The United States (<i>illust.</i>)— <i>USIS.</i>	297

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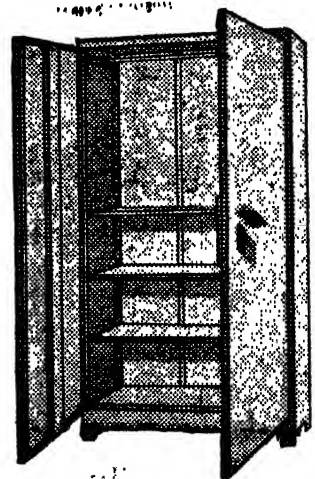
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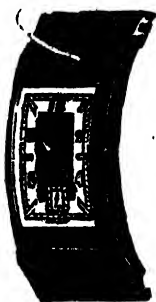
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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
The Village Inn (illustr.)—Geoffery Grigson ...	300
Development Of The Salt Industry Of Bengal (illustr.)—J. K. Nag, M.Sc. ...	301
Reminiscences Of Acharya Dhruva (illustr.)— Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya ...	306
Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy (illustr.)—Prof. O. C. Gangoly ...	309
The Problem Of Water Fertility In Fish Culture—A. Kumar Dutt, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Cornell) and Amiya B. Kar, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Edin.) ...	312
Politics In Burma—Barindra Nath Dass ...	315

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
BOOK REVIEWS: ...	321-324
<i>U. C. Bhattacharjee, Swami Jagadishwarananda, Narayan C. Chanda, D. Burman, A. B. Dutta, Chintaharan Chakravarti, P. R. Sen, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, K. M. J.</i>	
INDIAN PERIODICALS:	327-332
Message of Sri Aurobindo ...	327
Guidalo: Queen of the Hills ...	328
Shall India Remain Divided ...	329
Hardy's Philosophy In Fiction ...	330
Ministerial Portfolio of 'Scientific Research' ...	332
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:	333-336
Independent India ...	333
The Russo-American Impasse ..	333

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AT THE TRYST
By Badrayanath Das

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1947

VOL. LXXXII, No. 4

WHOLE No. 490

NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi's 79th Birthday

The 2nd of October marked another milestone in the life of the "Father of the Indian People" as he has been called by one who is next to him in our estimation. It was celebrated by fasts and prayers, though with joy in our hearts. Mahatma Gandhi has been free all this mature life, but this birthday marks the beginning of an era of freedom for those in whose service he has dedicated his life. This is no occasion for us to indulge in long panegyrics. We can only hope and pray that the fulfilment of that which lies nearest to his heart be not distant and that we may have the good fortune to have him with us till he has completed the span of 125 years.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

In every State that sets its eyes upon the path of progress and of the advancement of its culture and civilization, the leadership devolves on one who has vision, who can view the world in perspective and gauge the assets and shortcomings of his own people and assess the relative speed of his country's advancement in comparison with the rest of the World. On the calibre of his mind and soul and on the vital dynamics of his personality depends the future of his people. The greater such a man is, the more assured becomes the progress and prosperity of his charge. This is an established truth as can be found in the history of all civilized nations. Given the full support of his countrymen and able assistance from his colleagues, who in their turn must be realists and men of action and experience, such a man can build a nation that can vie with any in the civilized world. Such a man is our Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and we have every reason to be proud of him.

We frankly confess that we have not been able to see eye to eye with him in the matter of choice of men, and in certain details of his policy, and therefore have had occasion to criticize him; and we shall continue to do so whenever the occasion arises, for that is the time-honoured principle of the democratic procedure which we consider to be the only way for us. But that does not mean that we lend our support to the senseless accusations that are being levelled at

Pandit Nehru by people who are politically immature and who have lost all sense of proportion through the terrible sufferings that they and their near and dear have been going through during the last few months. We do not wish in the least to belittle those sufferings. Indeed when the time comes and the full story sees the light of the day, the world will know why Jinnah and Liaquat Ali are so afraid of the truth and why they are trying to hide the guilt of their own associates and own people, through mendacious statements and subterfuges. If that story, of which there is ample proof, were published today, the whole of India would be ablaze. But, all the same, we cannot but strongly condemn the moves that are being made to make Pandit Nehru a scape-goat for the evils perpetrated by the myrmidons of the League. For what could he have done to prevent this calamity? There are some who say that he should have arranged for the transfer of populations right away, after the March happenings. These brainy gentlemen forget that the very same criminal elements were there all the time, and their third party instigators were even stronger at that time, and so the same acts of rapine, bestial lust and brutal slaughter, might have been precipitated, at the sight of their prey escaping, by the marauders. There can be no insurance against treacherous aggression, let us not forget, and the remedy can only come after the occurrence, and it does not lie in heaping abuse on the heads of those who are at the helm. We must rather strengthen their hands, so that they can build strong bulwarks against further assaults. We must all strain our nerves to the utmost in succouring the afflicted, but while doing so we must not lose our balance and our sense of realities. We have been secure in the "Peace of the Grave" for over a century and therefore have forgotten as to how to face such terrible calamities.

Let us seek parallels in the history of our own times. Stalin concluded a non-aggression treaty with Hitler, and greatly profited, for a time, thereby. When Hitler considered the time ripe, he struck without a moment's notice and without the slightest indication. The truly colossal might of the German war-machine was hurled at the unsuspecting Russians. We know the

full story and so there is no need to go into details. It will suffice to say that 60 per cent of economic Russia was engulfed by the Nazi hordes, millions were struck down, and fire and fury was let loose over hundreds of thousands of square miles within a few months and it seemed as if Russia would go down at any moment under that fiery tidal-wave. Did the people of Russia at that critical moment, when their fate seemed to hang on the slenderest of threads, did they go howling into Moscow, hurling abuse at Stalin and demanding his head on a charger because he had not foreseen the treachery of Hitler? We all know they did not, and we all know that the course of history would have been changed, had they been blind enough to do so. Twenty million Russians perished in that cataclysm and over ten thousand crores worth of treasure and property was lost. But the Russians did not lose their balance, and that is why today the Soviets are a mighty nation. We are also passing through critical days but let not the agony of five millions, whom we should succour and rehabilitate, blind us to the fact that the fate of more than three hundred millions is hanging in the balance.

In these days of trial and agony Pandit Nehru must feel that the mighty weight of the sanction of three hundred millions and more is behind him. Never was India in more need of a man like him than today, and we are proud of the fact that he has risen to the occasion without in the least sacrificing his ideals. His vision of India is of the truest and so he must be aided to the full by his colleagues, so that it may be translated into reality. Sardar Patel, with his clarity of thought, his concrete realism and sword-steel keenness and ability must become a tower of strength to him. Pandit Nehru on his part must become more aware of the facts as they are and arrange his plans accordingly. Let his idealism be adapted to Sardar Patel's realism so that the Union may march from strength to strength. Else there might be greater disasters in store for us.

Pandit Nehru and the Delhi Riots

Pandit Nehru has expressed himself clearly and unambiguously on the matter of the disturbances in Delhi and the East Punjab. He holds no truck with untruth—which passes in the West, and in some places nearer home, for diplomacy—and has not dealt in minimisation or in subversion of facts as has his opposite number in Pakistan. It is true that the spokesmen of Pakistan abroad have tried to take advantage of this transparent honesty and sincerity of Pandit Nehru as compared with the word-juggling and travesty of truth practised by their own leaders. It is also true that some filthy new-lions have taken this opportunity to abuse the hospitality of the Indian people by despatching highly coloured reports about what is happening in India, while totally suppressing the far more terrible news about Western Pakistan. But that should not cause any dismay in us, for truth will gain the day in the long run and false propagandists will go the way of Goebbels. We on our part must strengthen our embassies

and consulates with efficient men and material so as to combat this sort of insidious propaganda. As things stand our case is going by default, not only in America and England, but all over the World. Our broadcasting department must now function as a part of the Foreign Relations department.

Pandit Nehru's standpoint of view is clear. On September 29, at Old Delhi, he said:

Muslims who really considered this to be their own country and did not look to any outside agency for help were welcome to live in India, he said. But, at the same time, those who were disloyal to the country had no place here and the Government will give them full facility to migrate to a land of their choosing.

The Congress had always refused to subscribe to the ideology of two nations and had been supported by the people in this matter. To-day the people of India were doing the same thing for which they had blamed the League.

"The demand for making India a Hindu State is a virtual victory for the Muslim League, a victory compared to which their achievement of Pakistan is of very little significance."

The prestige and respect, Pandit Nehru said, which the country had begun to enjoy among nations of the world because of its advocacy of the rights of the oppressed people was fast disappearing. Stories of atrocities committed during communal riots were getting currency in foreign countries, and the people there had begun to doubt the existence of that culture and civilisation for which India had always been known.

Asian people had started looking up to India as their champion and leader, but what has happened among us recently has shaken their faith in us.

The aim of the Congress, Pandit Nehru said, was not merely to drive the British out of India. They had visualised big plans for increasing the material wealth of India and making the life of every person here really worth living. They never wanted lawlessness and anarchy in place of foreign domination. They had planned to industrialise India and build new irrigation projects which would have raised the standard of living in this country. All those plans and proposals had been upset by the sudden outbreak of communal rioting. The energies and resources of the Government which should have been spent in making India a richer country were now being exhausted in preventing people from killing each other.

Again he made the following statements on September 30:

Pandit Nehru admitted that the Muslim League had done incalculable harm to India and that the country would have got freedom long before if there had not been the obstacles placed in their way by the League. A large number of Muslims may have acted as traitors to the country and punishment for all those who betrayed their motherland must be severe; but the people must not lose sight of a large number of Hindus and Sikhs also who in the past, had acted treacherously. There were non-Muslims who had actively helped the British while they were suppressing the Indian patriots. What punishment would they suggest for them, Pandit Nehru asked.

He was also aware of acts of brutalities committed by the people in Pakistan with the active help of the authorities. He wanted to take effective measures against the Pakistan Government for having failed to protect the interests of the minorities, but his hands were bound by similar things happening in his own country. With what face could he take action against the Pakistan Government? He would have liked the armies of India to march into Pakistan for the protection of the helpless, rather than see them occupied in quelling riots and guarding hospitals.

Neither is he sparing in his condemnation of those who took the law in their own hands as can be seen from his statement on October 2.

Pandit Nehru called upon the people to make up their minds as to which path they were going to follow, the one pointed out by that apostle of truth and non-violence or the other one on which they had, for the past many days, been led by the anti-social elements in the country. They could not shout Mahatma Gandhi's 'Jai' and pursue a policy of hatred towards their own brethren.

The real danger to India, he added, was not from Pakistan as was being feared in certain quarters, but from a section of Indians themselves who were acting foolishly and treacherously. The greatest enemy of India and the biggest traitor to-day is one who breaks the peace of the country.

The Prime Minister then referred to the charge that he was always thinking of other countries and neglecting his own. It may be he had been at fault in certain matters, but he did not believe that India could progress in isolation from the rest of the world. The study of past history would reveal that India fell and declined whenever it lost touch with the outside world. In whatever age the Indians started looking too much towards themselves and developed narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness they suffered an eclipse.

Industrial and Agricultural Expansion in U. P.

The United Provinces Government is leading in many important branches of nation-building activities. Sincere and serious efforts are being made to solve agricultural, industrial and administrative problems alike. The province's forward march is worthy of emulation by other sister provinces, specially of Bengal. Although they are still just schemes, they merit special attention because the nation-building schemes, so far drawn up in that province, have been mostly translated into action within quite a reasonable time.

Pandit Keshav Deo Malaviya, Minister for Development and Industries, U.P., at a Press Conference held at Allahabad said, "Given suitable co-operation from the press and public workers and with the extensive drive for the manufacture of manures, improvement of irrigation and other developments in the present system of agriculture, the United Provinces will be converted from a deficit area to a surplus province by the *rabi* harvest of 1949." He expressed the firm determination of the U.P. Government to go ahead with their schemes of industrialisation.

The Government have recently divided the industries section into (a) cottage and small-scale ones, and (b) key and heavy industries. A Cottage Industries Board has been set up to organise industries swiftly and efficiently. This Board will be assisted by a Director for Cottage Industries. The heavy industries will have a section organised and planned through a separate section.

He announced that necessary measures were being taken to start a big shellac products industry in Mirzapur. A number of men had already left and were leaving for a short training course at Ranchi which has a well-known institute for carrying on research in the shellac, paper and plastic substances. The Minister hoped that in a few months a good shellac paper plastic products industry will be set up in Mirzapur.

Suitable steps to extend the cultivation of stick lac were also being taken by the government in the Mirzapur district and the government hoped that the present traders of the lac industry will co-operate in the future set-up for the rapid development of this useful industry of the province.

The Development Minister also announced that the government was making Dehradun the centre of sericulture industry for supplying silk worm cocoons to other parts of the province. The Ahraura sericulture industry was receiving the attention of the government and they were trying to cultivate the wild silk-worm of Ahraura.

The Development Minister further announced that handloom weaving will receive Government's special attention. The Government was taking steps, he said, to reserve a larger amount and higher quality of yarn for the handloom weavers. The Minister felt that the most important thing for improving the handloom industry was to introduce standards and designs which would successfully compete with the mill-made products. He hoped that the handloom weavers and their associations would co-operate with the Government in their efforts.

The Government was also taking immediate steps to improve and extend the cottage leather industry in the province. A few big leather tanning and leather goods centres were being opened at suitable places from where at present hides were being exported through the merchants of Cawnpore for exploitation by factories. The Government was adopting measures to let small centres grow in the rural areas for leather tanning and manufacturing leather goods on a cottage and small-scale basis.

Necessary measures to improve the quality of *gur* were also being taken by the Government, announced the Development Minister.

The woollen industry of the hilly regions and Bundelkhand was receiving the Government's particular attention and steps were being taken for grading and improving the texture of the hand-spun and hand-woven woollen cloth.

The Minister also told the pressmen that Government had already issued instructions to overhaul the present system of technical education and to avoid duplications if any, in the institutions. Scores of vocational institutions have been opened and the Government has decided not to end at the training stage but to take up the thread from where students finish their training and then to give them further help to establish in business.

The carpentry and the smithy work is expected to be very swiftly enlarged in the province, said the Minister. He said the refugees who had come to the province and were interested in the manufacture of implements for agriculture as well as domestic purposes would be encouraged to take up this work in suitable areas and Government will extend all reasonable help to such machine-minded refugees who might wish to set up small factories in the province.

By the end of this year, the Minister said, concrete programmes with details, of large-scale planning of key industries will be put before the people and the Government proposed explaining their entire schemes soon, certainly not later than the next budget session.

The Government was spending crores of rupees in opening up new roads on the hills and other inaccessible areas. The southern part of the province has enormous potentialities for development. From Kane and Betwa in Bundelkhand to Dudhi on the borders of Bihar stretches an area which will have hydro-electric dams in a few years. This southern belt is rich in minerals. The province shall soon have cement factories in this area. There is the Singrauli coal mine at Dudhi, district Mirzapur. Northwards there is a 80 miles stretch of magnesite in the district of Almora which has just been discovered and which will give incalculable wealth to the province. Besides, other natural resources abound in great quantities and the Government had taken steps to establish a survey department which will start a thorough exploration of the northern Himalayan belt and the southern Vindhya Region belt very shortly. In between the two belts of north and south lies the alluvial plain where the textile, the sugar and many other industries are already springing up. Four more sugar factories and more than half a dozen textile factories were going to be set up in the very near future. The Government was establishing food yeast, sulphuric acid and other industries.

The Minister observed, agriculture had a priority in the general development of the province. To become a surplus province at least 2 million tons of cereals were required by the *rabi* of 1949. Irrigation and manure drives had, therefore, already been taken up by the Government, Pandit Malaviya said. A fortnight's drive, from October 2 next, to increase the quantity of manure for the use of cultivators was being launched which will yield 20 million maunds of manure without any cost to the province.

'If we repeat this manure drive by asking the cultivators to dig manure pits and try to develop manure by depositing Chakaur and other grasses and cow-dung in them two to three times in the next 18 months, we are likely, by this method alone, to meet about 25 per cent of our deficit, the Minister added. Besides, irrigation facilities were also expected to add to the increased yield.

The co-operative movement was rapidly spreading in the villages, but the Minister expressed dissatisfaction with the actual working of the co-operative movement. He, however, hoped that workers engaged in the co-operative movement at present, both official and non-official, will realise that nothing can succeed in the villages unless they make the co-operative movement a grand success.

Radical Changes in U. P. Police

The United Province has gone ahead with drastic changes in the police. Dr. Sitaram, Chairman, Police Re-organisation Committee, told a Press Conference at Lucknow that the present police set-up of the province would undergo radical changes as a result of the second interim report of his committee. One of the most important recommendations of the Committee is the abolition of the age-old village *chaukidari* system.

Dr. Sitaram began by saying that the duties and responsibilities of the citizens in independent India had increased hundredfold. A vigilant public opinion was necessary to act as a corrective force for the administration. Now the country expected every Government servant to be a public servant.

The province has at present about 50,000 *choukidars* and an overwhelming majority of them get a pittance of Rs. 3 per month. Even if their allowance is raised by Rs. 2 it would, Dr. Sitaram said, involve the province in an extra expenditure of Rs. 12 lakhs.—'an expenditure which will be hardly justified by any possible improvement in efficiency of work.'

They will be replaced by 8,000 constables on Rs. 12 per month with Rs. 3 as cycle allowance. This will not mean any extra loss to the Government. A constable will be stationed in the centre of a group of villages which he will be required to serve. This would mean decentralisation of village police stations where about a dozen constables are concentrated. The proposed change is designed to reduce the beat of each constable, and make the control easier and effective. The village constable will be free to carry on his own cultivation.

The period of training at police training college has been recommended to be reduced from 3½ years to 2½ years and the amount of stipend to be increased from Rs. 35 to Rs. 70. The proposal is that a cadet should receive preliminary training at college for one year, training in district for one year and then specialised training for six months at college.

The committee has recommended the reorganisation of the whole C.I.D. which should work as one body.

The police force in the whole district has been proposed to be increased in order to reduce the area of a policeman's beat.

Lucknow is to have the metropolis police system. It will be similar to Cawnpore, but unlike it, its *thanas* in rural areas are to be allotted to neighbouring districts. The committee has recommended that in due course this system should be extended to Benares, Agra and Allahabad.

The Reserve Police is to be increased substantially so as to make the availability of leave and other privileges easier.

In order to make the police force more efficient it has been recommended to weed out policemen and officers who have completed 25 years of service and in the case of inefficient men even before the completion of the above period. No policemen should be in one district for a period of 10 years and in the case of Tarai area for five years. It has been suggested* to amend the present rules about complaints to facilitate discharge of persons reputedly corrupt.

There should be traffic police and they should be trained in police rules. The traffic rules at present vary from district to district and they are to be standardised.

Quite a number of amenities for policemen have been recommended such as free attendance of doctors, construction of police wards in every district hospital, free supply of medicine and diet in hospitals and arrangement for mosquito-nets, etc.

He said that the committee recommended for the substitution of the Crown in the police badge by wheel and awarding a metal badge indicating the designation.

The committee had recommended Hindi and Urdu language for police registers and reports instead of English and Urdu as hitherto. Roman script would be abolished. The chairman added, "This recommendation had been made before the announcement of the Congress Government's language policy and so it may be modified in due course."

The committee had recommended for the recruitment of women police force in the ranks of Head Constables and Sub-Inspectors adding 'the women police would go in pairs and never alone.' It would be helpful in fairs and in putting down the number of abductions of women.

The committee had recommended the increase in the numbers of armed constabulary from 26 companies to 100 companies. He said that the Government had already taken some action on some of the recommendations submitted by the committee in July last. The Government had under active consideration the question of implementing other recommendations.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Food Shortage

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Food Minister, has described the food situation as "very grave" and said that owing to insufficient grain stocks under the control of the Government, "not only must the country be prepared for intermittent breakdowns of rationing in different parts of the country, but also accept drastic cuts in the existing rations." He stated however, that if the new hardships are borne in a disciplined manner, the country can avert disaster, for the period of scarcity will be short and the position should ease with the arrival of the Kharif crop which is already in sight. But the countrymen have at the same time, have the right to ask how long will such disciplined endurance of avertable hardships continue? How long will it take the Government to buckle down to work and make an all-out effort for a permanent solution of the food problem? The plans that are already on the tables of the big bosses at the food department are sufficient to suggest lines of a permanent solution of the food problem. Given the lead and drive from the top, Indian production of food is capable of a very great increase. Dr. Prasad's speech betrays a woeful negligence of duty and want of timely awakening on the part of the high-salaried officers of his Department. Modern statistics ought to have provided them with sufficient data for anticipating this crisis and if they had the necessary efficiency and responsibility in them, they had enough reason to make a timely drive for procurement as they appear to do now when the world stocks for the season are nearing exhaustion.

The following is the speech of the Food Minister :

"The picture of food situation in the country is a rather sombre one and we are in for some very difficult times. The only good feature about it is that this period of acute scarcity is likely to be a short period and may cover only a few weeks or little more than that, because the next crop is now already in sight and will be available within, say, eight or ten weeks at the most. And when the new crop comes in, the situation is likely to ease, although they will not have altogether disappeared."

"Of course", said the Food Minister, "we are doing our best to procure whatever we can within the country and from foreign countries. But with all this, in the beginning of November, several provinces will have no more than, say, about a fortnight's stock. But it does not mean that they will have only that much for the month because procurement for that month will also go on. But they will begin with a small stock for about a fortnight or even less in several provinces."

"It is possible that even before the beginning of November, in some places rationing may break down but I am hoping that we shall get through."

Explaining what he meant by a breakdown, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, "Just for a few days there may not be available the quantity specified in the ration card."

He did not envisage the possibility of rations being reduced below eight ounces as "eight ounces means nothing at all. We can as well tell the people to shift for themselves."

India would send a delegation to Australia in the third week of October. Dr. Rajendra Prasad would lead the delegation if the situation in the country and his health permitted. "We want to have a firm contract for a million tons of wheat a year for one year at least," he said. "We are also approaching the Russian Government through our embassy in Moscow."

The Food Minister stated that about half the population of India was on rations, about six crores under direct rationing and about ten crores under controlled distribution.

The average ration at present was ten ounces. This was bound to have a serious effect on the health of the people. Already the twelve-ounce ration had had a bad effect but to a certain extent it was minimised by certain other things like fruit which supplemented the ration.

The Food Minister pointed out that even in normal years a shortage in grains had been felt towards the end of the season. "What has aggravated the position this year is the small carry-over from 1946, when both the Kharif and Rabi crops had failed, and the failure of the wheat crop this year owing to rust. Controlled procurement and distribution has helped us to carry on so far, but the position between now and the new crop is going to be extremely difficult. But the rigours of scarcity can be minimised if people grow short-term crops. The sweet potato, for instance, is a nutritive food yielding good caloric value per acre."

"The Government are fully alive to the dangers of the situation and every effort is being made to secure speedy supplies of grains from abroad. Approaches have

been made to all possible exporting countries. Even so, during a period of some weeks the existing stocks and the expected procurement within the country will be insufficient to ensure a steady flow of grain to the deficit areas.

"If the present rate of procurement in the various provinces and states is maintained, and all grain ships from abroad arrive according to schedule, the position of grain stocks necessary to maintain the existing ration scales in the main deficit areas on November 1, will be as follows :—

Madras :—Stocks for less than two weeks.

Bombay :—Do—

Mysore :—Do—

Bihar :—Do—

Travancore and Cochin :—Stocks for two weeks.

West Bengal :—For less than two weeks.

U. P. :—The stock position is at present satisfactory, but assistance from the Centre will become necessary later in the year. The position in Hyderabad, Central India and the Rajputana States is already difficult.

"To add to the difficulties of the situation, the result of partition and the disturbances have immobilised approximately 65,000 tons of grain. We have not received the supplies due to us from Bahawalpur and the Punjab.

"The necessity of finding food for lakhs of refugees has strained Eastern Punjab's food resources to the limit, and at the end of October, the new province will have very low stocks of grain. We have been informed that they will need 30,000 tons of wheat and 20,000 tons of wheat seed immediately.

"Some danger is also apprehended that the next Kharif crop may not be fully harvested and owing to the vast movement of populations, there may be a short fall in the Rabi sowings.

"The total imports of all foodgrains up till September 18 amount to 15,91,800 tons. Of this quantity, wheat, flour and rice total 399,800, 90,300 and 395,000 tons respectively and the balance is in coarse grains which are not very popular. In October, the total quantity expected is 206,000 tons. But we cannot afford to rely for long on expensive imports. Taking all stocks into account, the position at the end of October will be that in the main deficit areas of the country, excluding the U. P. as against a monthly offtake of 540,000 tons, there will be only about 100,000 tons.

"The Provincial Governments and States procure about 5½ million tons a year out of a total production of approximately 55 million tons. If we are to fulfil adequately our responsibilities for feeding our people, we should be able to secure larger quantities from cultivators, but without active support from the people schemes of procurement cannot be wholly successful. What is needed is subversion of private interests to the interests of the nation.

"Our efforts to secure larger imports from abroad have not been more successful, for food scarcity is a world problem and an acute one at that.

"The world supplies of rice available for export in 1947 are 2.38 million tons as against 7.4 million tons before the war.

The following table shows the magnitude of the change that has taken place in the production and exports of the three major rice-producing countries of the world :—

(IN 1,000 TONS)

Country	Pre-war averages		In 1946-47	
	Production	Exports	Production	Exports
Burma	4,980	2,950	3,250	865
French-Indo-				
China	4,516	1,346	3,145	87
Siam	3,045	1,376	1,715	420

"As regards other cereals the crop this year was poor in Europe, Canada and the important maize crop of the U. S. A. has been a failure.

"It is too early to appraise with any statistical precision the Kharif crop prospects for 1947-48, but delayed rains in some areas and floods in others indicate that the crop is not likely to come up to average though recent rains have improved the situation considerably.

"In the U.S.A. the last official estimate of the maize crop shows a shortage of about 100,000,000 bushels below the 1946 crop. Deficit countries have, therefore, been warned that U. S. grain exports will be reduced at least by 10 per cent this year as a result of the crop failure.

"Europe suffered this year one of the most severe winters in decades which resulted in severe damage to wheat.

"This year's harvest in Britain is reported to have yielded an under-average crop owing to the severe winter and the summer drought.

"India has had two successive bad crop years and the experience of the last two years holds little promise of any real amelioration of the critical shortage of rice supplies in the near future. The food problem in India will not be solved until internal production is increased considerably and rice production in the major pre-war rice-exporting countries is rehabilitated. The time has come when the provinces and states must depend more and more on their own increased production to feed their own people.

"Our new slogan should be self-sufficiency in food for each area. Till that is achieved, regimentation in food seems to be the only alternative to widespread chaos on the food front."

The Food Minister said that the Government's short-term five-year programme was expected to increase India's food production by about four million tons—three millions in what used to be British India and a million in the States. This was the pre-partition figure and might have to be changed to some extent.

The greater part of the land which was diverted from cotton to food-grains still remained under food-grains.

Asked whether there was a possibility of concluding harter agreements with Pakistan to secure more food imports, the Food Minister said that it was difficult to say anything at the present moment because everything was in a flux. "When things settle down, we shall try to have an arrangement with them. Anyway, up to March 31, 1948 we have a standstill agreement with Pakistan."

Free Primary Education in Bombay

Bombay has adopted a scheme to impart free primary education for all. Defining the main purpose of the Boma-

the Primary Education Bill which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister, stated that the Government aimed at having a fairly efficient system of education spread over the whole of the province. He said that it was essential to have a clear picture not only about the content of our education but the method and manner of imparting education and how to make it more effective. The Bill was designed to implement the great plan of educational expansion of making education up to the primary fourth standard free and compulsory within a period of about ten years. Moving the first reading of the Bill, Mr. Kher stated :

The question of primary education had engaged the attention of the country for several years. But for various reasons it had not been possible to make any appreciable progress. Speaking on an amending Bill 9 years ago, he had expressed the hope that with the changing times and the greater responsibility devolving on the people, it would be possible to make more rapid progress. But the next year, the Congress Ministry had resigned. The result of the working of Primary Education since then had been commented upon in a number of educational reports including the one made by the Central Advisory Board otherwise known as the Sargent Report. Besides, there has been an unprecedented agitation on the part of the teachers engaged in primary education regarding their meagre salaries, the rigorous conditions under which they worked and the arbitrary exercise of powers to which they were subjected. Therefore, the question of primary education was one of the first that had engaged the attention of the present Government which had already set out its policy in this matter. This Bill was intended to achieve rapid and effective implementation of that policy.

Proceeding Mr. Kher said that it was extraordinary how there were differences of opinion even about the most fundamental things. He quoted thinkers and educationists abroad who said that education was not a matter of compulsion but of consent. But as far as this country was concerned compulsory education was almost axiomatic. The Prime Minister discussed the objectives of education, the various theories regarding the types of education and the emergence of the basic education plan as a result of the fundamentally sound distrust of bookish education. If the test of education was the better understanding of one's business and if its object was to enable each person to live the best of his life it was not enough to define the content of education. It would be necessary to give attention to the fundamental or administrative aspect of it as well.

Giving an account of the history of this aspect, the Prime Minister pointed out that before the Primary Education Act of 1923, the whole of the control of education was vested in the Educational Department except that the Local Boards were required to pay one-third of the cost collected by them. But after that enactment the control was transferred to the local authority retaining only a very few powers. At that time it was hoped that with this transfer primary education would expand and become universal throughout the province. In 1938, after fifteen years of the working of the Act not only had the desired goal not been reached but the standards of education had greatly deteriorated. In the field of appointment of the

staff, merit was not always the consideration that prevailed. An amending Bill was therefore passed. Under this amendment, the School Board Officer became a servant of the Government and the power to appoint teachers was vested in him. Inspection became a Government concern. This amendment no doubt gave a greater sense of confidence to teachers but the School Boards had not reacted favourably. This meant putting an end to their power and patronage. The Administrative Officer found himself torn between the Education Department and the Local Boards and work suffered greatly on account of interference. The Government was flooded with urgent requests to take power entirely; the teachers were generally of this view, so were a number of leading newspapers. The Provincial Board of Primary Education as well as the Sargent Report concurred in insisting that the control of education should not be left to the control of a body of persons uneducated or uninterested in education but at the last meeting of the Central Board of Education, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who was Chairman of the Board at that time said that people should not be dissociated from the control of education. The speaker was also of the view that without local enthusiasm and the willing co-operation of the representatives of the people it may not be possible to achieve their objective. That is why the Government had decided to have a compromise. Although the case for taking over control by Government was very strong, the Government had decided to keep the present structure and to associate the School Board more closely with the working of primary education.

The Prime Minister then explained the salient features of the Bill which, instead of taking the shape of an amending Bill was framed as a new and comprehensive piece of legislation which would take the place of the 1923 Act.

The first and most important feature of the Bill was that the Government would bear almost the entire cost of primary education. He cited figures to show that if the 26 lakhs of children of school-going age in the areas covered by the District and Local Boards were to be given the benefit of primary education up to the fourth standard, the Government would have to incur an expenditure of well over 9 crores of rupees.

Of this amount even if the contribution of all the District and Local Boards was uniformly raised to 3 annas in the rupee, it would come to about 35 lakhs or just about 4 per cent of the total cost. This would leave 96 per cent of the cost to be borne by Government. Under the present scheme, the only function of the District Boards would be to make their financial contribution and to elect members to the School Boards. The appointment of teachers which was the chief source of trouble would now be vested in a Staff Selection Committee consisting of the District Educational Officer, Administrative Officer of the School Board and its Chairman. This, Mr. Kher said would ensure a proper selection of teachers and staff. In this connection he referred to the question of the remuneration and status of teachers and said that these would have to be in consonance with the service rendered by them. It was necessary to improve their training and conditions of service. It was necessary to make teaching

more attractive so that the right type of men and women come into it.

South Africa, India and U. N. O.

The following is the full text of the speech by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Head of the Indian Delegation, before the United Nation's General Assembly at Flushing Meadows, New York :

We meet today in a disturbed and unhappy world. Economic dislocations have caused widespread suffering and there is apprehension that the world as a whole might be plunged into still deeper distress. Looming ominously over the whole situation is the fact that the Great Powers instead of coming closer together are drifting farther apart. There is a tension with suspense and anxiety, and an uneasy awareness that things are perhaps moving towards some new and annihilating disaster for mankind and that not enough is being done to check this trend and direct our course to a more promising future.

It is against this background that I would like to present India's position. Since we last met, a year ago, a momentous change has taken place in our domestic situation. A comparatively brief phase in our very ancient history—when the fortunes of our people and their political condition were subjected to an alien power—has been brought to an end. August 15, 1947 was a fateful day for India and indeed for Asia. It saw the triumph of an experiment unique in history started by that great soul Mahatma Gandhi who may well be called the Father of the Indian Nation.

In the past I have not hesitated to criticise British policy toward my country. But on this occasion, with equal readiness, I desire to place on record before this great Assembly the warm appreciation of the Indian people of the spirit which moved British statesmen to make a voluntary surrender of authority over India. It cannot be easy for a people to divest themselves of an Empire and, for the sake of an enduring world peace I would commend this example to those other nations which bear toward their colonies the same relationship that existed between Britain and India until yesterday. In particular I would like to mention the case of Indonesia whose cultural ties with India date back many centuries and whose future is of vital importance to the peace and security of Asia. Indonesia is today fighting valiantly to be free and presents a challenge to the United Nations.

I would not, however, be true to myself nor could I accurately reflect the sentiments of my people if I were to withhold from this Assembly the sadness that is in our hearts that freedom has come to us only through division which, in its turn, has led to strife, temporary, we hope, in certain parts of our country.

In what is for us, as for the rest of the world, a time of historic transition, we are beset with a multitude of problems. In many respects they are not dissimilar to the problems that face most countries in the world today; but the circumstances in which we have been called upon to solve them have, inevitably, been conditioned by the policies which prevailed during the period of foreign rule in India.

I mention this lest there should be any misunderstanding as to the magnitude and the special complexity of the tasks to which the new-born Government of free India has so energetically set its hand. Comprehensive schemes of reform and reconstruction and development in every field of our national life are either being worked out, or are in some instances, actually in process of execution. The endeavour to raise the standard of living and forge new and free institutions for a people would be no easy matter even in a period of assured peace and general prosperity. It is at least no easier in these troubled times, when hunger and unsettlement and fear stalk through our land as through so many other lands. But I am glad to have the opportunity today of stating from this rostrum that in spite of the adverse conditions, many of which we have inherited, our Government is forging ahead with the full confidence and support of the people.

I would now like to deal briefly with some problems facing us here. There is proceeding at the present time a heated controversy over the unanimity rule in the Security Council. The operation of this rule has the effect, in some cases, of producing a stalemate and inhibiting the implementation of the majority will in the Security Council. Such deadlocks are discouraging and disappointing, and we would therefore advise moderation and restraint in the exercise of what is called the veto. The unrestrained use of this power is to be condemned as much as the abuse of any other power. At the same time, the permanent members of the Council have an obligation to strive to the utmost to widen the area of agreement among its members, both permanent and non-permanent.

In the last analysis, the success of the Security Council, and the peace and welfare of the world depend not upon the enforcement of a majority decision taken by the Great Powers, but upon the forbearance, tolerance and wisdom with which they seek to achieve and maintain unity among themselves.

It is sometimes said that this is an issue between the "Great Powers" on one side and the small and middle powers on the other. While it is convenient to speak of the permanent members as "Great Powers," the tendency to classify countries as great and small is not useful. I would, for instance, not like to assign India to any of these categories. We are all great in some respects, and no doubt small in others, and we all have an equal right to consideration in this Assembly in accordance with the principles laid down in the Charter.

This brings me to a question of grave importance with which we are confronted in this Assembly. What if the Assembly's recommendations made only after exhaustive and prolonged consideration and debate—what if such recommendations are ignored and treated with disrespect by member States, specially by those to whom a recommendation is specifically directed?

I will have more to say on this subject later on, but it is necessary at this point to call your attention to the fact that the South African Government has taken no action to give effect to the principles underlying the resolution that we adopted here last year.

A denial that discrimination has been practised against

NOTES

Indians in South Africa is not, I submit, a serious or convincing reply to the General Assembly. The correspondence recently published between the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions reveals India's anxiety to reach a fair and honourable settlement of this issue. It concerns, if I may say so before this Assembly, not only the relations between two Dominions. Unresolved it may spread misrepresentation and conflict over a much wider sphere, because of its basically racial character. I believe that this is not the only case where a member State has disregarded the clearly expressed will of this Assembly. It will therefore be necessary for us to consider and determine the means that may be open to us to ensure that the Assembly's decisions on such matters of importance are treated with respect.

The Indian Delegation, Sir, also feels concerned about what appears to us to be an excessive eagerness on the part of some member States to invoke the "domestic jurisdiction" clause whenever a certain type of question is raised.

We have no desire whatsoever, nor have we the power, to dispute the sovereignty of a member State, or to attempt to interfere, through the medium of the United Nations or in any other manner, in their internal affairs. We in India know only too well, what such interference can mean, and we would resent and resist it as firmly as any other country. It must be recognised, however, that every international question may be regarded as having a national aspect and we cannot afford to permit a member State to evade its obligations and thus reduce the value of the Charter.

I have touched briefly on some of the more important questions that occur to us when we consider the functioning of the United Nations during the past year. I am not wholly satisfied—indeed, none of us, I believe is wholly satisfied with the work we have accomplished and the results we have achieved. Millions of humble folk in all countries are alarmed and bewildered, unable fully to comprehend those mighty forces which are driving the great powers into unfriendly groupings carrying with them by some sort of magnetic pull members of other States as well.

We, for our part, in India are aware of no compulsion to identify ourselves wholly, or to associate ourselves systematically with either or any of the different groups. On the contrary, we consider it to be of paramount importance that the divisions should be healed, that the distances between them should be narrowed down. We believe that our conduct should conduce to that end. We believe that there are standards and principles and ideals that transcend merely national interest, that transcend the exigencies of the kind of power politics that has proved so calamitous in the past.

Accordingly, we shall offer our support to, or withhold it from the proposals that come up before us, solely in the light of our judgment of the merits of the case in question. We stand for peace and will devote our resources and energy towards the abolition of all causes which lead to war. To those nations which work with this aim we shall gladly offer our full co-operation. The Indian Dele-

gation feel that the important thing today is not to set about revising the Charter and to divert our energies and devise complicated ingenious amendments. The important thing today is that we should all observe the spirit and the letter of the Charter faithfully, its principles and procedures, not only when it is convenient to us, not only when it helps us to pursue aims and policies which may have no connection with the Charter, but at all times and in relation to all problems and difficulties.

If we are not prepared to implement the Charter in this spirit, I fear that no modification or revision, no addition or abrogation of a phrase here and an article there, will greatly improve the position. It may well have the opposite effect.

It is now almost a platitude to say that a clash of ideologies underlies the rift that is so noticeable in the world today. We who come from the East, who are intimately familiar with the dire want, the poverty and suffering and starvation that prevail there, we may be forgiven for thinking, however, that ideology is less important than practice. We cannot eat an ideology; we cannot brandish an ideology, and feel that we are clothed and housed. Food, clothes, shelter, education, medical services—it is these things that we need. We know that we can only obtain them by our joint effort as a people, and with the help and co-operation of those who are more fortunately circumstanced than ourselves. The conflict of ideology, or whatever it may be, that is plunging the world into gloom and tension, seems so sadly irrelevant to these great human problems, problems that vitally affect a half and more than a half of the world's population.

Our organisation, the United Nations, has no "ism" of its own; it embraces all isms and ideologies, its principles cannot be said to derive exclusively from either or any of the contending doctrines.

That is why, in this most critical time, and notwithstanding the discouraging factors, we continue to place our faith in it.

We are indeed more firmly convinced than ever that the only way to avert a catastrophe, the only road to peace and freedom and well-being for us all is through our steadfast and wholehearted co-operation, at whatever inconvenience, within the framework of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Charter.

On behalf of my Government once again I give you the pledge of our fullest co-operation and our determination to do all that lies within our power to see that the establishment of the United Nations shall, in future, mark the beginning of a new and less unhappy chapter in human history.

India in American Eyes

Gunther Stein, in a special despatch to the *Hindustan Times* has given an account of the interest Americans have been taking about India. It assures Indians that the interested anti-Congress propaganda in that land has not yet taken much root. It reminds us of the imperative need for the establishment of a strong publicity branch in the

Indian Embassy at Washington which would give out truth about India.

Stein says that the first Indian ship to land in the United States, since India gained her independence, was the *Jalakanta*, bound from Calcutta for the small American port of Mobile in the Alabama State. The Ship had both Hindu and Muslim crew. When newspaper agents of America rushed to the ship to get the grim story of the fierce struggle between the two communities in India, they found to their surprise a peaceful ship.

There can be no doubt that the magnitude of hostilities in India today is being over-estimated by Americans. Newspapers and radio broadcasts are so overloaded with reports from a score of crisis areas all over the world and from critical spots at the economic and political home fronts that little but the terse and horrifying accounts of bloody strife represents India in the array of news that reaches the average American these days. Few readers clearly distinguish between the Punjab and India as a whole; and this is why Americans are again surprised to hear as they did the other day from Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, that Calcutta and Bombay, Madras and in fact the vast majority of Indian cities and provinces are free from acute communal unrest.

A recent editorial in the *Washington Post* is typical of the uninformed, exaggerated and unfriendly view of India: "Over very large areas of both (India and Pakistan) a condition of lawlessness and industrial stagnation prevails, which is most accurately described as downright anarchy . . . It is by no means surprising to read that after only three weeks of independence cries have arisen for the restoration of British Raj . . . But of the return of the British there is, of course, not the slightest possibility. Thus the situation in India is in some respects analogous to that of Britons in the early fifth century when harassed by Picts and Scots from the North and Irish and Germanic pirates from the sea, they pleaded vainly for the return of the Roman legions . . . It is a situation that appears to invite conquest; and doubtless, those British *pukka sahibs* who have so long insisted that within historical times there has never been an Indian Government that was not founded upon conquest from the outside, find a melancholy satisfaction in contemplating this sudden debacle of the Indian independence movement. Meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi continues to fast and Pandit Nehru to make proclamations; but it seems doubtful that either can now exert anything like the influence on the rioting Indian masses that they have exerted on the Western imagination."

The more prevalent American view on the Indian situation may best be represented by quotations from articles in the *New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune*. Referring in general terms to "the inability of Indian leadership to understand the passions it so easily aroused," the *New York Times* says more specifically:

"The rotting bodies of Muslim villagers along the remote and dusty roadside do not credit to the elegantly-clad Muslim civil servant, who asserts smoothly that 'ten million Muslims will die for Pakistan' . . . The politician who pleads for peace in one breath is quite likely, in the next, to make the inflammatory or disparaging remark which

in due course reaches the illiterate peasant. These factors, along with a growing economic and social unrest, have broken down restraints, authority and values. There remains the element of religion itself—the conflict between Islam's dynamic, proselytising faith and Hinduism's diffuse, indeterminate way of life. These difficulties are not insuperable, and Muslims and non-Muslims can live together. But the task calls for a more objective approach than the politicians appear able to demonstrate so far."

The *New York Herald Tribune* says: "It is a disaster compounded by the utter incapacity of the ordinary Indians for freedom or democratic co-operation. Ridden with caste and communal differences, untrained in the simplest elements of collective responsibility in a free society, they are without resources of leadership and initiative. Because the Hindu 'untouchables' who looked after the sewage have decamped from Pakistan, the West Punjab is facing a possible cholera epidemic, but does not dream of looking after the sewage itself. It is this division and inertia, more than the appalling loss of life—which unfortunately, has always been cheap among the Indian millions,—which depresses the Indian observer and leaves the Indians themselves in a mood of black crisis. These grim and bloody developments are no argument for a re-establishment of British rule; British Imperialism has played out its historic role in India, it has become an anachronism and the very difficulties of the change are a reason for believing that change has become imperative. The tragedy is, however, a reminder that the role of the British Raj was a historic one, that it played a great, in many ways a creative and indispensable part in the development of modern India. It is a reminder also of somewhat sorer truths—that freedom is not everything, that Western democracy is itself only one fragile and rather delicate flower upon the stem of social organisation, that many societies demand dictatorial order and discipline more than they demand liberty and that no one can be sure that any simple set of principles will rule the future."

Exchange of Students

A novel type of international exchange of students has been agreed upon by the citizens of Wellesley, a small college town in Massachusetts. The plan calls for sending 35 Wellesley children to homes in Asia, Europe and South America for one year and in their places having 35 children from those areas come to Wellesley. The programme is to be put into operation in 1950.

The plan was conceived by Dr. Robert B. Barton. Next year, arrangements will be made with the foreign countries through their Ministries of Education and children for the exchange will be selected.

The year prior to the departure of the students will be spent in correspondence between Wellesley families and their counterparts abroad. Also during that year the American students will have to learn the language of the country to which they are going and their parents will have to learn the language of the child who is coming to spend a year with them. The Superintendent of Schools in Wellesley has promised aid in teaching of the languages and cultural background of the possibly 25 or 30 countries involved.

Churchill and Gandhi

Mr. Churchill addressing a party rally in London said that he had long anticipated that such massacres, as are now occurring in India, would follow any British withdrawal.

Churchill endorsed what he called the United States stand against "militant Communism backed by Soviet military power."

He said, the United States is confronted with a Communist bloc "brought about almost entirely by the aggressions and intrigues of the Soviet Government in the countries on their borders."

At the same time, he made an incisive excoriation of the British Labour Government and blamed it for Britain's decline and fall, as a world power.

Mahatma Gandhi in a prayer meeting, criticised the former British Premier's speech and suggested that Mr. Churchill was overhasty in his sweeping generalisation and he had rendered a disservice to the British nation.

The following is the authorised version of Gandhiji's speech:

There was a larger audience than usual. Gandhiji asked if there was anyone who objected to the prayer with the special verses from the Holy Quran. Two members of the audience raised their hands in protest, and Gandhiji said he would respect their objection although he knew that it would be a sore disappointment to the rest of the audience.

However, he told the objectors that although as a firm believer in non-violence, he could not do otherwise, he could not help remarking that it was highly improper for them to flout the wishes of the very big majority against them. They should realise from the remarks that were to follow that the intolerance that the objectors were betrayed into was a symptom of the distemper which was visible in the country and which had prompted the very bitter remarks from Mr. Winston Churchill.

The speaker then paraphrased in his Hindustani speech the following summary of Mr. Churchill's speech in London cabled by *Reuter* which had appeared in the morning papers:

Mr. Churchill declared in a speech here tonight that "the fearful massacres which are occurring in India are no surprise to me."

"We are, of course, only at the beginning of these horrors and butcheries, perpetrated upon one another with the ferocity of cannibals by races gifted with capacities for the highest culture and who had for generations dwelt side by side in general peace under the broad, tolerant and impartial rule of the British Crown and Parliament," he declared.

"I cannot doubt but that the future will witness a vast abridgement of the population throughout what has for 60 or 70 years been the most peaceful part of the world and that at the same time will come a retrogression of civilisation throughout these enormous regions, constituting one of the most melancholy tragedies Asia has ever known."

They all knew that Mr. Churchill was himself a great man. He belonged to the Blue Blood of England. The

Marlboroughs were famous in English History. He took the helm when Great Britain was in peril on the outbreak of the Second World War. He undoubtedly saved what was then the Empire from that peril. It would be wrong to argue that without America and Russia, England would not have won the War. Who brought the powers together if it was not his energetic statesmanship? After the War was won the great nation whom he so brilliantly represented, whilst recognising Mr. Churchill's services, did not hesitate to prefer a purely Labour Government for the purpose of reconstructing the British Isles which had had to pay a heavy toll of life and money.

The British rose to the occasion, decided voluntarily to break the Empire and erect in its place an unseen and more glorious empire of hearts. The speaker referred to the voluntary declaration of India, though broken into two parts, as willing members of the Commonwealth. This noble step was taken by the whole British Nation, consisting of all parties. In this act Mr. Churchill and his party were partners. Whether the future would justify the step or not was a different matter, irrelevant to the speaker's thesis, which was that Mr. Churchill, being associated with the act of transformation, would be expected to say or do nothing that would diminish its virtue. Surely there was nothing in modern history to be compared with the British withdrawal of power. He recalled the renunciation of Asoka the Good to see who was to be the proud possessor of good fortune. But Asoka was incomparable and did not belong to modern history.

Continuing Mahatma Gandhi said it was useless to say that either Dominion was free to secede from the British family of nations. It was easier said than done. He must carry the argument further. He had said sufficient to show why Mr. Churchill had to be more circumspect than he had been. He had condemned his partners before he had studied the situation first-hand. To the audience which listened to him he would say many of the listeners had provided a handle to Mr. Churchill. It was not too late to mend their manners and falsify Mr. Churchill's forebodings. He knew that his was a voice in the wilderness. If it was not and if it had the potency which it had before the talks of independence began, he knew that nothing of the savagery described with so much relish and magnified by Mr. Churchill would ever have happened and they would have been on a fair way to solving their economic and other domestic difficulties.

Gandhiji, therefore, was sorry to read the *Reuter's* summary of Mr. Churchill's speech which he presumed was not misinterpreted by the renowned agency. Mr. Churchill had rendered a disservice to the nation of which he was a great servant. If he knew the fate that would befall India after she became free from the British yoke did he for a moment stop to think that the blame belonged to the builders of the empire rather than to the "races" in his opinion "gifted with capacities for the highest culture."

Gandhiji suggested that Mr. Churchill was over-hasty in his sweeping generalisation. India was composed of teeming millions in which a few lace turned savages counted for little. He made bold to invite Mr. Churchill to come to India and study things for himself not as a partisan

with preconceived notions but as an impartial honest Englishman who put honour before party and who was intent on making the British transaction a glorious success. Great Britain's unique action would be judged by results. Dismemberment of India constituted an unconscious invitation to the two parts to fight among themselves. The free grant of independence to the two parts as sister Dominions seemed to taint the gift.

When Gandhiji's reply was shown to Mr. Churchill, he said he had no comments to make.

Unreconciled Mysore

A stitch in time saves nine. The failure of the Mysore State Authorities to respond to the popular demands for self-government is causing widespread chaos. Even at this late hour the announcement that the Government has made is inadequate. The seriousness of the situation can be easily read between the line of daily reports from Mysore. Satyagraha Jathas are being sent to picket the palace and the office buildings, "royalty" trees are destroyed and processions and meetings are held in defiance of the prohibitory orders in force. There is a breakdown of rail transport, and continuous clashes between the crowd and the military.

The sequence of events which brought in its train these unfortunate developments are briefly as follows. The Mysore State Congress, following the Ruler's joining the Indian Union, demanded an immediate change-over of the regime to the basis of self-government. Accordingly, they put forth the demand for release of political prisoners, setting up of an interim government from amongst the principal parties and convention of a Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise to frame the constitution finally. But the authorities seemed to take it lightly and the Dewan merely invited a Consultative Committee composed of all the parties to confer with the authorities. The Congress considered this proposal to be of the same type of delaying tactics as was practised in Hyderabad and boycotted the Consultative Committee. And then followed the clash. Quite naturally the blue-print of the fundamentals as prepared by this Consultative Committee has fallen far short of popular expectations and has failed to quell the seething upsurge.

The conclusions of the Consultative Committee are given principally under four heads :

(1) **Legislature** : The legislature is to be composed of two houses. The Representative Assembly i.e., the lower house, will be wholly elected and will have full powers regarding financial matters. The upper house will be partly elected and partly nominated. Legislation will have to be passed by both houses and the royal assent must be given thereto.

(2) **Executive** : Ministers should be chosen from among the elected members of the legislature. The Maharaja, after taking competent advice will set up a ministry. The ministers will act jointly and will be jointly responsible to the legislature and be removable by vote of no-confidence by the legislature. The committee is strongly of the opinion that in the choice of ministers due recognition will have to be given to the claims of various communities, particularly, the scheduled caste. A suggestion

that this should have statutory provision was not favoured as it is felt that that the Maharaja's interests in all his subjects will ensure this result.

(3) **Franchise** : The issue was whether there should be adult franchise or only one much wider than the present. The Committee felt that this should be further discussed, most of the members favouring wider franchise based on property and other qualifications. The committee thought that there should be some difference in the qualifications to be prescribed for the candidates and voters.

(4) **Electorate** : Representatives of Muslims, Indian Christians and the depressed classes strongly advocated the introduction of separate electorates. The depressed classes representatives were for weightage beyond their numerical strength. Other members of the committee were of the opinion that both weightage and separate electorates were harmful and pressed for introduction of joint electorates with reservation of seats. The committee has also been emphatic that in view of the representation of the minorities compatible with the democratic functioning of the government the present system of cumulative voting plural constituencies should be continued. The system of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote was the best method favoured by most of the modern democratic countries, but in view of the low literacy in the State this method could not be adopted at present.

As to the position and powers of the Maharaja under the new constitution the committee holds that he would retain powers in regard to the High Court and appointment of judges thereto, Auditor-General, Chairman and members of the Public Service Commission. The Maharaja will remain in charge of the military, have emergency and residuary powers to act in case of a breakdown of the constitution and have the usual powers of convening, proroguing, and dissolving the legislature. The Palace and the Royal purse will not be subject to the vote of the Legislature. His Highness will have control over the constitutional relationship of the State with the Dominion of India as far as it is not governed by the Instrument of Accession.

It is clear that the prerogatives reserved for the Maharaja are immensely vast. But the announcement of the principles is significantly silent as to the position of the Dewan. The only reference in this connection is in the clause : "His Highness will appoint the necessary agency to advise upon and carrying out those functions." It can be understood that the Consultative Committee has kept this deliberately vague and left it to the Maharaja to act through a Dewan or an Adviser or a Secretary.

Evidently, the conclusions have not carried conviction to the Congress. The reaction is best voiced in Dr. Sitaraniya's observations that the Consultative Committee is a Round Table Conference in single file such as Lord Lialithgow had summoned in 1940. "The former's formula of exploring the greatest common measure takes us back to the days of Lord Irwin, who in 1929 was always repeating his favourite sentence that the object of London Conference is to explore the greatest common measure amongst the various groups and communities in India for proposals to be placed before the conference."

Signs of the Dawn of Goodwill

"The Mussalmans of the Indian Union now realise that they have committed a blunder in supporting the movement for Pakistan," says Mr. Latifur Rahman, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Orissa Assembly. He continues :

The significance of the starting of the Direct Action movement last year could not be appreciated by our Bengal Muslim leaders. They forgot the pledge given to us, and instead of exercising the Islamic principle of forbearance when goaded to violence, being obsessed with power in hand, began retaliative measures in Calcutta and Noakhali. The result was communal tension throughout India. Our League leaders throughout the Muslim majority areas flew into communal frenzy and instead of exercising practical foresight, fanned the flames and instead of creating confidence in the minds of non-Muslims, they did otherwise.

The sponsors of Pakistan forgot the pledge given to us minorities and in the exuberance of joy committed overt acts which led the non-Muslim minorities to apprehend danger at the hands of the Muslim majority. Pakistan wanted division with an assurance to minorities but the Hindus wanted one Union with assurance to the minorities.

We fought against Bandemataram and joint electorate and other things, and now we are submitting to them. Our Pakistan leaders are attempting to fan the flames at the top of their voices. Their statements are of no use to us. They rather create a spirit of retaliation in the minds of the Hindu masses. Every one of us in the Indian Union is feeling that he has committed a blunder.

What is the remedy then? The remedy is that the two States should now unite and start a common centre, otherwise the communal passion which has surcharged the entire atmosphere is bound to burst, bringing ruin to both and resulting in loss of independence of both the States.

Let us now forget the two-nation theory and owe allegiance to Indian Union inasmuch as in spite of platitudes by the Pakistanists, they cannot do anything for our safety and it would be futile for us to look up to them for protection.

Dr. S. M. Hasan, ex-Minister, C.P. and Berar, issued the following statement :

I heartily welcome the bold and frank statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the other day in connection with the position of Hindus and Muslims in Indian Union and Pakistan. The Muslims of the Indian Union must now be realising that they have committed a great blunder in supporting the movement for Pakistan and it is time now that they should forget the two-nation theory of their leader, Mr. Jinnah.

The Muslims cannot have divided loyalty to Pakistan and Indian Union at the same time. In all honesty and minority they must have an undivided and unqualified loyalty to the Indian Union, where they have lived for generations. It is in the fitness of things that they should disband the Muslim League Organisation in the Indian Union immediately and join the Congress *en bloc* and cast their lot with other minorities and their Hindu brethren for the common cause as it was done in the I. N. A. of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

It is in the interests of the Muslims living in Indian Union to work for peace and prosperity of Indian Union, and then alone their interest will be safeguarded. Those of the Muslims of the Indian

Union who cannot have complete loyalty for the Indian Union should, of course, migrate to Pakistan.

I strongly condemn the monstrous atrocities committed in the Punjab, Delhi and other places against all canons of humanity. I hope sanity will soon return and law and order be respected.

I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brethren not to leave their hearths and homes in C. P. out of sheer panic, as I feel certain that their lives and properties are bound to be protected by the Government.

I take this opportunity to pay my humble tributes to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru for their noble work in creating an atmosphere of mutual toleration and goodwill, at such a critical juncture. It will be admitted on all hands that Mahatma Gandhi is our only hope for peace and goodwill amongst mankind.

Let us all pray to God on this 79th birthday of Mahatmaji that he be spared long for unity and peace in our country and for the re-union of India and Pakistan.

Nine leading members of the Muslim community in Bombay, have issued the following statement :

If there are even now any Muslims in the Indian Union who believe in the two-nation theory, the honourable course for them is either to migrate to Pakistan or to openly declare themselves as Pakistanis who have chosen to live in the Indian Union as the Britishers and other foreigners have done.

They (the Muslims) can, in our opinion, best do so by joining the Indian National Congress in large numbers. Because it is, as it has always been, the one political party that can establish a stable, truly democratic Government and ensure the prosperity and progress of all citizens without any distinction of caste or creed. Those who do not wish to join the Congress should join other non-communal political parties as their convictions and interests dictate.

Similarly, Muslim workers, peasants, landlords, traders and businessmen should join their respective organisations which promote and protect the interests which they share with their fellow countrymen of other faiths. But whatever organisations they choose, they must do so unequivocally and without any mental reservations. The success and prosperity of a country depend on the united efforts of its citizens. Let us, therefore, devote all our energies towards the attainment of this noble end.

The signatories said they stood "firmly and unreservedly" for the following :

1. The State in India must be secular ;
2. There can be no true political democracy without any economic democracy ;
3. There should be no political party based on religion ; and
4. All citizens of the State must have equal rights and equal obligations.

Mr. Ehtisham Mahmood Ali, M.L.A. (U.P.) says, in a statement :

I strongly feel that four and a half crores of Muslims in the Indian Union must seriously ponder over their plight and without delay categorically come forward to denounce and repudiate the League leadership which continues to mislead the innocent Muslim minds and is playing havoc with their life and property. I wholeheartedly congratulate Mr. Latifur Rahman, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Orissa Legislative Assembly,

on his bold and courageous statement in which he has repudiated League leadership and has denounced their machinations.

Nine months ago when I raised my solitary voice against these leaders in the interests of Muslim masses over the question of joint electorate, I was dubbed as a traitor, and my head was demanded on a charger. It is up to my community to judge for themselves now whether I acted in their interest, or betrayed them. Notwithstanding the solemn pledges of loyalty given by the League leaders I make bold to say that a coterie of self-seeking leaders is still playing a double game of keeping one eye on Hindustan and the other on Pakistan.

The millennium for which the Muslim rank and file were made the tools of unscrupulous League leaders has turned out to be a mirage and the Muslim masses who were fed by them with the gospel of hatred and animosity towards the majority community, find themselves in a state of utter helplessness and are confronted with the grim realities of the situation.

Bihar Muslim League leaders also have begun to realise unwisdom of the two-nation theory, and eschewing the allegation of State-killing so ardently propagated against the Ministry, have joined Nationalist Muslims in issuing the following statement, affirming the allegiance of the Muslims of India to the Indian Union, over the signature of 29 prominent Muslims of Bihar.

The statement says :

Whatever may have been the political differences between Hindus and Muslims in the recent past, such differences have no room in the new political set-up of the country. We are all citizens of the Indian Union and the politics of the Union is our own politics. As citizens of this provinces we have our hearts and homes in its towns and villages in the building up and beautifying of which our forefathers have made notable contributions.

It is, therefore, our bounden duty and privilege to put our shoulder on the task of building up the peace and prosperity of the province and of the country at large.

To enable us to take our proper share in the building up of the province we the Muslims of Bihar have to work hard to ameliorate our social, economic and educational advancement. We expect that the members of the majority community will extend their helping hands to enable us to pull our full weight in the task before us.

We have been profoundly impressed and deeply touched by the peace effort of Mahatma Gandhi in Bihar and elsewhere which has succeeded to a large measure in Bihar and Bengal and out of gratitude feel that we must strengthen his hands in the noble work. With these ends in view we suggest that Government may evolve some methods (a) to withdraw or compromise all cases arising out of the communal riots and also those arising as a result of administrative and police actions so that the Hindus and Muslims may have chance to adjust their relations in the new conditions, and (b) to drop the idea of a commission of enquiry, so as not to rake up the bitter memories. The communal cases as they are dragging on, instead of restoring peace will only disturb it without the least good to any one.

Thanks to the efforts of the Prime Minister and

the Provincial Government communal harmony has not been disturbed so far. It cannot be denied that the unfortunate happenings in other parts of India have their repercussions in this province as well, and some tension is quite perceptible.

The 'Bakrid' is approaching. We sincerely appeal to the Muslims in Bihar that during this festival they should do nothing which may worsen the situation or increase the tension. At the same time we could like to remind our Hindu brethren that it is now their responsibility to safeguard the interests of the minorities and to ensure religious freedom to them.

Our ancestors contributed materially in the development of the country and in making India great. We believe that we can make greater contribution in the years to come.

Mr. M. A. Salam, M.L.A. (Madras) and member of the All-India Muslim League Council in a statement referred to the rumour that Andhra Muslims were leaving for Hyderabad (Deccan) to settle down there and said that there was no reason why Muslims should go and settle in Hyderabad.

"Muslims of Andhra have nothing to do with the problems of Hyderabad except that our sympathies are with the people who are fighting against all kinds of despotism.

"We are citizens of the Indian Union and I have great confidence in the assurances and promises given to us by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and our Provincial Government. Further, I assure all that we, the Andhra Muslims, will be loyal to the Indian Union and shall defend it against anybody to the last drop of our blood."

Kalat Contemplates Joining Indian Union

The *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent at Karachi reports that the Khan of Kalat, ruler of the biggest State in Pakistan area situated in Baluchistan, on the border of Sind is contemplating accession to the Indian Union instead of Pakistan.

The Khan recently came to Karachi and met Pakistan Government officials and ministers and expressing his determination to join Indian Union said the former decision of his State to join Pakistan was taken by the Jirga and not by him. It is reported that the Khan is fed up with the invasion of his State by Punjabis and the recent communal trouble in Baluchistan is also said to have moved him. The Khan is said to have expressed this openly and wanted to join the Indian Union but was prevailed upon by Pakistan high circles from making any such declaration.

Sheikh Abdullah Denounces Two-Nation Theory

After his release, Sheikh Abdullah, President of the All-India States People's Conference and Kashmir National Conference, was given a public reception at Srinagar. Bakshi Ghulam Mahammad welcomed Sheikh Abdullah on behalf of Kashmir and Lala Govindram presented a garland of currency notes on behalf of the All-India State People's Conference.

In his address, Sheikh Abdullah said

The problem facing the people of Jammu and Kashmir State now is whether we should join India or Pakistan or remain independent. That is no denying the fact that I am the President of the India States People's Conference whose policy is clear. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is my best friend and I hold Gandhiji in real reverence. This also is a fact that Congress has helped our movement greatly. But in spite of all this my personal convictions will not stand in the way of taking an independent decision in favour of one or the other Dominion. Our choice for joining India or Pakistan would be based on the welfare of the forty lakhs of people living in Jammu and Kashmir State. And even if we join Pakistan we shall not believe in the two-nation theory which has spread so much poison.

Kashmir showed the light in this juncture. When brother kills brother in the whole of Hindustan, Kashmir raised its voice of Hindu-Muslim unity. I can assure the Hindu and Sikh minorities here that as long as I am alive their life and honour will be quite safe.

Prevalence of untouchability among Hindus has served as a base for Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory. Hindus should liquidate untouchability and thus demolish the two-nation theory.

Referring to the establishment of Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah said :

What have the four crore and a half Muslims in India gained through it? I sympathise with them in their plight. Pro-Pakistan elements started their Direct Action from Noakhali and inflicted untold sufferings on non-Muslims there. This was followed by revenge in Bihar Later Hindus and Sikhs were killed in the Frontier Province and West Punjab which was followed by killing of Muslims in East Punjab and Delhi. This has been the result of the two-nation theory.

We want people's Raj in Kashmir. We want establishment of such a government here where the humblest will have opportunities of rising to the highest rank of leadership. It will not be a government of any particular community, but of all—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

Life Impossible for Pakistan Minorities

After a three-day long conference, Congress leaders from Western Pakistan—Sind, West Punjab and N.-W. F. P.—have issued a statement embodying six suggestions made to the Government of India to expedite the evacuation and rehabilitation of non-Muslims from Western Pakistan. The Congress leaders include Dr. Choitram Gidwani, President, Sind Provincial Congress Committee; Choudhuri Krishnagopal Dutt, former Deputy Leader of the Punjab Assembly Congress Party; Shri Girdharilal Puri, Deputy-Speaker of the N.-W. F. P. Legislative Assembly; Dewan Bhanjaram Gandhi, ex-Finance Minister, N.-W. F. P.; Lala Bihari Lal Chanana, President, Punjab Bhopar Mandal; Shri Virendra, former Secretary of the Punjab Assembly Congress Party; Lala Bhagwan Das, M.L.A. (West Punjab); Shri Madanlal Mehta, Parliamentary Secretary, N.-W.F.P.; Shri Ram Chandra, President, Lahore District Congress Committee; and Yogi Ram Nath, President, Rawalpindi District Congress Committee. The following is the statement :

Words fail us to describe the bestial carnage

which the minorities in the West Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan and to some extent in Sind have witnessed or experienced for some time past particularly during the last few weeks. Thanks to the vigorous censorship imposed by the Pakistan Government, not one-tenth of it has seen the light of the day in any section of the Press.

All through our public life, in many cases spreading over many years, we have consistently worked and suffered for inter-communal unity. But the swift and tragic march of events and their climax in Western Pakistan have forced us to realise that in Western Pakistan life, in any of its sense, has become impossible for the Hindus and the Sikhs. The plain fact is that they are not at all wanted there and any attempt on their part, under any material or ideological impulse, to return to their hearths and homes, is bound to lead to a repetition of the horrors they have witnessed and experienced.

We have no hesitation in declaring that the present assurances of safety and security being offered to the minorities by the front-rank leaders of Pakistan are devoid of any reality and are just made to throw dust in the eyes of international opinion. Let it be clearly understood by one and all that the whole attitude and conduct of the Government and people of Western Pakistan make it impossible for the minorities to return to and resettle in Western Pakistan. There can be no going back.

But we are no 'refugees.' We confess we detest the very word in its application to us. This systematic description of the Hindus and Sikhs of Western Pakistan has unfortunately given birth of ignoble complexes of superiority among our brethren in India and our brethren from Western Pakistan representatively.

We do not think we contributed our due share to the long struggle of India's deliverance from bondage just to render ourselves as 'refugees' in India on her emancipation. We feel called upon to assert that whatever demands we make of the Government of India are made as a matter of right without bringing in any debasing sentiments of pity, compassion or mercy. Our sufferings are the direct results of the vivisection of India.

It is a pity, however, that the Government of India have not been fully alive to the gravity of the situation and left much to be desired in rising equal to the task with which they are confronted in this connection. While we have no desire to embarrass the members of the Government of India, while we fully realise the unprecedentedly gigantic nature of the task before them, and while we appreciate their efforts in this connection, we feel the time has come when we would be failing in our duty if we do not tell our Government publicly that in the matter of handling the problem of evacuation of the Hindus and the Sikhs of Western Pakistan, the Government of India have not acted with the immediacy and efficiency which the task called for. The Government of India have not shown much firmness either in dealing with the Pakistan Government. While the Pakistan Government are brazen-facedly trampling under their feet the agreements arrived at between the two Dominion Governments relating to the evacuation of minorities, the Government of India appear to be content with making representations and protests and avoid taking really effective steps to put the Pakistan Government in a reasonable frame of mind. We believe there are many civilized ways open to the Government of India which can make the Pakistan Government behave and respect their agreements in action.

We should like to make it clear that we do not believe in private retaliation. Nay, we regard it as highly detrimental to the best interests of the country. We feel ashamed of the fact that some of our brethren indulged in private retaliation and took the law in their own hands. With all the sincerity and emphasis at our command, we appeal to our Hindu and Sikh brethren to desist forthwith from having any recourse to private retaliation and give the Government of India ample and untrammelled opportunities to fight the cataclysmic calamity that has befallen us.

It is of course our privilege and duty to make suggestions to the Government of India which we believe are urgent and essential. Accordingly, we hereby make the following suggestions to the Government of India in the earnest hope that they will take immediate steps to clothe them in the robes of reality.

(1) Top-priority should be accorded to the immediate and safe evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from Western Pakistan including Baluchistan. The Government of India should mobilise all their resources for this purpose just as governments do in war time.

(2) Evacuation should be with all the belongings of the evacuees.

(3) All possible efforts should be made for the recovery of abducted and converted women. No Government should tolerate the dishonour of women.

(4) Conditions in the evacuees' camps are far from satisfactory. Food, medical supplies, etc., should be adequately supplied to the evacuees in the evacuees' camps.

(5) The Pakistan Government, or failing that the Government of India, should guarantee the evacuees adequate compensation for the movable and immovable property which they have left behind. The cheap and frivolous terms at which the Pakistan Government are disposing of and acquiring any land, houses and shops belonging to the evacuees have caused bitter resentment among them. Contrast it with the democratic machinery which is operating in Delhi for looking after the property of the Delhi Muslim evacuees. The Government of India should exert their utmost pressure on the Pakistan Government to cry an immediate halt to the above stated practice and compensate the evacuees adequately in this respect.

(6) After completion of evacuation, the Government of India as well as the Provincial Governments should give top-priority to the rehabilitation of the evacuees. The task is so gigantic that the country shall have to muster all its strength and resources in scientifically planned way. We hope that such planning will be devised in consultation with the representatives of the evacuees.

Door of Pakistan Closed to Indian Muslims

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Premier of Pakistan, is believed to have communicated to the Government of India that the Pakistan Government would not be prepared to take in any refugees into Pakistan other than those who came from the East Punjab. Pakistan Dominion would only take in Muslim refugees from the East Punjab and the East Punjab States, such as Patiala, Jhind, Faridkot and Nabha.

During his recent talks with the representatives of the Government of India, it is understood, the Pakistan Premier left no doubt that his Government

would resist the coming in of any Muslims beyond the East Punjab to Pakistan.

A natural corollary of the stand taken by the Pakistan Government is that Pakistan, for the establishment of which an overwhelming majority of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion worked, is now closed to them.

Mr. Liaquat Ali's move follows an earlier statement of Mr. Khuhro, Premier of Sind, to the effect that Sind was no longer in a position to take in any more refugees. After the burial of the two-nation theory, Pakistan is thus preparing the ground for the burial of the theory of exchange of population as well.

An Evil Portent

Following Lord Mountbatten's pointer that lapse of paramountcy if not immediately substituted by the States by willingly acceding to either of the two Dominions would involve chaos, States began to accede to the Indian Dominions. Most of the States joined the Indian Union as considerations like the will of the States people, geographical contiguity with areas of the Dominion, community of the ruler all weighed in favour of the above development. Some Muslim rulers with a majority of Hindu subjects and encircled by Indian Union territories have decided to join the Indian Union Constituent Assembly. These States are Bhopal, Palanpur, Cambay, Rampur, Janjira, Sachin, Maler Kotla, Tonk, etc. All these rulers notwithstanding their natural sympathy for the Muslim State of Pakistan, finally decided in favour of joining the Indian Dominion because they knew that they could not avoid geographical compulsions and were not prepared to become, to quote the Jam Sahib "playthings in the hands of Muslim careerists from outside." Besides, Lord Mountbatten made it very clear in his address to the Chamber of Princes that the whole country was divided on the principle of contiguous majority areas, e.g., partition of Bengal, partition of the Punjab, referendum in the Frontier and plebiscite in Sylhet. It is this very consideration again which has weighed with the States of Baluchistan and Bahawalpur to accede to Pakistan Dominion.

But the decision of Junagadh to accede to Pakistan comes as a strange and portentous surprise. Not only more than three-fourths of the State's people are Hindus but the territories are also surrounded by Indian Union areas. Again as Jam Sahib recalls, Junagadh representatives were all along stressing the identity of purpose and interests of all the Kathiawar States and declaring that any one who said that Junagadh might join Pakistan was an enemy of Junagadh and Kathiawar. Even now the Prime Minister, Mr. Abdul Qadir and the Constitutional Adviser Mr. Qadir's brother advised Junagadh to join the Dominion of India. But the Prime Minister who was then in America, was dismissed and his properties expropriated. The decision to join Pakistan has been taken by the Acting Prime Minister Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and other Sindhis. That a Sindhi clique has been the principal motivator behind Junagadh's decision will be clear from the Jam Sahib's observation in this connection wherein he says: "It is only the Sindhi clique which has seized

power and in whose hands the Nawab is virtually a prisoner, which has forced this decision on Junagadh.... I myself tried to see the Nawab but did not succeed in spite of our most cordial relations. Mr. V. P. Menon, who went there on behalf of the States Department, was also unable to see the Nawab."

But here the matter does not end although it is already dangerously provocative. Allegations are now coming that Junagadh's forces are violating the sovereignty of the Indian Union by going into Babariawad. Besides, Gondal and Jelpin States have appealed to the Union Government and the State Department for prompt military aid to them as they apprehend trouble. There is also news to the effect that the Pakistan sloop *Godavari* was going to Junagadh. The recent imports of merchandise into Junagadh revealed ammunitions coming in disguise. Still not a single soldier of the Indian Union has as yet entered Junagadh territory, even though the railway police and posts of the State belonged to the Dominion of India.

Evidently, this State is intended to be a jumping ground for disrupting the Indian Union by a drive from Sind in the north and from Hyderabad in the south. The Jam Saheb says that the scheme came into his possession eight months ago, but he did not believe it and like everyone else considered it fantastic. Confessing his mistake Jam Saheb notes, "This attempt in having a pocket of Pakistan in the vital flank of India is a definite attempt on the part of Jinnah and his advisers to seek to disrupt the unity, integrity and security of India. If it is not checked in time it would make war inevitable." Till now the Government of India has sent a few battalions to Rajkot and other border States. But these forces are not quite adequate and the Jam Saheb feels it imperative to suggest a line of action for the Government of India. "Defensive action by the Indian Government in Babariawad is" says he, "really overdue . . . I only hope that the Indian Government will redeem its pledges and prove its ability to protect its acceding States. If it fails, States which have acceded now will have to revise their attitude, and the integrity and safety of the country will be jeopardised."

Iron Curtain on the North-Western Front

Almost an impenetrable iron curtain has been raised around the N.-W. F. P. and all news from that part of the globe has been virtually cut off for about two months. But truth cannot be shut out for long and lucid and dependable information from what is happening there has at last begun to see the light of the day. Major-General J. R. Hartwell, who is fully conversant with Frontier politics, has given valuable information in the course of an article entitled "The Turis of the Kurram" published in the *Eastern World* for August. The article is reproduced here in part :

"The Kurram valley is mainly populated, and completely dominated by the Turis of the Shiah sect of Islam. They form, with the periodical introduction of a small contingent of Mongals, the body of the Kurram Frontier Militia, and the efficiency with which their watch and ward duties have for many years been carried out has failed to endear them to the Sunni clans by which they are sur-

rounded up to and beyond the Durand line on the right bank of the Kurram river, or to the Orakasis, Parachankanis, and other decidedly fanatical Sunni Khels on the other. In the Indian picture, so far as we can see into it, what are the chances, and what the conditions, of a Turi survival ?

"With the N.-W. F. 'referendum' in the immediate offing as this is written, prophecy is perhaps rash, but it is probably fairly safe to say that Sirdar Abdul Gaffar Khan's 'Pathanistan' will not materialise in the immediate future and on the firm assumption that the referendum is confined to British India alone, and that the administered areas are not invited to express their opinion. At the same time, and it has a definite relation to our main subject, as will appear, two things must be remembered.

"First, there is definitely no love lost between the Frontier Pathan and his Punjabi Mussalman cousin and, secondly, that reports in the British press of the 'Jirgah' held by Lord Mountbatten in the Khyber tended to create an impression which in the event, may prove entirely erroneous, namely that, while the Tribes definitely would have no truck with a Congress India, everything in the garden would be lovely when, and if, came the dawn of Pakistan. In the present writer's opinion, nothing could be further from the probabilities, however successfully the N.-W. F. Province and the Punjab may or may not amalgamate in a Pakistan State, the tribes will none the less claim control of the frontier passes, and if Mr. Jinnah's professed dislike for detail blinds him to a pre-consideration of the problems of the Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, and the Derajat, he will shortly be working overtime to find solutions.

These problems are not primarily those of external aggression : indeed whatever the immediate or ultimate relations between the Tribal areas and Pakistan may prove to be, the mere existence of the latter should ensure a closing of the Muslim ranks against foreign advance in a manner which could not always entirely be relied upon under the British domination. But it seems as certain as anything can be in the Indian puzzle that Mr. Jinnah will be faced with—is in fact faced with at this moment—the same problem that has confronted the British ever since they crossed the Indus—how to subside the Tribal wolves and at the same time be the good shepherd to the lowland lambs. If he has not the 'details' of this solution to hand ready for immediate application, the sooner he accepts the Indus as Pakistan frontier line the better.

"It is probably entirely untrue that tribal incursions across the administrative border in the past have been actuated in fact by any dislike of British domination as such ; the dislike is for domination of any kind effective enough to control such incursions, and of the mildest interference with what they consider their legitimate rights, including that of slitting any throat if benefit accrues, spreading responsibility by adding meanwhile : "In the name of Allah—the Merciful—the Compassionate."

"How does all this affect the Turis of the Kurram ? What exists in Mr. Jinnah's mind concerning the future, if any, of the Frontier Militias as a whole, is, like so much else therein, at present obscure, and presents a very pretty problem for which there is no space here. The

Khyber Rifles, locally recruited, present one problem, the Waziristan and Zhob militia, largely manned from ex-Territorial Pathan and Afridi sources, another.

"But the Turis of the Kurram present a special problem of their own, and its solution is pressing. No one who knows them, however, superficially, will regard the Turi in the light of the proverbial lamb. To have ridden with their mounted platoons along the Durand line and seen their scouts fan out to investigate the hostile or "have to go" intent of the casual bullet, or to have tried, along a well worn path, to keep one's *mazri* clothing from turning black with sweat in the biting cold of the wind from off the Safed Koh, while one's escort dances a fandango along a slippery slope that should terrify a goat, is to assure one of that. If ever apparent physical perfection justified Kipling's description of Kamal's son :

*He trod the ling like a buck a Spring
And he looked like a lance in rest—*

you have it in the Turi. True, they are probably a comendand race, one knows. Malaria and interbreeding are shaping to their inevitable end. But must their end come yet, and by the bullet and the knife? For the moment, no doubt, their hands, well armed, can keep their heads. But without strong backing on a par with that they have received under British rule, their fate within a generation is sure.

"If Pakistan will and can control the Tribal areas, the Turi is an asset beyond price. Their loyalty, self-interest if you like, to the power that in the long run must ensure their existence and guarantee their homes, is undoubted. And the Khyber is by no means the only, nor perhaps the easiest, North Western Gate to India. It is not only the Orakzai who covets the fertile Kurram. Beyond the Durand line subsistence is difficult, and the somewhat ludicrous position is not unknown of the Amir's outposts slipping across the border to revictual themselves peacefully in Parachinar bazaars. Memories are short and much talk of the Khyber has dulled recollection of Lord Roberts and the Peiwar Kotal which stands at the head of the Kurram valley, while generally well-informed students of the Frontier will usually ask "What's that?" of the scarp of Kitchener's survey for a light railway on the Kurram's right bank.

"The Kurram is a danger spot for trans-Indus Pakistan. The appetite, they say, comes with eating, and if the adjacent tribes decide that the Kurram is ripe fruit, who can say where the meal will end? Not Mr. Jinnah. And if the recession of Pakistan to the Indus comes from other causes, as well it may, nothing can save the Turjs. Well, after all it will mean less corpses than rotted in Bengal last year, and so, perhaps, as suggested, is just a detail of the picture. But a pity, it is though."

Pakistan Tactics

In reply to Pakistan's threat to approach UNO for setting up an Enquiry Commission, the Government of India expressed their willingness for the appointment of a body of impartial Indian observers, whose selection, it is suggested, should be made by both the Dominions jointly. They would tour and station themselves in the disturbed areas of the West and East Punjab. It is understood that

the selection of a dozen men or so well-known for their integrity and public spirit from both the Dominions would not present much difficulty.

An appeal to the UNO for the despatch of observers did not find favour at New Delhi, primarily because such observers might not be thoroughly acquainted with the local problems, conditions and languages and would not therefore be of any help in the restoration of peace.

Pakistan's communication to other Dominions, including India, through the British Government, asking for help to resolve communal difficulties received a sharp rebuff when Mr. Attlee gave a clear reply that he saw no grounds for forwarding the communication to the Dominions. Pakistan could easily communicate with India which was primarily concerned in the subject. Before this communication was sent, the Government of India had already addressed the Pakistan Government suggesting bi-weekly joint meetings between East and West Punjab Governments. No reply was forthcoming to this suggestion. Previous agreements of safe conduct of evacuees and stoppage of searches, arrived at between the official representatives of India and Pakistan, were honoured by India and broken by Pakistan. This surreptitious attempt to put India in the wrong is still going on.

Meanwhile, political circles in London are intrigued at the report that Sir Muhammad Zafarullah may move the UNO for setting up an Inquiry Commission. Although the Conservative Party and the Tory press seem determined to make political capital out of Pakistan's cry for help, foreign diplomatic circles in the British capital, reports *I. P. A.*, are merely amused at this naive diplomatic manoeuvre of Pakistan, posing as the injured party. Impartial political observers in London are commenting that, though it may be a mere coincidence, it is worth emphasising that Mr. Churchill's reference to riots in India at the Conservative rally at Sharesbrook, closely followed Pakistan's official appeal to Britain and the Dominions.

Indirect evidence is not lacking that Pakistan is being actively encouraged by reactionary Anglo-American elements. Some time ago, Pakistan appealed to Red Cross Societies in the United States and Britain "for all possible assistance in men and materials." It was indirectly hinted in reactionary Anglo-American quarters that Pakistan might follow this up by appealing for military assistance.

The non-official Muslim League propaganda machinery is functioning, in league with the reactionary elements in London, at full blast. A closer analysis of the stories and reports about India carried by the Tory press gives an uninformed observer the impression that the Indian Union is eager to break away from the British Commonwealth and that it is trying to hatch a secret pact with the Soviet Union against the Anglo-American bloc.

Pakistan Flouted Agreement—Says

Sri Prakasa

Mr. Sri Prakasa, Indian High Commissioner for Pakistan, who visited, towards the end of September, the non-Muslim refugee camp at Hyderabad (Sind), received complaints from the refugees that they had been waiting there under vile conditions for ten to fifteen days in the hope

of being evacuated early to India, that they had spent their last rupee, having been left with only their railway tickets and that they would starve if they were not transported expeditiously. They said that the present transport arrangements were too inadequate, only about 1,000 passengers being cleared daily by the Jodhpur railway.

Mr. Sri Prakasa told them that the present slow evacuation was due to want of coal to run the trains and promised to do his best to make a sufficient number of special refugee trains available for them. He, however, asked them to bear their present troubles and tribulations with fortitude and courage.

Later in the evening Mr. Sri Prakasa visited the Hyderabad (Sind) railway station where rigorous searches and large-scale confiscation of passengers' personal effects have been practised all the time. The vicious nature of the search was altered there on the day of Mr. Sri Prakasa's visit but still stories of previous day's harassing searches were related to him by the evacuees. The passengers, seated in three bogies in the outgoing train for Jodhpur, said that they had been left behind at the station the previous day, their bogies having been detached from the train merely because the authorities had not been able to search their kit.

On enquiry, Mr. Sri Prakasa was told by Mr. Channa, Deputy Collector, that under the orders of the Sind Government, silk and typewriters, even for personal use, were not to be carried by passengers as part of their kit.

In an interview Mr. Sri Prakasa subsequently wondered as to why the agreement arrived at recently between the Governments of India and Pakistan prohibiting seizure of any goods except articles of merchandise carried in large quantities was not being implemented on this side. He said that he would take up this question immediately with the Government of India.

According to a report received from Nawabshah and from several other railway stations in Sind, searches of luggage of passengers including even of those holding tickets for nearby places in the province are being carried on by the police. Even people travelling by buses from one place to another are searched on the way and they are held up for hours.

At Dadu station, Muslim National Guards unaccompanied by police or railway staff get into trains and search the luggage of passengers, who had entrained at previous stations. The passengers are deprived of their kit by the National Guards.

A peculiar feature of the searches at the Nawabshah station is that the passengers going outside the province or to any other place in the province itself south or east of Nawabshah, are not allowed to take more than 13 pounds of their used personal clothes, cotton, silken or woollen, and any excess is taken away from them. For this purpose the passengers' kit is weighed on the railway weighing machine.

Sewing machines, lately exempted by the Sind Government, are also taken away from the passengers at this place. No receipt of seized articles is given by the police unless asked for by the owner.

According to a notification of the Sind Government issued yesterday, crockery, earthenware, glassware and

hosiery, although carried by a passenger as a part of his kit, have been added to the list of articles banned for export outside the province under the Essential Commodities Control Ordinance, except without a permit.

Liaquat Ali's Peace Appeal

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan Government, broadcasting from the Pakistan radio, appealed to all citizens to suppress disorders which was "the greatest of all national duties today" and gave generous assurances of "equal justice, love and forbearance" to the minorities. He also declared, "The whole world knows it is not we who did greater wrong but I consider it a disgrace for Pakistan that in certain parts the majority has failed in duty to protect the minority." He has asked the Hindus of Sind to stay and not to go away leaving their wealth and homes behind. We believe it is no longer necessary to unmask the utter hypocrisy of declarations of similar nature. The pose of injured innocence that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan tries to maintain will not deceive any one who is not more than half ready to be deceived.

Pakistan now wants to prevent the wholesale exodus and they have very good reasons to do so. Orderly exchange of population does not fit in with the plans of those who brought the Pakistan State into being. The doors of Pakistan have been closed to Muslims from India except to those coming from the East Punjab. Those that are kept out, are expected to work in the future, as in the past, in a spirit of utter self-abnegation for the greater glory of Pakistan. The solidarity of Islam is expected to be strong enough to overcome the pressure of the political environment, and the liberal outlook of the Government of India is expected to provide them with opportunities of consolidating their position inside the Indian Union. Such a policy may require the retention of a considerable body of non-Muslim population in Pakistan as hostages, as a means of exerting diplomatic pressure on the Government of India; that is possibly one of the reasons for which the responsible leaders of Pakistan are anxious to stop the exodus of non-Muslims. To achieve that end they do not rely entirely on assurances of protection and safeguards for the future. The Government and people of Pakistan seem to be bent on preventing by all means in their power the free movement of refugees from the West.

The same hostage theory finds confirmation in reports from Pakistan. The following comment of the *Illustrated Weekly Tomorrow* of Karachi, in its issue, dated September 23, may be considered a sufficient indication of how the minorities in Sind are taking these Pakistani platitudes about them:

"The Governments of Hindustan and Pakistan must put their heads together and take a final decision on the 'exchange of population.' If Premier Liaquat Ali Khan is determined to pull out every Muslim from East Punjab and have him firmly planted in West Punjab, Premier Jawaharlal will pull out every Hindu from West Punjab and have him firmly planted in East Punjab. There shall thus be a complete exchange of population in the Punjab.

"The Hindus of N.W. F. Province are migrating to Hindustan and there has been a heavy exodus of Hindus

from the Pakistan part of Bengal. That leaves Sind, where the Hindus are anxious to stay. They do not favour migration. They have good relations with their Muslim neighbours. But they naturally ask a very pertinent question. They ask, 'Are we to remain here as hostages for the good behaviour of Hindus in Hindustan?' There were ugly incidents in Delhi. God forbid, if any such incidents are repeated, must the Hindus of Sind pay for the sins of Delhiwallas. The Hindus in Sind believe that the Sind Government is anxious to maintain law and order but they also feel that at any moment the Government may lose its grip on the fast flowing foreign element into this province and the Hindus of Sind may have to pay very dearly.

"If all the Ministers are Muslims, if all the heads of all important offices are Muslims—if the police is Muslim and the military is Muslim and when the Hindu sees the hatred in the eyes of the foreigner who is in Sind, he naturally feels nervous and desires to leave Sind before it is too late."

Threat from Junagadh Gains Momentum

Following the Jam Sahab's warning the States Ministry of the Indian Dominion came out with the demand for a plebiscite to settle the issue. The ruler did not pay any heed to this. A provisional government of Junagadh has been formed under the leadership of Sri Samaldas Gandhi. This Government has declared war against the ruler and is now functioning from Rajkot taking possession of the Junagadh embassy buildings there. Many of the neighbouring Kathiwar States have recognised the government. The Dominion Government of India has openly and unequivocally made public their non-acceptance of the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan and has despatched armed forces to the adjoining areas some of which are reported to have been forcibly and illegally usurped by that State.

In repudiating Jam Sahab's allegations, Mr. Liaquat Ali stated: "It seems that on principle the Jam Sahab does not like the idea of Junagadh acceding to Pakistan. He sees in it an attempt to disrupt the unity, integrity and security of India and calls upon the Indian Dominion to defend Indian integrity from 'these infiltration tactics of Pakistan.' The correct position is that the Indian Independence Act of 1947 has left all Indian States free to join either one Dominion or the other or to enter into treaty relations with either. Legally and constitutionally, there can be no question of putting limitations on this right of the States." Thus he ignores the importance of popular feeling and inequity of principle involved in forcing the subjects to join Pakistan who are geographically contiguous and desirous of joining the Indian Dominion. The Jam Sahab quite aptly pointed out to Mr. Liaquat Ali the dangers involved in adopting the course Pakistan and Junagadh have taken. In repudiation of charges of communalism levelled against him, he observes: "I am concerned with the matter as the Ruler of a State in Kathiwar and know that my views are the views of all Rulers and people of Kathiwar except the Ruler of Junagadh."

Mr. Liaquat Ali stated that "my previous statement is full of possibilities for incalculable evil in view of communal frenzy when they decided to accept the accession of Junagadh State. The communal frenzy does not

come into being without cause. It is the result of such unfriendly acts as one we are dealing with."

The Jam Sahab's apprehensions will be clear from a view of the fact that the State of Junagadh is situated in the midst of other States which have acceded to the Dominion of India, and its territories are interlaced with the territories of these States. For example, in Junagadh itself there are territories of the State which have acceded to the Dominion of India. Similarly islands of Junagadh State territory exist inside Bhavnagar, Nawanagar, Gondal and Baroda. The Railway and Posts and Telegraph services of Junagadh are an integral part of the Indian system; the Railway Police, Telegraphs and Telephones are administered by the Dominion of India. Of the 671,000 approximate State population, about 543,000 or 81 per cent are non-Muslims. The Indian States Ministry says in their communique:

"Although, theoretically, the termination of paramountcy left the Indian States free to accede to either of the Dominions, it has always been recognised that, in practice, this freedom would be exercised with due regard to facts of geography. This was made clear by His Excellency the Governor-General of India at the conference which he held with the Representatives of the States on the 25th July and this has been the essence of the accession policy pursued by the Government of India."

What is stranger still is that a representative of Junagadh State was present at the above conference and participated in its deliberations. In his public statements also His Highness the Nawab has all along adhered to the principle of the solidarity of Kathiawar. The Government of India feels constrained to note that Junagadh "never attempted to negotiate the terms of accession with the Dominion of India. On the other hand, without any warning, it was announced that the State had acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan and that this accession had been accepted. Prior to the announcement, there were indications that Junagadh intended to accede to Pakistan. The Government of India immediately represented to the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan that the matter should be decided according to the wishes of the people of the State. No reply was received either to this or to a subsequent communication. The Government of India, therefore, decided to depute Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of States to Junagadh with a personal message to His Highness the Nawab. The Dewan conveyed to Mr. Menon His Highness's inability to see him. He could only see the Dewan who made the suggestion that the matter should be discussed at a conference with the representatives of the Dominions of India and Pakistan in which Junagadh should also be present."

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays "The Modern Review" Office and "Punjab" Press will remain closed from the 20th October to the 2nd November, 1947, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEMAS NATH CHATTERJEE,
Editor

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

I

FIFTEENTH of August, 1947, will ever be remembered as a red-letter day in the history of India as wiping out the last vestiges of foreign domination and ushering in the epoch of freedom for which generations of her men and women fought and suffered, but few will perhaps remember another date no less momentous and memorable as laying the legal basis of the historic constitutional change, I mean the 18th of July, 1947, when the Indian Independence Bill received royal assent. It would not perhaps be untimely to discuss some of the implications of this legislation when it has just come into force.

Momentous as it is from the political and constitutional angle, in its legal aspect it is rather unpretentious as would appear from the title of the bill which runs as follows :

"A Bill to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 which apply outside those Dominions and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions."

In other words the primary object of the bill is to carve out two Dominions out of the territories now constituting India and to that end to replace some of the provisions of the existing Government of India Act, 1935, by new ones, that is, those which would now be incompatible with the new status such as the control of outside authorities like the Secretary of State and his advisers, and also to make new provisions for the implementation of the plan of setting up of two autonomous Dominions. In form, therefore, it is something like an amending Act, modifying and supplementing the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which up to now provided the framework of the Indian constitutional structure, although in substance it has completely recast the whole thing changing India from a Dependency of the Crown into two independent Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not, however, a blue-print for the future governance of the two independent Dominions—for that is being forged by the respective Constituent Assemblies—but only proposes to effect a smooth and peaceful transfer of power from British to Indian hands. Premier Attlee gave a correct account of the nature of the Bill in the House of Commons when he spoke of it as "being in the nature of an enabling bill—a bill to enable the representatives of India and Pakistan draft their own constitution and to provide for the exceedingly difficult period of transition."

The first clause of the Independence Act provides for the creation of two independent Dominions to be known as 'India' and 'Pakistan' respectively as from the 15th of August, 1947. The term 'independent' signifies not only independence of each other as between themselves but independence from outside control in any shape or form. As regards the name 'India' it has been suggested that it might imply that Pakistan had seceded from the whole of India. Actually there is no such implication. The fact is,—what was India before, comprising both British India and Indian India, would now be recreated into two new political entities called 'India' and 'Pakistan.' It would have, of course, avoided confusion if some name other than 'India' could be used. The alternative name 'Hindusthan' did not appeal to the Congress leaders, as it might convey an impression that it would be a communal State only for Hindus. So they preferred to retain the name 'India' with all its historic association and tradition. Moreover, the names were accepted by agreement among Congress and League leaders. Objection may be taken to the expression "independent dominions" in Clause I on the grounds—(a) the term 'dominion' is not a happy one in relation to free States, and (b) the terms 'independent' and 'dominions' as they are commonly understood, involve some amount of contradiction, being opposed to the ideas of common allegiance to the Crown and 'interdependence' involved in the concept of Dominion Status. But it was explained by Prime Minister Attlee at the committee stage of the bill that the term 'Dominion' had been defined in terms of the statute of Westminster Act (1931) as meaning complete independence, common allegiance to the Crown notwithstanding and that the accepted theory of interdependence as between Dominions did not detract from their independence in any way. The term 'independent' has been specifically introduced to allay doubts and suspicions that might arise in any quarter as to the fully sovereign status of the new States. It is true that 'Dominion Status' at the present day virtually amounts to independence, which is clear enough from recent constitutional developments in 'Eire,' yet they remain two distinct concepts at least subjectively. Whether India should remain contented with 'Dominion Status' or go in for complete independence under her new constitution is a bigger issue which we need not discuss here.

The next three sections of the Act read with Schedules (I) and (II) deal with the allocation of territories as between the two new Dominions. Some territories are specially allotted to the Dominion of

Pakistan, the Dominion of India getting the residuary portions of what constituted British India before the appointed day, i.e., August 15. In making the provisional territorial division between the two Dominions, the authors were mainly guided by the principle of communal majority in the make-up of the population in particular administrative areas, final adjustment being left to a Boundary Commission appointed for the purpose who were to be guided by 'other factors' as well in giving their award which has been lately given. The territorial adjustment as thus made is not, however, meant to be irrevocable. Sections (3) and (4) introduce an element of flexibility by providing for the inclusion or exclusion of any area within or from either of the Dominions subject to the consent of the relevant Dominion and also for the accession of Indian States to either of them. Those who had to agree to the partition of the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab under pressure of circumstances may perhaps feel heartened by the existence of these provisions.

Section (5) provides for the appointment of a Governor-General for each Dominion by the king with the proviso that until provision to the contrary is made by a law of either of the Dominions the same person may combine the office for both the States. The proviso was introduced with a purpose. It was intended that during the transition period the same person should be the Governor-General for both the Dominions for the smooth change-over from a single system to a divided one and Lord Mountbatten was nominated for the dual office. The proviso was intended therefore as an enabling clause. Due to a last-minute change, however, in the counsel of the League it was decided to have two different persons as Governors-General for the two Dominions with resulting complications. The procedure that has been adopted for the appointment of the Governor-General marks a departure from the usual one followed in the Dominions, that is, appointment by the King on the advice of his Cabinet in the Dominion concerned. This was not feasible in the special circumstances of the country, as the Governor-General was to be appointed in respect of both the Dominions as from August 15, and the Ministers were then to be appointed by the Governor-General. In the absence of a Ministry in office before August 15, to advise the King in this matter, the procedure that was adopted with the approval of the Indian leaders and also of the King was this that the Viceroy would consult the leadership of the two major parties as to their nominee or nominees for the offices. This advice of the party leaders was formally tendered to the King by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and appointments were made accordingly. The departure from the usual procedure, it will be seen, was necessitated by the special circumstances of the situation and in no way indicates a difference in the constitutional status of the new Dominions. In fact, Mr. Attlee made it perfectly clear on the floor of the House of Commons that the exceptional procedure was meant only for that occasion.

Section 6 of the Act has been very rightly described by Mr. V. P. Menon, the Reforms Commissioner, as "the pivotal provision in the bill establishing beyond doubt or dispute sovereign character of the Legislature of each of the new Dominions and giving them the fullest measure of independence." It aims at bringing the legislatures of the new Dominions at once up to the level of the legislatures of other Dominions as defined by paragraphs 2 and 3 of the preamble, and Sections 2-6 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931. The section under consideration like the Sections of the Statute referred to, put an end to the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament in relation to the Dominions and inequality as between the British Parliament and Dominion Legislatures in any shape or form and clothe them with plenary powers of legislation for themselves. In the first place, all limitations on their jurisdiction are removed. For instance, under sub-section (2) no law made by the Legislature of either Dominion was to be void on the ground of repugnancy to any Act of Parliament, including even the Indian Independence Act itself. Under sub-section (3) the right of disallowance, reservation or suspension of operation of any law of the Indian Legislature exercised so long by the British Crown advised by His Majesty's Government in Britain is to cease to operate in respect of legislation passed by the legislature of either of the Dominions.

In the second place, the legislative superiority of the British Parliament is to cease. Under sub-section (4) no Act of the British Parliament is henceforth to apply to either Dominion unless it is adopted by the legislature of the relevant Dominions as part of its law, that is, of its own free will. Under sub-section (5), the provision has been extended to cover Orders-in-Council or order, rule or other instrument made under an Act of Parliament by any Minister of the U. K. or other authority. In the third place, positively speaking, the powers of the Legislatures of the Dominions are placed on a plenary footing. Under sub-section (1), the Legislature of each of the new Dominions is to have "full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation." What is more, under the second part of sub-section (2), the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any existing or future Act of the British Parliament or order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion. It would thus be within the competence of either Dominion Legislature to pass a law abrogating any provision of even the Independence Act itself which creates them. What more convincing evidence is needed of their sovereign character? But although no outside authority like the British Parliament or Government would be competent to place any limitation on the powers of two Dominion Legislatures nothing would prevent them themselves imposing limitations on their own powers. For sub-section (6) provides that the power of each Dominion Legislature would extend to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

The object of introducing this sub-section is to empower each Dominion Legislature acting as the constitution-making body to create a Federation by voluntarily limiting its powers as the legislature for the Dominion so as to give autonomy to the constituent units. This, however, does not derogate from their sovereign character, inasmuch as self-imposed limitations are no real limitations. Nor is the power of the Governor-General of each of the Dominions to assent in His Majesty's name to the laws passed by them in the nature of a limitation on their power inasmuch as the Governor-General as a constitutional head would act only on the advice of his Ministers responsible to the Legislature itself. Judging by the criteria laid down by Prof. Dicey in examining the sovereign character of the British Parliament, viz., (1) that King-in-Parliament has the right to make or unmake any law whatever for British territories and (2) that no other authority is recognised by the law of England as having the right to over-ride or set aside the legislation of Parliament,¹ the Legislatures of the new Dominions can also be regarded as sovereign legislatures. Sardar Patel observed in a recent Press Conference :

"The jurisdiction of Parliament over India has ended with this Bill. It has nothing to do with India hereafter."

This section is symbolic of the British quitting India and of the transfer of real power from Britain to India though unhappily divided into two parts.

Section 7 of the Act seems to be conceived in direct implementation of the 'Quit India' resolution of the Congress. In terms of this section, as from the appointed day, that is, August 15, 1947, the responsibility of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in respect of the territories of British India as also all their connection with the Indian States and what are called tribal areas are to cease. So far as the territories of British India are concerned the two Governments have taken over from the British on the appointed day. A good deal of controversy has arisen, however, over the position of the Indian States as from the appointed day as a result of the termination of paramountcy. According to one view, the Indian Princes would become fully independent as from August 16, 1947. According to another view, Indian Rulers, when they came under British suzerainty, did not enjoy politically independent status and therefore, on the lapse of British paramountcy they would simply revert to their status, as it obtained immediately before British rule in India. The first part of this latter view has been upheld by the States Enquiry Committee popularly known as the Butler Committee, although they have not accepted the latter part. The Committee pointed out :

"It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British power they were independent, each possessed of full sovereignty, and of a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by the rules of international law. In fact, none of the

States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul empire, the Mahratta supremacy or the Sikh kingdom and dependent on them."

Next we have to understand the nature of the rather complicated relationship obtaining so far between the British Crown and the Indian Rulers denoted by the compendious expression "paramountcy". The enquiry as to the exact nature of this relationship has proved a baffling one even to expert jurists. Opinion as to what it implies and what is its content has been of bewildering variety. In fact, it has not been something static but dynamic, changing with time and circumstances. As the Butler Committee pointed out :

"The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States is not a merely contractual relationship, resting on treaties made more than a century ago. It is a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstance and policy, resting, as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory, and modern fact."

Nor is it something defined by treaties and agreements, for only forty of them have such treaties which are also not uniform. It has been also developed by the operation of usage and suzerainty. It was described by the Government of India in the following terms :

"The paramount supremacy of the British Government is a thing of gradual growth ; it has been established partly by conquest, partly by treaty, partly by usage, and for a proper understanding of the relations of the British Government to the Native States, regard must be had to the incidents of this *de facto* supremacy, as well as treaties and charters in which reciprocal rights and obligations have been recorded, and the circumstances under which those documents were originally framed. In the life of States, as well as of individuals, documentary claims may be set aside by overt acts. . . ."

Although paramountcy has shown itself in its actual operation in some specific forms of activity, such as external affairs and interstate relations, defence and protection and of intervention, (a) for the benefit of the Prince, (b) for the benefit of the State and (c) for the benefit of India, it is not and cannot in the nature of things be confined to these alone. As the authors of the Report stated that these are only some of the incidents and illustrations of paramountcy and that it was not possible to find a comprehensive formula fully covering the exercise of paramountcy. Baffled in their attempt to find such a formula they declared :

"Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

The Butler Committee, however, recommended that in view of the historic and personal nature of the

2. Indian States Enquiry Report, para. 39.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, para 41.

5. *Ibid.*, para 57.

1. A. K. Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, (9th edition), Ch. I.

relationship, in the event of a government of the nature of a Dominion Government being set up in India paramourty should not be transferred without their own agreement to a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature. This view of the position of the States *vis à vis* the Dominion Government or Governments in India has been reiterated ever since by the British Government, even as late as the debates in Parliament at the time of passing the Indian Independence Bill. Taking a narrow legalistic view of the matter, the view that with the transfer of power British paramourty simply lapses leaving the Rulers sovereign and independent may perhaps be correct, at least we are not competent to pronounce an opinion on the legal aspect of the matter. But even admitting its legal validity, we should note that the relations of States to such a Dominion Government raise question both of law and policy, as the Butler Committee also stated⁶ and in such matters considerations of policy should by all means outweigh those of law. Even the British Government though consistently subscribing to the position that paramourty lapses with the transfer of power and the States become independent and sovereign hold the view that by the logic of circumstances and as a matter of policy they have got to enter into some sort of union with either of the two Dominions by negotiation. Both the Viceroy and Mr. Attlee while admitting the fact of their independence after the appointed day have exhorted them in the most emphatic knowledge to link up, in their own interest, with either of the two Dominions. Addressing a conference of Rulers and Ministers on July 25 last, the Viceroy pointed out that the States have complete freedom,—technically and legally they are independent but in fact, the degree of independence to be enjoyed by them should be limited. Because during the period of British rule a system of co-ordinated administration on all matters of common concern particularly in the financial and economic field in relation to such matters as Posts and Telegraph, Customs and Communication had grown up due to the combination of the offices of Governor-General of India and the Crown Representative in the person of the Viceroy. That link being broken now, it would leave a void which if not filled up by some machinery of co-ordinated action between the States on one side and either of the Dominions on the other would result in a chaos which would be more harmful to the States than to the Dominions. If the States do not accede to the Union they would also be faced with a situation arising out of the termination of existing agreements with the Government of India covering a wide field of administration which no Ruler could view with equanimity. In concluding his address the Viceroy observed :

"I have no doubt that this (joining the Indian Union) is in the best interests of the States, and every wise ruler and wise government would desire to link up with the Great Dominion of India on a basis which leaves you great internal autonomy and

which at the same time gets rid of your worries and cares over external affairs, defence and communications. . . . You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible."

The leaders of the Dominion Government of India, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel also have not insisted on the theory of succession of the Dominion Government to paramourty, but have welcomed them to a voluntary union with either of the Dominions and assured them of perfect autonomy except in the limited field voluntarily ceded to the Union by the Instrument of Accession freely subscribed to by them. Speaking on the occasion of presenting the report of the Committee of the Constituent Assembly appointed to negotiate with the States Negotiating Committee on April 28 last, Pandit Nehru observed :

"The scheme is essentially a voluntary one, where no compulsion, except the compulsion of events, is indicated."

Sardar Patel also on assuming charge of the States Department made a statement substantially on the same lines which even the Viceroy has characterised as "statesmanlike." A glance at the Draft Instrument of Accession as finally adopted at the Conference of the representatives of the Indian States and the Government of India and also the 'Standstill Agreement,' which would be concluded between every State acceding to the Indian Union and the Government of India would convince everyone that States would gain everything and lose nothing by their accession. But apart from the 'compulsion of events' as Pandit Nehru has aptly described the pressing problems that would arise on the termination of all existing agreements with the Government of India covering a wide field including Defence, Communications, etc., which should persuade the Rulers to join either Dominion they should also take note of the feelings and inclinations of their peoples which they can ignore today at their peril. Because the forces of democracy and freedom which have shaken the foundations of the mighty British imperialism in British India will not stop on the borders of their territories but have already permeated their peoples as is evident from the active organisation of the States' peoples called the States Peoples' Conference, the Congress organisations in the individual States and the movements launched under the aegis of these organisations in different States for some time past on various issues. Those who have taken a narrow legalistic view of the relationship between the States and the British Government including the British Government itself have left this new force in the situation completely out of account. Happily all the princes with the solitary exception of Hyderabad have wisely decided to accede to either of the Dominions and Hyderabad is also carrying on negotiations with the States Department of the Government of India and it is hoped, will also follow suit.

Section 7 (1) (b) of the Act merely provides for the termination of the paramourty and suzerainty of

6. *Ibid*, para 58.

the Crown over the Indian States and along with that, as a necessary corollary, of all treaties and agreements in force, all functions exercisable by the Crown on that date with respect to the States, all its obligations to the States and all other rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by the Crown under treaty, grant, usage, sufferance, etc., as all these derived only from the paramountcy of the Crown. However, although the section in question does not provide anything in place of the British paramountcy that lapses, it does not also preclude the States from negotiating some form of relationship with either of the new neighbouring Dominions. On the contrary, the statements of the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General in the House of Commons at different stages of the progress of the Bill as also the pronouncements of the Viceroy make the intention of the British Government clear beyond doubt that they should enter by negotiation into some form of relations with the successor Governments in regard to matters of common concern which were so long regulated by paramountcy. Section 7 (1) (c) provides for a similar termination of existing treaties and agreements of the British Government with the tribal authorities, thus leaving the field open for the successor governments to negotiate and enter into fresh agreements with the tribal jirgas or assemblies. Provision is made in the same Section of the Act for the continuance during the transition period of the provisions of the existing agreements relating to Customs, Communications, or such other matters until the provisions in question are denounced by either side or superseded by fresh agreements. This is just to avoid possible dislocation in the transition period.

In the light of the discussion so far and on going through the terms of the Instrument of Accession framed at the instance of Lord Mountbatten and as finally agreed to by the Government of India and the representatives of the Indian States one cannot resist the conclusion that the Rulers of States would be definitely gainers as a result of accession to the Indian Union. Because in the first place the area in respect of which they subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the Dominion authorities is strictly limited and defined by the terms of the Instrument. Secondly, it is provided that the terms of the Instrument would not be varied except with the consent of the acceding States, whereas in the previous regime there was no such limit placed on the discretion of the Paramount Power which varied its jurisdiction as occasion demanded. Further, it is expressly provided that in subscribing to the Instrument a Ruler would not commit himself in any way to the acceptance of the constitution that would eventually be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly or to enter into arrangements with the future Government of India that would be set up under such constitution. Lastly, it is definitely stated in paragraph 8 of the Instrument that nothing in it will affect the continuance of the Rulers' sovereignty in and over his State or the rights and powers enjoyed by the Ruler except to the extent provided by or under the Instrument.*

(To be continued)

* Based on a talk given before the Rotary Club, Dacca Branch, on 14th September, 1947.

:O:-

THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AND BREAK-DOWN OF THE BENGAL ADMINISTRATION

The Political and Administrative Context

By RAI BAHADUR BEJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI

THE State, by all canons of political philosophy, is an institution to work for the common good of all that constitute its components. It must at least conform to the elementary postulate that it works for the greatest good of the greatest number and that it attempts to secure the willing co-operation and allegiance of all or at least of the largest bulk of the citizens that compose it. That allegiance must be a willing allegiance based on the faith in the rightness of the ideology and in the sense of justice and fairplay of the individuals or the party that wield power. As Prof. Laski puts it :

"Allegiance is an attitude of the mind and only naked coercion can bind men to purposes which their minds deny. Any State, therefore, which desires to put its claims upon a basis more profound than the formal has to win the obedience by consent, and not exact it by coercion."—(*State in Theory and Practice*, page 213).

There are, further, its political and administrative aspects.

The State has to function through its legislature and through the agency of its administrative staff. It is essential, therefore, that the laws its legislature passes should be just and based on sound principles recognised as such. The officials that run the administration must be honest, efficient in the discharge of their duties and neutral in politics, that the taxes it raises are imposed with fairness and justice, with due regard to the well-being of the social organism as a whole, and above all that it maintains with firmness and impartiality the basic minimum of law and order which alone can ensure orderly life. If the State legislature develops a partisan outlook and passes laws which are either thoughtless or unsound in principle or directed to injure a section of the common organism and to benefit another by sacrificing those principles as have been accepted by the juristic world as being the fundamental tenets of legislation, the State, and its legislature, forfeits claims to lawful obedience. If the State, and its agency, imposes

taxation and in so imposing transgresses again the accepted principles of taxation or having raised the taxation either wastes the amount so collected or uses it for purposes of a section or a party at the cost of others the State forfeits its claims again to the willing consent of the citizens to such imposition of taxation or the collection thereof. If the State again develops a bureaucracy as its agent which is partisan in politics or inefficient in discharging its duties towards the social organism as a whole, or is dishonest and corrupt, the State has no rightful claims on the loyalty of its constituents. If in developing the agency of administration the State formulates rules, under whatever garb or verbiage, of political philosophy which deceive none but the unwary and the ignoramuses, which bar efficient and competent men coming into work for the social organism and raise sectional or communal bars, it exposes itself to the possibility of denial of taxes by the citizens and to an outburst of frustration as a challenge against injustice. Bertrand Russell has well-observed that

"Where some class containing individuals of energy and ability is debarred from desirable careers there is an element of instability (in the State) which is likely to lead to rebellion sooner or later."—(Bertrand Russell's *Power*, page 101).

II

India had been under a non-national State, though such a concept transgresses the fundamental postulates of a State as recognised in the science or philosophy of politics. This non-national State was challenged during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 without success. Individuals since then had rebelled but were dealt with under the Law of Sedition. It was in 1906 again, when in spite of popular opposition the Province of Bengal was partitioned by Lord Curzon, there was a mass flare-up challenging this action of the State. This challenge, started in Bengal, never cooled down to extinction though occasionally it subsided to controllable size—on the other hand, it spread itself to other provinces. The emotional outburst was great and expressed itself in a firm resolve to boycott British goods, in the establishment of secret societies, in anarchical crimes. The Government of the day met it by recourse to Regulation III of 1818 which provided for deportation without trial, amended the criminal laws to facilitate trial of the challengers, etc. It also tried to widen the scope of constitutional growth, by expansion of power and authority of legislature and of local bodies. After this mass challenge—not of the entire mass it is true at the start but of a section—which however went on growing, for national emotion is infectious in every country. The first instalment of Self-Government was provided by what is known as Morley-Minto Scheme of 1908. This was a very small concession which failed to evoke any enthusiasm and the unrest continued. The partition of Bengal which had started this flare-up continued till it was modified in 1912. The 1908 reforms, however, instituted a system of Separate Electorates by religious communities which has been held up by Imperial Britain as

the high water mark of Imperial statesmanship and by nationalist India as a piece of Machiavellianism unparalleled in the history of man, unparalleled so far in the history of the dealings of one group of human community with another. In the present State of India—40 years after this poisonous seed was sown—with scientific precision—the growth of the tree is hurting every form of integrated self-expression and is the direct and definite result of the poison so subtly injected and so assiduously nursed by the British Imperialist agents in India operating in diverse spheres since then. This is the opinion of all Nationalists (Hindus, Muslims and of other sections) and, as will be shown, by certain right-thinking Englishmen and non-British Europeans

III

The first world war brought forth the pronouncement of 1917—a responsible Government in India. Mr. Montagu as the Secretary of State came down to India and formulated the details of the proposals which—known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report—took shape as the Government of India Act of 1919 and introduced in the provinces a system of part-responsible government, known as Dyarchy. But though the Report condemned the Communal Electorate, the principle yielded to policy. Later on, the Simon Commission sat, saw the evil effects, and, while recommending its restriction, agreed to its continuance. Then came the enquiry into the conditions of the so-called depressed classes. People economically depressed live in every country and in Bengal it could be demonstrated that social habits had nothing to do with the economic status of a class. Individuals of the Saha and the Subarna-Banik communities have more wealth than any Brahmin could boast of. Mr. Porter of the Indian Civil Service, Superintendent of Census for Bengal of 1931, reported that for the Administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal does not exist (*Census of India*, Vol. V, page 497). But it was not on facts or on realities that the British Imperialist's group of little Englanders wanted to develop the future of Anglo-Indian relationship. Undaunted by facts, the policy of developing fissiparous tendencies in the social organism was ruthlessly pursued. The same policy was solidly embodied in the communal decision, misnamed as Award, in 1934, in which not only the separate electorate system was developed further for the group of Mahomedans whom the British Imperialist had so carefully nursed up and designated as Muslim Leaguers but was extended further to sections of Hindu community. The development of the Muslim League through the Nawab of Dacca by subsidies granted to him as grants for rehabilitation of a bankrupt zemindari in 1906-7 has already been discussed in *The Modern Review* of November, 1946. The modification of the partition of Bengal smoothed down the extreme agitation but could not meet eventually the political aspirations which had been stirred to a high pitch. The first world war followed,

in which on the one hand India's contribution in men and money had been large, on the other hand, the political expectations both of men in the army and of those who in connection with war went abroad and of those again who stayed back, went higher. Congress wanted to guide the recalcitrants and even with the full consciousness that a group of Muslims was being used to play the traitor and to obstruct nation-building work, to the detriment of a community of Indians converted to Islamic faith, India's political leaders agreed to appease the vocal renegades. Separate electorate was reluctantly permitted to continue as the medium of representation, provided they joined in the political demand. But this pact of 1917, known as the Lucknow Pact, had the same outcome as what the experience of the world had always demonstrated, that is, immoral means never leads to moral ends. Surrender to immoral demands never led to an extinction of immorality or to a realisation of the moral purposes of life. What appeasement ultimately leads to, the second World War has fully demonstrated. It adds to immorality. It sharpens the appetite of and emboldens the unscrupulous. Hitler was convinced that Chamberlain was afraid and so he went straight on his way. In England and in the English character and social life there are two definite strains—one standing for justice, fairplay and the application of the democratic attitude to the solution of problems and the other for selfishness, arrogance, based on superiority complex and autocratic dictatorship. Nowhere are the two strains more apparent than in the oscillation of the policies affecting the colonial peoples. The Imperialists of Great Britain, with a hypocritical democratic pose, argued that the pact about Separate Electorate could not be interfered with, but of course, the other part of the pact—the very basic reason of the pact—the demand for immediate self-government could not be conceded.

The Communal Award came in 1934 and ensured ultimately that the Bengal Legislature would have 250 members of whom 119 will be elected by separate Electorate for Mahomedans, 30 would be elected out of the newly discovered depressed classes, by a modified separate Electorate—modified from purely communal electorate at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi who, to secure the modification had started a fast unto death—that at least 20 would be elected by the European community, which was given a representation out of all proportion to its numerical strength. This travesty of a democracy was foisted on Bengal with a fanfare of proclamation to the world that powers were being handed over to the people. The Caste Hindus—who had been the *bete-noire* of a group of British Officials in the Indian Civil Services for being in the front rank in the struggle for national freedom—was sought to be pushed down and if possible exterminated. The communal electorate, the Communal Award, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, brought out a constitution for Bengal which hasn't yet been probed and analysed in

all its detailed workings and in all its tragic consequences. Immediately after it was set up, it set about working for the destruction of all that stands for Bengali culture and civilisation—the culture and civilisation that even in recent times produced a Raja Rammohun Roy, a Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, a Ramakrishna Paramahansa, a Vivekananda, a Rabindranath Tagore, an Acharya Prafulla Chandra, an Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, a Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, a Sir Gurudas Banerjee, a Surendra Nath Banerjee, an Ananda Mohan Bose, a Ramananda Chatterjee, an Aurobindo Ghosh and numbers of others in every sphere. The Anglo-Mahomedan combine, thus organised by an Act of Parliament, created a legislature in which this combine could carry any bill into law. The group in the legislature, by a brute majority, devoted all their energy for the making of such laws only as would tend to uproot the Hindus from their economic position—a position which centuries of frugal, industrious and abstemious life and cultural eminence had built up. It legislated or pretended to legislate for education. That attempted educational legislation throughout had a communal bearing. It meant that in every committee or in every Board associated with education, representation of communities would be determined by the numbers of the community and failing that by a theory of weightage, on the basis of a fancied importance of a community which for obvious reasons of history, biology and sociology lagged behind the general march for education. The undeveloped and biased mind in the sphere of education works havoc. In the Executive at the top the Ministers of the majority Muslim community were to have not only pro-rata representation but practical and actual monopoly. It had unrestricted powers to issue rules by executive orders. The Cabinet stood on the strength of the communally-minded absolute majority, elected by a separate electorate which ensured extreme views. This was further aided and abetted by the European representatives which, very unfortunately for the reputation of England and more unfortunately for the very self-interests of English mercantile community too, joined up with all the forces that stood against nationalism. To that again was added a section of the group of Hindus selected from the intellectually but not necessarily economically backward classes scheduled as such. They with the lure of rewards of office and power were induced to play the traitors under the garb of democratic representation. To the credit of the scheduled classes it must be said that only a minority of their representatives elected to play the traitor—the majority of them were as true sons of India as anybody else.

It may be noted in parenthesis that the Englishmen in the services who shouted to the world against the alleged social tyranny of the caste system never admitted the Indian Members of the Indian Civil Service to the United Service Club and so eminent a man as Dr. P. K. Ray—a friend and fellow student of Haldane—when he went as Principal of Dacca

College was black-balled by the Dacca Club of which the majority members were red-nosed jute-wallas. In the name of democracy with the misused and camouflaged terms of political philosophy Bengal was given thus a system which put the moral and intellectual bankrupts of the social organism into positions of responsibility when this "responsibility" was introduced by the Act of 1919 and finally put into action by the Act of 1935. It was clearly the idea that the I.C.S. would be the *de facto* power in office though the so-called representatives of the people would be the showboys as the *de jure* authority. The less the moral and the intellectual competence of the so-called ministers the more the real power was expected to be left in the hands of the former. Immoral means, it may be repeated again, never lead to moral ends. For the time being they may have a seeming success. The result has been that the attempt completely broke down the moral stature of the Englishmen in India, broke down the traditions of the integrity of the administrative staff, broke down the efficiency of administration almost completely and let in conditions which Gandhiji described as 'organised anarchy.' The 'whole moral'—and many will contend even the legal—responsibility for all that has happened in tragic Bengal ever since 1906-8 rests on the shoulders of that party of British Imperialists which had thrown all principles of ethics, of morality and of humanity to the four winds and on their agents in India. It included not only such arch-protagonists of Colonial Slavery and imperial selfishness as Mr. Winston Churchill who fought for a United Europe and for a disunited India at one and the same time, who even during the war pleaded for union with the Englishman's hereditary enemy the French, yet did not hesitate to take measures to keep India under the heels of Imperial Britain. It included that exponent of liberalism John Morley whose liberal principles all evaporated when the chances of the imperial policy grabbing had to be risked. He consented to the introduction of that amazing technique, the communal electorate of Imperial Rule. Mr. G. T. Garratt, I.C.S. (Retd.), wrote in 1929 :

"The initiation of this principle (of Communal Electorate) in India was the greatest blunder that the British have ever committed. It has already eaten into the life of the people by 1918 and there was a strong enough body of opinion to insist upon its retention in the Montagu Reforms."—(*An Indian Commentary*, page 159).

Mr. Garratt was mistaken to term it a blunder. It was a deliberately thought-out scheme with the definite purpose of developing fissiparous tendencies in a helpless subject Colonial people. Honest Englishmen and still more the trusting Indians pleaded in vain.

"As the British have been the cause, even if the indirect and unwilling cause [Note—the Indians doubt the adjective] of most of the present friction it is clearly their duty to apply the knife rather than leave it to the patients to perform that difficult task."—(*Indian Commentary*, page 161).

The Simon Commission reiterated in a way similar conclusions. This group included also Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour orphan lost in the glitter of Imperial trappings. Logic plays small part in shaping Imperial politics, ethics plays still less. In 1922, Gandhiji agreed to go to the Round Table Conference to test if just principles could be evolved. He forgot that at the start of his Dandi march he was confronted by a sincere devotee with a black flag who to Gandhiji's utter astonishment had pleaded that Gandhiji's mission was based on a wrong diagnosis. Gandhiji wanted a change of heart in Imperialism which betrayed a "complete ignorance of so great a leader of the simple anatomy of 'Imperialism' which had no heart to change but had only a pocket to fill," said Meherali. The Round Table Conference ended, as was expected, in a failure. It proved once more that Imperialism had no heart to change but only a pocket to fill. Sir Samuel Hoare worked hard for Anglo-Muslim anti-National combine. In the name of Democracy something had to be done to vitalise the anti-national forces. Rules of Public Service Commission were evolved to put in the hands of a communal cabinet the means to organise the campaign by a process of wholesale bribery to pay the agents of the Muslim League, camouflaged as Public Servants, to be stationed at the tax-payers' cost (mainly Hindus) at every centre of administration.

IV

Communal representation in services is a unique institution. It needs careful analysis to explain its effect as the British have gilded it with bluffing phrases. Nationalist India believes that it was specially evolved to create a system of political patronage for the creation of political agents, to be distributed over the centres of administration, who are to function for the developing of fissiparous tendencies and who are to be paid for by the tax-payers. It should be noted that of the tax about 80 per cent is contributed by the Hindus. That this view is more than probably correct will be evident from the conduct, as will be shown later, of the British Imperialist group in power in 1933-1935 in the British Cabinet. The whole history of services in Great Britain in its rapid evolutionary march shows that the only principle which the British Reformers strongly adhered to was the complete dissociation of the public services from political patronage, selection and nepotism. In the 20th century, therefore, what the English group of Imperialists knew well was that all chances of political preferences must be eliminated, that the best of the social organism must be harnessed to run the machinery of administration to the best advantage of the society if the State was to function efficiently. So a fiction of the disability of the Mahomedans had to be built for propaganda purposes. The Hindus and the Mahomedans had had the same chances for education for the last 150 years. It is one of the claims of the British administration, often urged to justify its presence, that it provided equal opportunity to all. Education had been closely in

the hands of the British officials. The Chancellor of the University had been the Governor of the Province, the Director of Public Instruction had always been an Englishman right through till the end of the third decade of the 20th century. The power for educational grants, of affiliation of institutions, etc., lay in the hands of the Director, and of honours in that of the Chancellor. The Muslims were financially not well off, but the same was the case with most Hindus of the same strata to which the Muslims belonged when they changed their religion as converts, as is the fact today that when a Bengalee cultivator is converted to Christianity it does not put him immediately at par with the big wigs of the British commercial community in Clive Street as Christians. Education is a continuous process and not a coat of paint that can be applied at a moment's notice. Economic betterment is also a similar process. Naturally people whose aptitude by generations of culture has been improved hold the field.

Appointments to the Public Services in Bengal throughout the 19th century up to 1937 had been rigidly in the hands of the Britishers. All gazetted appointments in the Executive services were made by the Lieutenant-Governors and then by Governors till the year 1937 and they were made at the suggestion of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal which up till then had neither a Lt.-Governor, nor a Governor, nor a Chief Secretary who was not a Britisher. The Hindu did not come in the picture anywhere. In the judicial service all gazetted appointments were made by the Lt.-Governor and then by the Governor at the suggestion of the Hon'ble High Court, sent through the Chief Secretary. At High Court, the selection was made by the Senior I.C.S. Judge (in charge of the English Department as it was called) and the I.C.S. Registrar on the Appellate side. Till the beginning of the fourth decade of the 20th century no Indian (Hindu or Muslim) had been a senior I.C.S. Judge of the High Court in charge of the English Department, nor was any Indian (Hindu or Muslim) appointed as the I.C.S. Registrar of the High Court. The Hindu here too did not come into the picture. All gazetted appointments in the Education Department were made by the same process with the Director of Public Instruction as the Selecting authority. The Director of Public Instruction throughout has been a Britisher, up to the beginning of the fourth decade of the 20th century, either as a member of the I.C.S. or of the Indian Educational Service. The Hindu did not have any say in the matter at all. Similarly in the Medical and in the Engineering services, the first selection was made by the Surgeon-General and the Chief Engineer who were Britishers till the end of the third decade of the 20th century. The appointments in the Secretariat were made by certain tests held by the Secretaries to the Government—in Bengal there was no Indian as a Secretary till the second decade of the 20th century. The Hindu thus had no hand in making appointments here either. So far as non-gazetted or Ministerial appointments in Government

were concerned all powers were vested in the British members of the Imperial services. Till the August announcement of 1917 not even 10 per cent of the appointments was held in these services by Indians, much less by Hindus. It is a fact expressed in the written and published rules that although a Gazetted Indian Subordinate Judge can judicially dispose of cases valued at millions but the appointment of a Ministerial officer on Rs. 30 per month must depend upon the I.C.S. District Judge, probably of the age of the Subordinate Indian Judge's son and with a quarter of his probity, as many Privy Council judgements have proved. That on the executive side a Rai Bahadur Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, C.I.E.—and no name is more honoured in Bengal—who had to live through his life as a provincial service subordinate, could as a Magistrate dispose of cases of highest importance but had to depend on the pleasure of a District Magistrate—in most cases a callow British youth with integrity and probity not a fraction of his—for sanction of appointment of a minor official. It has often been given out that the British officers in the imperial services all over India hardly numbered a little over thousand but it should have been stated that all powers, big or small, which had any executive content of privilege or patronage, financial or otherwise, were concentrated in these thousand hands.

History will be hard put to find a parallel to this system of concentration of powers. Till 1920, it was the Imperial Service British group who decided on taxation, its methods and its distribution, who prepared the budget, initiated and carried out legislation, administered affairs of this vast aggregate to whom the Britisher as a rule was a complete stranger; the Britisher enjoyed all the privileges and honours, emoluments and the offices without sharing it with anyone, the Indian at best could expect some subordinate position gilded according to exigencies. All this is stated to prove that the allegation made by Muslims and so sedulously circulated by the British Imperialist group, that the Hindus had any hand in thwarting their progress was an unadulterated mass of lies. It was intended to circulate this to stir up jealousies, create resentment against the Hindus, and ultimately to start the stunt of communal representation in services, initiated, regularised, and perfected with British suggestion as will be explained later. The slow progress of education among Muslims was responsible for slow progress in the professions. This can be gathered from Sir W. Hunter's analysis of the Report of the Government Committee for Muslim Education appointed in 1871 in his book, *The Mussalmans of Bengal*, and Sir W. Hunter was never known as being pro-Hindu. Indeed some Indian nationalists go to the length of naming him as being the first I.C.S. Officer who started the anti-Hindu campaign of jealousy, by the book referred to, as a countermove to the Hindu-Muslim unity observed at the Sepoy Mutiny and that this campaign came out of fear inspired by the Muslim Wahabi campaign that resulted in the murder, by a Wahabi, of Justice Norris at the High Court of Cal-

cutta and of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, in the Andamans. Most of the reasons given by Hunter for the decline of Mussalmans of Bengal can be demonstrated from historically kept records to be untrue. He sought for special favour for Muslims. In the *Discovery of India*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has pointed out that the low intellectual level of the strata of Hindus, from which most of the Bengal Muslims were converted, together with their aversion to education and specially to English education, were responsible for their backwardness. The corresponding stratum of Hindus is equally backward educationally, as well as economically. Throughout the 19th century, a century of undivided British control of affairs of Bengal, and the first quarter of the 20th, the Hindu had the same opportunities as, if not less, were offered to the Muslims. There was, of course, no statutory preference in the beginning for any community. Later on, to checkmate the growth of nationalism, of whom the Bengalee Caste Hindus had been the chief protagonists, the vendetta against them had to be scientifically laid down and scientifically developed and so the communal award and the communal representation in services had to be developed. The Englishman knows that as against this fiction, got up with a purpose, of Hindus thwarting Muslims in Bengal, genuine grievances at one time existed in Britain of Roman Catholics who were by statute debarred from progress in his own country. It is worthwhile to discuss what they were and how they were solved. Maitland quotes from Blackstone's *Commentaries*, Vol. IV :

"Catholicism had been treated not as a mere religious error but as a grave political danger and, considering the risings of 1715 and 1745, we are perhaps not justified in condemning that treatment. How enormously severe the law was will appear from the following passage : Papists may be divided into three classes, (1) persons professing the Papist religion, besides the former penalties for not frequenting their Parish Church, are disabled from taking lands either by descent or purchase after eighteen years of age—until they renounce their errors : they must at the age of twenty-one, register their estates before acquired, and all future conveyances and wills relating to them ; they are incapable of presenting to any advowson (or granting to any other person any avoidance of the same), they may not keep or teach any school under pain of perpetual imprisonment ; and if they willingly say or hear mass they forfeit the one two hundred, the other one hundred marks, and each shall suffer a year's imprisonment. Thus much for persons, who from misfortunes of family prejudices or otherwise have conceived an unhappy attachment to the Romish Church from their infancy and publicly profess its errors. (2) Popish recusants convicted in a court of law for not attending the service of the Church of England are subject to the following disabilities and penalties : (i) they are considered as persons ex-communicated, they can hold no office or employment, they must not keep arms in their houses but the same may be seized by the Justices of the peace, they must not come within ten miles of London on pain of £100, they can bring no action at law or suit no equity, they are not permitted to travel above five miles from home unless by license upon pain of their forfeiting all their

goods and they may not come to Court under pain of 100 pounds ; (ii) a married woman, when recusant, shall forfeit two-thirds of her dower or jointure, may not be executrix or administratrix to her husband, nor have any part of his goods, and during the coverture may be kept in prison, unless her husband redeems her at the rate of 10 pounds a month or a third part of all his lands ; (iii) finally as a feme-covert, a recusant may be imprisoned ; so all others must within three months renounce their errors and must abjure and renounce the realm, if so required and if they do not depart or if they return without King's license they shall be guilty of felony and suffer death as felons without benefit of clergy.

"Such were the laws against Catholics—the result of a series of statutes extending from the reign of Elizabeth to that of George II.

"From both Houses of Parliament Catholics were excluded by the declaration against transubstantiation."—(Maitland's *Constitutional History of England*, pages 517-20).

This is the kindness, charity, tolerance shown by Englishmen to Roman Catholic Englishmen in their homeland. A part still persisted of these disabilities till 1867. The King even now forfeits the Crown by marrying a Papist. The Roman Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1835, the disabilities barring appointments, professions, education, even University degrees for the Roman Catholics, after operation for a number of centuries, were removed.

How do these disabilities compare with the fictions of disabilities imposed by Hindus who had no power over the Mahomedans ? The disabilities of the Muslims were never in existence except the disabilities inherent in biological and historical past. When the British Imperialist group wanted the campaign against Hindus in general, and Caste Hindus in particular, as an offset against Indian nationalism, the technique finalised by Hitler-cum-Goebels was resorted to by British-cum-Muslim-cum-non-Caste Hindus. Every possible and impossible untruth and half-truth was developed into a philosophy and preached by the reactionary group in the services and used by them for introducing fissiparous administrative measures. It was they who wrote up reports and represented as facts the fiction they wanted to be circulated. Were the Roman Catholics provided with communal representation in the services, in trade, in commerce, in education, in England to make good the losses to which they were so atrociously subjected by Statutory and executive orders when they were emancipated in 1835 ? None at all. Was their economic difference from the Protestants statutorily brought about or sought to be eliminated by legalised freebootery ? Certainly not. It is this which marks the difference between an integrating national state, smoothing down the rankling sores of undoubted injustices, and a non-national state developing fictions and nightmares, stirring up jealousies and, by constant writing and propaganda, raising fictions to truths stratifying and stereotyping them so that parts may continuously disintegrate. Immoral means never lead to moral ends nor even to good material ends. The group in the

imperial services who, to hurt India, initiated, developed and legalised communal representation in services is under liquidation, along with the services as a whole though many good men to whom India was indebted were tarred for no fault of theirs. So strong is the emotion that today when these services are liquidated not one regret is expressed by an Indian though they recognise that in spite of the intriguing and designing group of black sheep they had men who in diverse spheres had rendered magnificent services to India.

We may turn to state in brief how the fiction of Muslim injustice was sought to be met.

To enable the communally elected Cabinet to have the freedom to exercise unrestricted nepotism, the Government of India Act passed by the British Parliament restricted the powers of the Public Service Commission—the one bulwark in every country against political nepotism. Section 266 of the Government of India Act of 1935 provided :

"Nothing shall require a Public Service Commission to be consulted as respects the manner in which appointments and posts are to be allocated as between the various communities in the Federation or Province."

Immediately after, the cabinet of Muslim Leaguers and Scheduled Caste Ministers came to power aided by the brute majority which Ramsay MacDonald had, with a conscience obscured completely by the trappings of Downing Street which the generous Tories had condoned to provide him with, made secure. It started a show of impartial procedure and entrusted Mr. McSharpe of the Indian Civil Service with the task of drawing up a scheme which could cover up political nepotism under the show of democratic principles. Mr. (now Mr. Justice) McSharpe's formula was embodied in a rule framed by the Government and circulated to all offices under the designation of 'Communal Ratio in Services Rules.' In brief the rules provided that 50 per cent of the new recruits would be selected from the Mahomedan community and not less than twenty and not more than thirty per cent would be recruited from the Scheduled Castes and the residuary 20 per cent from all the other castes, i.e., castes other than those 'Scheduled' for all other communities and including Anglo-Indians, Jains, Buddhists and others. It may be noted here that in all the different examinations held by the Universities, the group to which 20 per cent of public services have been conceded provides near about 98 per cent of the First Class Honours men or the top candidates in any open competitive examination. As stated before the Government of India Act had specially permitted the Government of a Province the discretion for the allocation of the number of appointments to different communities unhampered by the Public Services Commission. The Bengal Public Service Commission Law enacted on the authority of Section 266 of the Government of India Act, provided the public services commission with no powers to interfere in the Rules (Communal Ratio) enunciated by the McSharpe formula. It was the British legislative instinct, the British

administrative experience, the British Constitutional background which evolved, ratified and legalised the procedure of unabashed nepotism in the Public Services, which had no parallel in the British Isles. The Public Services Commission of Bengal was presided over by a British Member of the Indian Civil Service, who retired on a pension for this appointment and to which pension was added the sum of Rs. 3,000 per month. He was aided by two Indians whose selection, though constitutionally made by the Governor, is in practice made on the choice of the President. The Commission has an Indian Secretary selected by the President. The expenses on the Commission thus are as high as permitted by any State in the world though the calibre of the personnel has not always been high, as the selection to the body, as often is the case in India, is seldom by merit and more often by favour. Cribbed and cabined though it is, the personnel makes the best recommendations under the limitations it can. But even the use of the very limited power it exercises, received from the Muslim League Cabinet scant consideration. This fact is thus described by the Sir Archibald Rowland's *Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee of 1944-45*, paragraph 258. In the course of their evidence the (Public Services) Commission stated that

"(1) They had not always been satisfied that the reasons for the non-acceptance of their advice were the public interests ;

(2) The Government were all too prone to ignore their own rules regarding consultation with the Commission.

Paragraph 259. We are told that in accordance with a decision taken in November, 1939, the Commission submits annually to His Excellency the Governor :

(a) A full and frank report in the form of a note for the information of His Excellency the Governor and the Ministers ;

(b) An abridged (and bowdlerized) draft report for publication.

The first is not for publication and is not printed. It is laid down that the second report should be primarily a record of the work of the Commission and the manner of its presentation should avoid criticism of Government beyond a statement that in such and such cases the advice of the Commission was not accepted.

Paragraph 260. In our opinion this practice is unsatisfactory and stifles legitimate criticism."

The practice persisted in spite of the remarks.

V

The percentage of seats that is reserved for the different communities even in the hitherto unheard of system of communal electorate is worked out on data and on premises which consciously or unconsciously are over-weighted against the Hindus. The seats in the legislature, if communal representation was at all permissible, should have been *pro rata* to adults. It is the adults alone who are capable of exercising citizenship rights. But this did not suit the purpose and the policy of the imperialist group. The purpose and the policy had been to carry on in Bengal the vendetta against Hindus generally and Caste Hindus in particular for the unpardonable crime of being pioneers of nationalism. The proportion therefore was calculated

on a basis which included even suckling babies. Even there the proportion for Muslims was not at all less and if anything rather more than what the exact mathematics would warrant. Then came forth the Cabinet Mission, which was apparently briefed by the same agency that developed the separate communal electorate and drew up the draft for the communal award of Premier Ramsay Macdonald who had been so obligingly hospitable to Miss Mayo and that probably sent a Beverley Nichols to India and Bengal lest English and foreign youths then in the army in India felt any inexcusable interest to know the truth about India first hand, the same agency that arranged for distribution of Miss Mayo's book among members of the British Parliament before the book could find its way to India to be adjudged later as "drain inspector's report" by Gandhiji and which agency probably organised the presentation of the purse to General Dyer for his great and unprecedented gallantry in shooting down with machine guns harmless unarmed Indians (men, women, children) to create, as the gallant General himself put it, "frightfulness." The Mission wrote: "Owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each provincial legislature assembly are *not* in proportion to their numbers in the province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total though they form 53 per cent of the provincial population." This statement of the Cabinet Mission was a blatant untruth. Of the 250 seats of the Bengal Assembly 34 seats are on non-communal basis from electorates which include Hindus as well as Mahomedans. Only 216 seats are reserved for the communal electorate. These 216 are distributed thus:

119 or 55.1 per cent are reserved for Mahomedans whom form 54.7 per cent of the population; 2 or somewhat less than 1 per cent are reserved for Indian Christians who form 0.2 per cent of the population; 11 or 5.1 per cent are reserved for Europeans who form .04 per cent of the population; 4 or 1.8 per cent are reserved for Anglo-Indians who form .05 per cent of the population; 80 or 37 per cent are shared by the non-Muslim general by Hindus (41.5 per cent), Buddhist (.25 per cent) Jains, Sikhs, Parsis and Jews.

The proportion of 5.1 per cent of Europeans who in number represent .04 per cent of the population was secured by cuts not from the Muslims for whom the Cabinet Mission pretended to assume an attitude of Englishmen's 'sense of justice' in dealing with Indian problems, but from unfortunate Hindus. Europeans have built up their trade, have controlled jute, tea, shipping, have certainly enriched England. Their contribution to endowments for the good of the unfortunate province where they had their fountain-head of prosperity is less than even 1 per cent as an analysis of the endowments for medical college, for university, etc., will demonstrate. It is probably for this relentless pursuit of self-interest that they needed weightage in Bengal Legislature. While Bengalees

Hindus who contributed to the culture and the growth of Bengal—from before Sankaracharya, in the days of Chaitanya to the days of Ramakrishna, who produced philosophers, poets (Jaydeb, Chandidas, Madhusudan, Rabindranath and others), scientists, litterateurs, statesmen, etc., contributed 90 p.c. and over of endowments to Universities, and medical colleges, and still pay more than 80 per cent to the fees funds of secondary education, not only were given no weightage in their own provincial legislature (given less than 37 per cent while the population percentage was 41.5 per cent) but were robbed of their due share to make room for "patriotic" Europeans. They had no share of the compassion of the Cabinet Mission as even that was reserved for Muslims. Thus did the Bengal Hindus fare under the hypocritical democratic pose of Englishmen in power.

VI

How the remarkable system of communal preferences works only a careful on-looker can discern. The European group of Legislators who, as already stated, got over fifty times the representation their numerical strength would justify, supported the communal Cabinet almost in every attempt made by the rest, i.e., all non-Muslim Leaguers, to secure justice and to put a brake on to the progress of communalism. In India—and in Bengal—the Muslim group started a Muslim Chamber of Commerce and got recognition by the Southborough Committee. This Muslim Chamber had always the support, subject to their own self-interests, of the members of the British Commercial community. Was there ever a Roman Catholic Chamber of Commerce or a Greek Church Port Trust in any part of the world? But a Muslim Chamber of Commerce is not merely possible but became a reality in Bengal with the aid of British Commerce, of British manned committees, of a British dominated administration with British Imperialists at "Home" to suggest and to inspire probity as prelude to Pakistan. This was part of the policy that Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Lloyd organised for the Anglo-Muslim combine after the Round Table Conference in 1932 had broken up. The representatives of British Commerce of Bengal on return from that Round Table Conference of 1932 issued a confidential circular to other British firms which is revealing and is quoted below. It was the direct result of that combine and gives an insight as to how policies formulated are concretised in details. The circular summarised the result of the Round Table Conference thus:

"The Muslims were a solid and enthusiastic team. They played their parts with great skill throughout; *they promised us support and they gave it in full measure.* In return they asked us (the Europeans) that we should not forget their economic plight in Bengal and we should do what we can to find place for them in European firms so that they may have a chance to improve their material position and the general standing of their community."

"On the whole there was *one policy of the British nation and the British in India and that was to make up our minds, on a national policy and stick to it.* After the general elections (of 1932) *the right wing of the British Government made up*

its mind to break up the conference and fight the Congress. The Muslims who do not want responsibility at the Centre were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with Provincial Autonomy with a promise of central reforms. The Muslims have become firm allies of the Europeans. They are very satisfied with their own position and are prepared to work with us."—(*Communalism in India* by Abdul Majid, page 42).

Mr. Majid is a Muslim though not a Muslim Leaguer.

The consultative committee of the Round Table Conference met in the Viceroy's House at Delhi on Monday, 22nd February, 1932, under the Presidency of the Viceroy. Mr. A. Majid writes :

"Its Muslim members, obviously inspired by certain civilians and Churchillians, threatened obstruction with the result that men like Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru were effectively cowed. At that meeting Chowdhuri Zafarullah Khan urged the Viceroy to press upon the British Government the necessity of pronouncing an immediate decision on those questions which were before the Minorities Committee.

A Government of India despatch followed and the Executive fiat of the civilian members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, in consultation with the Muslim Executive Councillors, was later on—in August, 1932—announced, with very slight modifications (if any), by the Premier as the British Cabinet's Award."—(*Communalism in India* by Abdul Majid, page 45).

This Award goes by the name of Premier Ramsay MacDonald. Prof. Laski was interviewed in his Chamber in the London University by an Indian on a visit to London in November, 1937. He was asked to define the principles behind the pseudo-democracy that was being foisted on India under the Communal Award and Separate Electorate. The great Professor was told that he and Mr. Wickham Stead had been keenly criticising Hitler and Mussolini about their undemocratic ways (in 1937) and so, as British public men, they must explain their reactions to the particular brand of democracy that in the name of the British people was being foisted on India. Prompt was the Professor's reply :

"The Labour Party is not responsible. Ramsay MacDonald, in spite of protests, gave the Award on the advice of the India Office backed by the Indian Civil Service and the Government of India. But India was not shouting enough against it."

The Congress, outwitted in this game of political dishonesty, of bribing Muslim intransigence, could "neither accept" it because it was so immoral and anti-national, nor "reject" it lest its apple-cart of appeasement policy towards Muslim intransigence would be upset. Between the inspiration, help and action of the Imperialist die-hard groups of British politics, of British Commerce and the British services that were placed firmly on the saddle of India's destiny, with the aid of rich largesse distributed to Muslims without any opposition from the inexperienced and immature 'bearded babies' (with apologies to Swami Vivekananda) of Indian nationalist politics who had nothing but appeasement to offer as bribes, the Muslim League could take long strides. From nullity to minority,

from minority to a separate nation was an easy run. From the safeguarding of culture (taking it for granted that it has a separate culture) to Homeland for a separate nation (of converts) was likewise an easy run. The legislature created by British Imperialism ensured an overwhelming majority of Muslims, elected by separate electorates, which again ensured extreme communalism. It was aided and abetted by the representatives of the British commercial interests, whose representation was many times more than what their number could warrant. There was the minorities pact and the understanding as stated above between the Muslims and the British non-official interests to support each other. The British officials in the Imperial services had at least a group—an important group—which drew their inspiration from the non-official interest-holders and exceptionally few European members of the services had the courage, stamina, or even the sense of justice, to resist the pressure of British commercial interests to act to the detriment of those of the Indians. A Hindu official could never cross the threshold of the Congress even as a visitor and more than one Hindu officer got into hot-water for using "Khaddar"—the Indian homespun. But the British officials could be associate members of the European Association—an Association which safeguarded the political rights and monopolies of the Europeans in India and often aggressively fought the Indians against any movement towards getting their elementary political rights in their own country. The privileges of associating with political leaders had been extended to Muslim officials and Presidents of Muslim League conferences and active members of the Muslim League were known to have been received and kept as guests by European as well as Muslim officials, even when they were known to have gone on avowedly political missions. The Ministers rested on the support of the Muslim-cum-European legislators in their framing of laws, in their executive and administrative action. No protest by others was of any avail. During the budget debate for 1947-48 not a single motion, not a single resolution was either accepted or allowed even to modify the attitude of the Communal Ministry. Yet the Bengalee Hindus contributed over 80 per cent of the Revenue of the old province, over 95 per cent of the endowments for education to the Calcutta University, over 90 per cent of the endowments for Medical Education and Medical relief. Well-known social service organisations like Ramakrishna Mission, etc., are financed overwhelmingly by Hindus and run exclusively by Hindus but cater for all, irrespective of caste and community, whoever may be in distress. But, as stated before, the Bengalee Hindus from their very position, culture and activities for freedom are the *bête noire* of the Imperial groups in service, in commerce and in British politics. This in brief is the history of the Legislature and of the administrative machinery that had been created for administering the affairs of sixty-two millions of people of a province which once was regarded as the Garden of India.

(To be continued)

INDIANS IN NATAL

Smuts-Gandhi Agreement and After

By PROF. SUDHANSUBIMAL MUKHERJI, M.A.

NATAL, one of the four continent units of the Union of South Africa, has the largest Indian population of the Union. According to the latest census figures available, the Indian settlers of Natal number 183,646.

An acute labour famine had been threatening the nascent sugar industry of Natal in 1860. Native labour was unreliable. Some Chinese labourers imported in 1857-58 had proved unsuitable and had to be repatriated. All avenues of having a regular supply of efficient labour having been explored with no effect, the Government of India was approached with a request for the supply of labourers. The Indian Government agreed and allowed a few Indian labourers to go to South Africa as an experiment. The S.S. *Truro* left Bombay on October 13, 1860, with the first batch of Indian labourers and weighed anchor at Durban on November 16.

The Indian labourers—'coolies' in common parlance—including a statutory proportion of women, were taken at public expense and assigned to masters for three years under indenture. An indentured 'coolie' was entitled to a wage of 10s. a month in the first year plus free board and a free bed. The wages rose to 12s. in the third year. At the end of the third year a 'coolie' had to re-indenture for a year or two. He might however compound at the rate of £2 10s. for each of these years. On completion of 5 years' stay in Natal a labourer had the choice of either a free passage home or to crown lands the cost of the passage. The indenture-expired Indian settlers in Natal had their freedom of movement severely restricted and could move from one place to another only with passes. Their marriages, unless registered with the protector of Indian immigrants, were not valid in the eye of the law. There were other severe restrictions besides. Gokhale's terse comment gives an exact idea of the condition of the indentured labourers. Referring to the system he said :

"Such a system, by whatever name it may be called, must really border on the servile."

The passage of time did not bring in any improvement of the lot of the Indian settlers in Natal. On the contrary, there was a steady deterioration.

Almost immediately after Natal had been granted self-government (1893), the Indian settlers were deprived of their parliamentary franchise. An Act of Natal legislature in 1896 laid down that in future no Asiatic's name would be entered on the electoral rolls. The notorious £3 tax had come into force the year before (1895). It required every ex-indentured Indian man above 16 and woman above 13 to pay a tax of £3 per annum. This tax "caused," we quote Gokhale again,

"enormous suffering, resulted in breaking up families, driving men to crime and women to a life of shame."

A law of 1897 banned the entry of Indians into Natal except under indenture. Unrestricted admission of Indians, it was argued, would disturb the social equi-

brum and lower the coolies' standard of living. The Dealers' Licences Act passed in the same year sought to restrict the issue of trading licences to Indians. A move to cancel the trade licences of all Indian traders was foiled through the intervention of the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for Colonies (1908).

A proclamation of Queen Victoria issued immediately after the annexation of Natal in 1843 said, *inter alia* :

"There shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever, framed upon mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike."

During a century of British rule the principle thus solemnly laid down has been violated again and again. The pages of South African history like those of the Anglo-Indian are strewn over with "fragments of broken pledges." White Natal seems to have forgotten the inconvenient truth that the prosperity of the 'Garden Colony' has been built up principally by the toil of the indentured labourers from India.

"That may be taken as characteristic of an inconsistency of attitude," says Hofmeyer, "which runs through the story of the relations between Europeans and Asiatics, which was caused in no small measure by men's pre-occupation with other issues, and consequent failure to think out logically the problems which these relations brought with them."*

These and similar other humiliations imposed upon Indians in Natal and also in the Transvaal led to the launching of 'Satyagraha' under the leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, a lawyer from Western India—the Mahatma of today. Indians at home heard of the unique struggle of their brethren overseas. Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, publicly spoke highly of passive resistance against discriminatory laws. Addressing an Indian audience at Madras he said :

"Your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters in their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust. They have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country."

He also requested the Secretary of State for India to appoint a Commission to enquire into the atrocities perpetrated on the 'Satyagrahis.'

Correspondence between Field Marshal (then General) Smuts and Mahatma Gandhi at last culminated in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement (1914). The Solomon Commission appointed by the Union Government accepted the demands of Gandhi. The Agreement, Smuts hoped, would lead to "a complete and final

settlement of the controversy, which unfortunately, not unnaturally though, has become more acrimonious than ever. The Indian Relief Act of 1914 abolished the £3 tax and recognised Hindu and Muslim marriages.

The anti-Indian sentiment in Natal did not however die down, nor did the anti-Indian agitation abate. The Government too persisted in its policy of imposing disability after disability upon the Indian settlers.

The anti-Indian activities of the Union Government reached their climax in the years immediately following the Great War. Field Marshal Smuts openly declared in the Imperial Conference of 1921 :

"The whole basis of our particular system in South Africa rests on inequality . . . it is the bed-rock of our constitution . . . you cannot give political rights to the Indians which you deny to the rest of coloured citizens in South Africa."

Agitation was now started to curtail the rights of Asiatics to land, to residence in urban areas and to obtain trade licences. A Commission—the Lange Commission—was appointed by the Government to investigate into all aspects of the alleged 'Asiatic Menace.' The Commission's findings were to the following effect :

"There was no material increase in Indian licences nor any serious ground for the fear of miscegenation in the future ;

The Asiatic 'bazaars' were insanitary and neglected by the municipalities ;

The Indian merchants' standard of living was in no way inferior to that of the ordinary well-to-do classes amongst Europeans ;

The Indian population in any province could not increase except by the normal excess of births over deaths ; and

The cry of Asiatic menace was exaggerated and ill-founded."

The Lange Commission observed, *inter alia* :

"We find ourselves wholly unable to support the policy of repression which was advocated by some of the witnesses. Indiscriminate segregation of Asiatics in locations and similar restrictive measures would result in eventually reducing them to helotry. Such measures, apart from their injustice and inhumanity, would degrade the Asiatic and react upon the European."

The Lange Commission in spite of its findings and observation quoted above recommended, paradoxically enough, the retention of the existing anti-Asiatic laws, the extension of their scope and the introduction of new restrictive measures. It recommended, for example, that the Asiatic's right to purchase land for cultivation should be limited to 20 or 30 miles only towards the hinterland from the coast. It recommended further the introduction of a system of voluntary segregation under which municipalities should have the right to lay out separate residential and commercial areas to which Indians should be gradually attracted.

When the Natal Indians were deprived of their parliamentary franchise in 1896, they had been solemnly assured that their municipal franchise would never be interfered with. Within 30 years the Government had gone back on its plighted word and deprived them of municipal franchise.

On his return from the Imperial Conference of 1923, Field Marshal Smuts declared that the Indian question was a purely domestic affair of South Africa. The Class Areas Bill of Mr. Patrick Duncan, the Home Minister of the Union Government, sought to deprive the Indians of the rights to residence, trade and land-owning in Natal, to cripple their economic life in the Transvaal and to restrict their right of entry into the Union of South Africa. The Bill was drafted, in a word, with the sole object of crippling the Indian community of South Africa in all possible ways. The Indian community, naturally enough, grew apprehensive. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was in Kenya at the time (1924), paid a visit to South Africa at the request of the Indian settlers there. Her suggestion for an amicable solution of the Indian problem was disregarded. The election of the Union Parliament in the meanwhile became imminent and the Bill was dropped for its highly controversial nature. After the elections were over, it was revived under a new name in 1925. The notorious Areas Reservation Bill, sponsored by Dr. Malan, Mr. Duncan's successor in office, proposed that henceforward Asiatics in urban areas would be permitted to live, trade and acquire property only in locations specially reserved for them.

Great and voluminous was the opposition against the Bill. The Union Government at last agreed to summon a conference of its own representatives with those of the Government of India. The Indian delegation led by Sir Mohammad Habibullah and the Union representatives met in a Round Table Conference at Cape Town. Their deliberations culminated in the First Cape Town Agreement (1927). The joint statement of the two Governments arrived at the following settlement of the Indian question :

(1) "Both Governments reaffirm the recognition of the right of the Union of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

(2) The Union Government recognises that Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so.

(3) The Union Government has agreed to organise a scheme of assisted immigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required, that Union domicile will be lost after three years' continuous absence, this provision to apply generally and not only to Indians. Further, the Indians desiring to return to the Union within three years must refund the cost of the assistance granted to them under the emigration scheme.

(4) The Government of India recognised the obligation to look after Indians on their arrival in India.

(5) The Union Government agreed not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation Bill.

(6) Both Governments agreed to watch the working of the agreement, exchanging views from time to time."

It was further agreed that the wives and minor children of Indian settlers would be admitted into the Union on certain conditions. An Indian Agent-General was stationed at Cape Town, the late Srinivas Shastry

being the first incumbent of the office. The designation was subsequently changed into High Commissioner.

The results of the Cape Town Agreement fell far short of the expectations of Indians as well as of Western South Africans. The latter were disappointed because the scheme of 'assisted immigration' did not lead to any appreciable decrease in the number of Indian settlers, who, on the other hand, complained that the Union Government did not implement many of the pledges given in the Cape Town Agreement. Truth to tell, very little has been done for Indian education. Sanitary measures and housing arrangements are quite inadequate in areas inhabited by Indians. The doors of all vocational education, teachers' training being the lone exception, are closed to them. They are not admitted into Natal University College. An Indian can obtain a trade licence only with the greatest difficulty.

Indian and South African delegates met in a conference in January-February, 1932, and concluded the Second Cape Town Agreement (1932). Two of the principal clauses of the Agreement were :

(1) "Both the Governments consider that the Cape Town Agreement has been a powerful influence in fostering friendly relations between them and that they should continue to co-operate in the common object of harmonising their respective interests in regard to Indians resident in the Union."

(2) "It was recognised that the possibilities of the Union's scheme of assisted immigration to India are now practically exhausted owing to economic and climatic conditions of India, as well as to the fact that 80 per cent of the Indian population of the Union are now South African born. As a consequence the possibilities of land settlement outside India . . . have been further considered. The Government of India will co-operate with the Government of the Union in exploring all possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians both from India and from South Africa in other countries. In this investigation, which should take place during the course of the present year, a representative of the Indian community in South Africa will, if they so desire, be associated. As soon as the investigation has been completed the two Governments will consider the results of the inquiry."

"The Agreement," writes P. S. Joshi, "was a betrayal of the Indians in South Africa. Its principle of land settlement abroad obviously considered them to be temporary guests of the country. Where colonisation for persons born and bred in South Africa is concerned, South Africa does not lack in land resources."

The Union Government in the meanwhile had persisted in its policy of Indian-baiting. Since the First Cape Town Agreement, it placed on the Statute book, among others, the Nationality and Flag Act (1927), the Old Age Pensions Act (1927), the Women's Franchise Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act. The first refuses to recognise Indians as Settlers in South African nationals by denying them the right to be naturalised in South Africa. The second denies aged and invalid Indians the benefits of a pension available to other nationalities. The third states explicitly that no Indian woman is to have the franchise while the

fourth ordains that any Indian deemed to be a dangerous agitator by the Minister of Justice may be deported to India.

The cessation of fresh inflow of Indian labourers due to the abolition of the indenture system by the Government of India in 1911 and the repatriation of a number of Indians every year under the assisted emigration scheme as envisaged in the First Cape Town Agreement notwithstanding, the number of Indians in the Union of South Africa was steadily on the increase for the natural excess of births over deaths. Some of them grew well-to-do by trade. This, among others, led to a flare-up in the anti-Indian agitation with greater violence than ever.

The 'White Labour' policy of the Union Government has thrown many Indians—Government and railway employees out of employment. The Industrial Conciliation Act (1930) by fixing standard wages for industrial workers has made it very difficult for Indians to get work under South African conditions which deny equality of opportunities to them. The result has been an alarming increase in the number of unemployed Indians. It must be admitted however that the Durban and the Mauritzburg municipalities gave some relief, meagre as it was, to Indians thrown out of employment in consequence of the enforcement of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Nor can it be denied that the Act by prescribing minimum wages has helped to improve the condition of Indian workers who can still find work. It is why an Indian carpenter or tailor in Natal earns more than an Indian teacher.

Field Marshal Smuts made it clear in the Union Parliament in 1943 that his Government stood for the segregation of races. In March, the Parliament passed the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act otherwise known as the 'Pegging Act.' The Act prohibited Indians for the next three years to reside or to buy property or land in any other area in Durban except where they lived at the time of the passing of the Act.

"A Judicial Commission was appointed to enquire into and report on matters affecting the Indian community of the province of Natal, with special reference to housing and health needs, civic amenities, civic status and the provision of adequate residential, educational, religious and recreational facilities and to make recommendations generally as to what steps are necessary further to implement the uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, and all matters affecting the well-being and advancement of the permanent Indian population of Natal."

Final steps were to be taken after the Commission had submitted its report. Of the 6 members of the Commission 2 were to be Indians. Mr. Justice F. N. Broome was appointed Chairman. A South African Indian Congress deputation waited upon Field Marshal Smuts in March, 1944, and requested him to repeal the 'Pegging Act.' It suggested the annulment of the Act by proclamation and the creation in its place of a board or committee to control residential occupation by licence as between Europeans and Asiatics. The sug-

gestion was a regrettable surrender on the part of Indian leaders. It substantially accepted 'Pegging.' Field Marshal Smuts, a shrewd realist that he is, cares more for the substance than for the shadow. Things had been going on badly for the anti-Axis allies in the War. Japanese forces had penetrated into Assam. The Field Marshal was criticised in Imperial and Allied circles for having created an embarrassing situation at a time when circumstances demanded an all-out united effort for victory. He could not evade the responsibility. Smuts was not unwilling, therefore, to expunge the stigma on Indian prestige if Indians themselves voluntarily agreed to prevent penetration into European areas.

An official statement of April, 1944, declared :

"* * * the situation would best be met by the introduction of an Ordinance into the Natal Provincial Council. This Ordinance would provide for the creation of a board consisting of two European and two Indian members under the chairmanship of a third European, who will be a man of legal training. The object of the legislation will be to create machinery for the board to control occupation by the licensing of dwellings in certain areas ; and the application of the Pegging Act in Durban is to be withdrawn by a proclamation on the passing of this Ordinance."

This statement of policy known as the 'Pretoria Agreement' was clarified by Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, the Administrator of Natal, who said in course of a speech :

"Areas will be set up in which one race may not take the place of another in any dwellings. The board will determine those areas and issue occupation licences."

An ordinance on the lines indicated above was passed by the Natal Provincial Council on June 2.

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, more appropriately called the Ghetto Act, passed on May 29, 1946, prohibits the acquisition or occupation of property by Indians except in certain specified areas. The Act is more anti-Indian and reactionary than the Pegging Act in several respects. The latter, limited in its operation to Durban, restricted transactions of fixed property between Europeans and Indians only. The former, on the other hand, is applicable to the whole of Natal, in urban as well as rural areas. It prohibits, besides, all transactions of fixed property between the Indian and all non-Indian races, European, Coloured, Bantu, Chinese and Malay. Indians in Natal and the Transvaal are by the Act allowed representation in the Union Parliament on the basis of separate racial electorate. They are to have five European representatives in the Parliament—3 in the House of Assembly and 2 in the Senate. The Natal Indians are to elect 2 representatives—White or otherwise—to the Provincial Council on the basis of separate electorate. The franchise is restricted to persons with educational and land-owning qualifications in both cases. Even this limited right has been denied to women.

The South African Indians launched 'Satyagraha' in protest against this Act. 1546 Indians courted im-

prisonment. According to the information received by the Government of India, the South African Government has shown undue strictness in enforcing gaol discipline so far as the 'Satyagrahi' prisoners are concerned.

The Indian settlers referred their case to the U. N. O. The Nehru Government took up the matter in right earnest and sent a powerful delegation to represent the Indian case before that august body. The Hon'ble Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was appointed leader. Thanks to the able advocacy of the delegation, the attempts of South Africa first, to shelve the Indian question on the ground that it was a purely domestic affair of South Africa, and then, to postpone its consideration by submitting it to the International Court of Justice for arbitration, were frustrated.

After a heated discussion extending over several days the Joint League and Political Committee of the U. N. O. adopted, strong opposition by South Africa, the U. K. and the U. S. A. notwithstanding, the following resolution jointly sponsored by France and Mexico :

"The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and having considered the matter : first, states that because of that treatment friendly relations between two member States have been impaired and unless satisfactory settlement is reached these relations are likely to be further impaired ; secondly, is of opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreement concluded between the two governments and relevant provisions of the Charter ; thirdly, the Committee, therefore, requests the two governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly measures adopted to this effect."

The subsequent activities of the Union Government give ample indication of the shape of things to come in South Africa. They confirm us in our belief that it is not going to give up its policy of racial discrimination.

Dr. Malan, the Leader of the South African Nationalist party, has suggested the expulsion of the Indians as the only solution of the Union's Indian problem. The *Reuter* correspondent at Cape Town cabled on February 25 that a recent meeting of the Durban North Rate-payers' Association gave enthusiastic reception to the suggestion that all Indians be repatriated or sent to other countries or provinces and welcomed the suggestion of boycotting Indian traders. A move is afoot at Durban for the retention of the Durban City Council as a purely European body and the establishment of an Indian Scheduled Areas Assembly composed exclusively of Indian representatives elected by popular vote.

The South African Government at first refused to issue passports to Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, and to Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, to come out to India for consultation with the Indian leaders and to attend the Inter-Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March, 1947. Subsequently, after

Dadoo had instituted action against the Ministry of the Interior, orders were issued to grant passports to him and to Naicker to be cancelled almost immediately on the ground that both Dadoo and Naicker had violated South African laws and had been imprisoned for passive resistance. The latter order was finally withdrawn and the two doctors were permitted to come out to India. Preliminary arrangements for the enforcement of the Ghetto Act have already been made by the Union Government. Field Marshal Smuts has also encouraged the disruptive tendencies among Indians in Natal by trying to come to terms with a group of Indians disloyal to the Natal Indian Congress. These latter have been however disowned by the Natal Indians themselves.

The correspondence between Field Marshal Smuts and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently released to the press clearly shows the working of the White South African mind. In his letter of June 18, to Nehru, the old Field Marshal writes, *inter alia* :

"... backed up by a considerable volume of responsible Indian opinion in South Africa I can fairly claim that our relations should be normalised and that the Indian High Commissioner should return to his duties in the Union. I ask you to give serious consideration to our claim."

Pandit Nehru wrote in reply (24.6.47) :

"The Government of India are firmly of the opinion that further discussions between our Governments, which they would warmly welcome, can only be on the basis of the United Nations' resolution."

Nehru had pointed out earlier in the letter that in a previous letter he had requested

"the Union Government to accept the implementation of the resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly on the 8th December, 1946, as the common and immediate purpose in which our respective Governments can co-operate for finding a basis for the solution of the problems with which our two Governments are concerned and added that as soon as the Union Government had acceded to this request a common basis for future discussions would be established."

The old Field Marshal wrote in his reply to the above (28.7.47) that the charges against the Union Government, *viz.*, breach of agreement and violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, had absolutely no foundation in fact. The following excerpts from his letter under reference will bear quotation :

"When the Union Minister of the Interior laid the Cape Town Agreement before Parliament he declared that the agreement was not right and binding and did not take away the right of the Union to resist interference from outside in its domestic affairs and that the Union Government reserved the nominal right to deal legislatively with the Indian problem whenever and in whatever way deemed necessary and just. No exception was taken by the Indian Government to this declaration."

"The land provisions of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act do not substantially differ from the practice of other members of the United Nations Organisation in their policies to maintain peace between different communities in their States. As only one instance may be mentioned land purchase transactions between Jews and Arabs

in Palestine. There is no reason why such policies to secure internal peace should be condemned nor why the Union should be specially singled out for condemnation. If the intervention of the U. N. O. should be called for, there should be first an enquiry into such practices among its members and specially such practices as involve racial or economic discrimination. Only thus could a policy of general application be laid down for all. Special regard would also have to be had to the principle of domestic jurisdiction which, as laid down in Article 2, paragraph No. 7, governs all other principles and provisions of the Charter.

"In view of the vagueness and generality of the charges against the Union and the highly charged emotional atmosphere in which they were discussed the Union Government must be specially on their guard against complying with your request for accepting the so-called implications of the resolution referred to."

All these prove conclusively, if they prove anything at all, that the South African Government is bent on continuing its old pastime of Indian-baiting in utter disregard of the findings and recommendations of the United Nations Organisation.

"Little wonder," Nehru wrote on 7.8.47 in his reply to the letter from which we have quoted above, "I have tried my best to end the deadlock between our two Governments but must observe, with regret, that through no fault of ours, no common basis for negotiations between us has been found."

That the Venerable Field Marshal and his Government pay or will pay little heed to the recommendations of the U.N.O. becomes clearer from the restrictions recently imposed on the entry of Indians into Cape Town and their settlement in the Orange Free State. Addressing the annual Congress of the Free State Agricultural Union at Blomfontein on August 26, 1947, Field Marshal Smuts went to the length of saying, amidst deafening cheers, we are sure :

"The first mistake had been the opening of doors of Natal to Indians 60 or 70 years ago and attempts to prevent their entry into Transvaal had failed and there was now a fair-sized Indian population there."

He asserted in the same speech that the Ghetto Act would remain notwithstanding what the U. N. O. might have said or done in the past or may say or do in the future.

The problem of Indians in Natal, nay, of Indians overseas, so long baffled all attempts at honourable solution because India was in bondage. But August 15 has ushered in a new era of Indian history. Mother India, writhes as she does in the anguish of vivisection, has taken the longest stride to 'Swaraj,' the goal for which generations of Indian patriots suffered and sacrificed their earthly all. We hope and believe Indians overseas will from now on receive just and fair treatment in the lands of their adoption.

Will Natal read the writing on the wall? Will the U. N. O. Assembly session scheduled to meet shortly do something to force the hands of South Africa? Or, will the U. N. O., like the League of Nations, look on helplessly while its recommendations are set at naught by its constituents?

EARLY YEARS OF THE CALCUTTA MEDICAL COLLEGE

[Based on Educational Records]

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

II

THE story of the formative years of Calcutta Medical College I have already told. The College entered into a new phase since 1843-44. It was in this year that the period of studies was increased from four to five years, to be effective from the following session. We find in the Educational Report :

"The period of four years heretofore allowed for all pupils to qualify themselves for admission to the service of government as Sub-Assistant Surgeons, or for obtaining the College Certificate of qualifications, having been deemed too limited to admit of their acquiring the requisite amount of practical knowledge for independent practice, it was recommended by the Council of Education to be increased to five complete sessions, which has been ordered by government to be carried into effect from the next annual examination."¹

Annual prizes from the funds of the private donors as well as by the government were given as usual to the best boys of the College. The Rustumjee Cowasjee Gold Medal was received for the first time in this session by Doyal Chand Basak for his highest proficiency in the subject of Anatomy. Bholanath Bose, of whom more will be told later, was the recipient of Rs. 50/- from the Dwarkanath Tagore Prize Fund.²

The Secondary or Military Class (later called also Hindusthani Class) was re-organised in this session. Dissection was also commenced from now on in this class. The manner of re-organisation effected during the session will be evident from the following lines :

"Baboo Mudoosooden Gooptu has been appointed Superintendent, the school is re-organised, divided in classes, inspected by a monthly visitor, taught practical surgery and pharmacy, and the pupils are affording good promise of realising the purpose of improvement contemplated. The senior students now for the first time dissect, and take quite as much interest in so doing, as the pupils of the upper school."³

We learn from the above extracts that, over and above his duties as demonstrator of Anatomy in the college, Madhusudan Gupta was entrusted with the superintendence of this section. His new designation was Superintendent and Teacher of Anatomy and Surgery. Sibchandra Karmakar, a successful student of the college and of the rank of Sub-Assistant Surgeon, was the teacher of Medicine and Materia Medica. Professor Allan Webb of the College was appointed Visitor.

Madhusudan Gupta prepared a Bengali translation of the London Pharmacopoea and it was sent to the Press in

1844-45.⁴ From this session, age-limit of students was increased, as also the period of studies. In the report we have :

"The subjects of the limit of age at which pupils are admissible to the College and the period considered necessary to enable them to qualify for diplomas, having been reconsidered, it was deemed advisable to change the existing standard and adopt that of from 16 to 20 years, as well as to compel every student to devote at least five years to the acquisition of professional knowledge, before being permitted to present himself for final examination."⁵

The session 1844-45 was the most important session in the annals of the Calcutta Medical College, nay in the history



Ram Comul Sen

of modern education in India. This year four students of the College sailed for Europe for higher medical studies. How this came about deserves to be specially noted. Dwarkanath Tagore, as we have already seen, was one of the promoters of the Medical College almost from its start and contributed materially to its development. He had gone to Europe in 1842 and seen for himself the utility of higher studies abroad. He offered in 1844 to defray the expenses of two students who would go to England for medical studies. The Educational Committee, known as

1. *General Report on Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, for 1843-44*, p. 67.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

4. *Ibid.*, for 1844-45, p. 20.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

the Council of Education, accepted the offer. Prof. H. H. Goodeve proposed to accompany the boys, provided he was granted leave on certain conditions. The Professor himself expressed his willingness to bear the expenses of a third student for medical education abroad. The letter, written by the Council of Education to the Government, embodying these proposals and their recommendations, runs partly as follows :

"The offer [of Dwarkanath Tagore] is an extremely liberal and munificent one, as it has been calculated that each pupil will cost at least Co.'s Rs. 7,000, including the passage to and from England. . . .



Surjakumar Chakravarty, Gopal Chandra Seal, Dwarkanath Bose.

Surjakumar Chakravarty, Gopal Chandra Seal, Dwarkanath Bose. Bholanath Bose

"As it will be necessary to send them home in charge of some competent person, who will likewise have to take care of them in England, and superintend their studies, the Council of Education beg most strongly to recommend that Dr. Goodeve may be ordered upon this duty, upon the terms mentioned in his letter, viz., the retention of half his staff allowance—his time of service to count while in Europe—and to be entitled to his appointment in the Medical College upon his return.

"From Dr. Goodeve's long connection with the Medical College his popularity among the students—his having been the first person in British India to introduce the important practice of human dissection and also the first to found a Female Hospital—his munificent offer of taking one pupil at his own expense and his endowment of a midwifery scholarship, the Council are induced to hope, that his application will meet with favourable consideration from Government. His also having lost his health from a dissection wound in the service of Government, will be an additional recommendation.

"The best thanks of the Council have been returned to Dwarkanath Tagore for his munificence, in addition

to the large sums bestowed by him for the purpose of education, and the benefit of his fellow countrymen."

The Government readily acquiesced in the recommendations of the Council. A zealous worker in the field of education, Dr. Goodeve was a real well-wisher of Indian students. It was through his instrumentality that sufficient funds were newly raised for a fourth student to accompany him for the same purpose. It should be noted here that the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad contributed Rs. 4,000 to the latter funds.

The 8th March, 1845 would be ever remembered in Bengal as a memorable day. On this date four students of the Calcutta Medical College started for England in company with Dr. Goodeve for higher medical studies. In the same boat also sailed the liberal donor Dwarkanath Tagore, who was going to Europe for the second time, never to return to his mother country. He breathed his last in London on August 1, 1846. While adverting to the departure of the students for England, the Educational Report noticed the career of each of these four boys briefly as follows :

"The four pupils who accompanied the Professor and started in the steamer *Bentinck* on the 8th March, were Bholanath Bose, a pupil of Lord Auckland's School at Barrackpore, who was supported at the Medical College by His Lordship for five years, and was considered by the late Mr. Griffith, the promising botanical pupil in the school—Gopal Chunder Seal—Dwarkanath Bose, a Native Christian, educated in the General Assembly's

Institution, and employed for some time as assistant in the Museum—together with Surju Coomar Chuckerbutty, a Brahmin, native of Commillah," a junior pupil and a lad of much spirit and promise."

This year Tarak Chandra Lahiri was considered the best boy in Botany and received for the first time the Wallich Medal presented by Ram Comul Sen. Gopal Chandra Seal, one of the four sailing for Europe, was the recipient of the Rustumjee Cawasjee Gold Medal.⁶ So far as the Military Class was concerned, it also did very well during the session. The authorities spoke highly of those in charge of this section in the following vein :

"Military Class. The annual examination of this class has been extremely satisfactory, and reflects great credit upon the exertions of Mr. Webb, Pundit Modusuden Gopto, and Shib Chunder Karmakar."⁷

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

8. This is a mistake. Surja Kumar Chakravarty hailed from Kanakpur, a village in the Dacca district.

9. *General Report etc.*, for 1844-45, p. 124.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

The gift of land worth Rs. 12,000 in the vicinity of the College, by Matilal Seal—the Rothschild of Calcutta, for a general hospital this year deserves special mention.¹² Of the benefactors of the College in this session the report says :

"To Dwarkanath Tagore for his munificence and public spirit in taking to England with him and educating at his own expense two pupils of the Medical College, an event in the history of that useful and successful institution surpassed only by the . . . introduction of human anatomy and dissection in British India . . . The contribution of Nawab Nazim of Bengal of Rs. 4,000 towards the expense of a third pupil. Maharaja Pertab Singh Bahadoor of Burdwan and several other native gentlemen, particularly Ram Gopal Ghose. Our thanks are due to Mr. W. W. Bird, late Governor-General of India for again placing at our disposal a gold medal for the most proficient student in *Materia Medica* of the Medical College . . . Likewise to Dwarkanath Tagore, Rustomjee Cowasjee, and the late dewan Ram Comul Sen, an eminent friend and patron of education for the presentation of prizes and medals to the Medical College."¹³

The progress of the College was strictly maintained during the following session, that is, in 1845-46. This year's most striking event was the recognition of the Medical College by the University of London and some standard medical institutions over there. The Educational Report writes :

"Recognition of the College. Among the most gratifying, striking and important events of the session which has recently closed, has been the recognition of the Bengal Medical College by the Royal College of Surgeons of England, the University of London, and the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries."¹⁴

Durga Charan Banerjee, of whom something has been told in the previous article, was to appear at the final examination in 1845-46 but did not do so, due to unavoidable reasons. He was the father of late Surendra Nath Banerjee, our national leader. Of him and another free student we have :

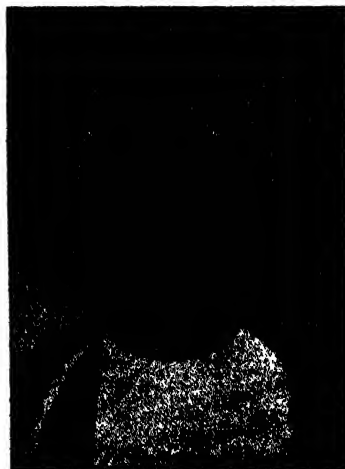
"These two are special cases, Mr. Naylor having been engaged for 10 years in the pursuit of his profession, and Baboo Durga Charan Banerjee being a distinguished scholar, and late Head Master of the School Society's School."¹⁵

It should be said in passing that though Durga Charan did not sit for the final examination, he acquired so much proficiency in his medical studies—both theoretical and practical—that he soon turned out to be an efficient and successful physician in Calcutta.

The Military Class under the superintendence of Pandit Madhusudan Gupta continued to progress as before. From the special report of its examination forwarded by Visitor Allan Webb we learn :

"They [the students] answered very satisfactorily upon the whole, and in a manner which reflects the highest credit upon their excellent teacher of Anatomy and Physiology, Baboo Madhusudan Gupta; indeed it gave me sincere pleasure to observe in my daily visit at their dissections, that the zeal and exertions of the Baboo are quite as successful here in this first attempt to carry out regular dissections by the military class, (chiefly Mahommedans) as amongst the Hindoo students of the English class."¹⁶

The number of prizes and medals, previously mentioned, have been increased this year by a few others. Raja Apurbakrishna 'placed a gold and two silver medals



Matilal Seal

at the disposal of the Council, which were assigned to the preparation of specimens for the museum. The gold medal has been awarded to Tameez Khan.' Lord Auckland, prior to his departure from India, had left certain prizes to be bestowed upon the pupils of the Barrackpore School. One of these of fifty rupees value, was meant for the best boy of the school who would successfully compete for admission to the Medical College. This year it was gained by Kalidas Nandi."¹⁷

In the next session, 1846-47, the mode of distribution of prizes and medals was completely changed. It was found that proficiency in some subjects was highly rewarded, and that in others was totally neglected. The Council of Education took note of this and asked the Government to make some equitable adjustments in this regard. Then the Government in consultation with the former made new arrangements so that justice might be done to all the subjects of medical studies, and not to some, exclusive of others. Special certificates were also to be given to the deserving students, from now on. Let us hear of the fresh arrangements from this year's report :

"Prizes. During the past year the Council brought to the notice of the Government the subject of prizes

12. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

14. *Ibid.*, for 1845-46, p. 113.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

to the Medical College, which were previously chiefly obtained from private sources, and liable to an amount of fluctuation tending to defeat the object for which such rewards are bestowed, great encouragement being occasionally held out of proficiency in one department, while others equally important were entirely neglected.

"Upon the recommendations of the Council, the Government was pleased to sanction a permanent and specific prize allowance of the nature and to the extent noted in the margin.

[For the English Class, nine gold and two silver medals—a clinical prize of books, and a pocket case for the best surgeon's dresser]

"For the Military Class, silver medal, and book prizes to the value of Rs. 80.



James Ranald Martin

"In addition to the above, certificates of honour were sanctioned similar in form and character to those of the University College, London, for all pupils who should distinguish themselves in particular departments of study, without being entitled to medals. Exclusive prizes for particular order of students were at the same time abolished, all pupils, Hindu, Mahomedan, and Christian, allowed to compete on equal terms."¹⁹

Progress of the Military Class under Madhusadan Gupta was again noted. This time :

"The result of their [students'] good conduct, and of the diligence with which they have improved the valuable instructions in Anatomy and Physiology of Babu Madhusadan Gupta, both in the theatre and in the

dissecting room, were manifested in this, that their dissections were chiefly guided by the notes in Hindi and Urdu taken from the lecture of the Babu. Each of the students possessed for himself one of these manuals of his own writing, formed of notes taken in the theatre, in which the principal anatomical facts were carefully recorded. . . .

"The result of the final examination of the 1st class is very creditable."²⁰

We have not yet said anything about the four students sent abroad in company with Dr. Goodeve. They got admitted into the University College, London, and were prosecuting their studies under the direct supervision of Dr. Goodeve. Each one of these four soon made their mark and drew words of praise from Professor Williams, the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. Dr. Goodeve submitted periodical accounts to the Government through the Council of Education. From these accounts, published in the Educational Reports from 1845-46 till their return home, we are in a position to know of the wonderful success they attained. They received gold and silver medals and certificates of proficiency after every examination they sat for. Three of them obtained the diploma of the College of Surgeons in the middle of 1846. Dr. Goodeve, in his third report dated December, 1846, wrote of their success as follows :

"Dwarkanath Bose, Bholanath Bose and Gopal Chunder Seal have obtained the diploma of the College of Surgeons. The examination took place on the 27th July. After it was concluded, the President (Mr. Lawrence) in the name of the Board of Examiners, complimented them highly upon the very satisfactory manner in which they had passed the ordeal. He stated that no favour whatever had been shewn to them, the questions having been perhaps more searching than usual, while the replies bore very favourable comparison with those of the great bulk of English students submitted to the same test.

"This is the first occasion upon which any native of India has passed College examinations in Europe held for admission of students to degrees of any description. It is the first occasion on which they have had an opportunity of showing publicly their capacity for acquiring the sciences and professional knowledge of the Western World, and that in such contests they are equal to their European fellow-subjects. To me it has been a source of unbounded gratification, and to every friend of education in India it must be a matter of signal triumph and encouragement."²¹

Surja Kumar Chakravarty was the youngest of the four, and his studies fell short of the other three. But in his class, he also proved very efficient. Dwarkanath Bose could not wait further and returned to India early during the session 1846-47. On his return, Dwarkanath was appointed Assistant Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College.²²

19. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

18. *Ibid.*, for 1846-47, p. 68.

In his report for the first half of 1847, Dr. Goodeve gave detailed information regarding the signal success of the three students, other than Dwarkanath Bose who had already left. From this some very interesting and illuminative extracts are given here :

"It will be thus seen, as observed by Lord Brougham in his public address upon the occasion of distributing the prizes at University College on the 30th April last, that the three Indian students have this year obtained nine honourable marks of distinction, independent of the Gold Medal gained by Bholanath Bose; an amount of honour highly creditable to their talents and industry, when we regard the variety of subjects thus embraced in their studies, and the large number of students with whom they contended. Few of the English youths in the College were equally successful. Some of them



Laying the foundation-stone of the Medical College Hospital, by Lord Dalhousie on 30th September, 1848

it is true gained higher prizes in a single class, but with two exceptions amongst more than two hundred pupils no one gained distinctions in so many departments of their professional studies as my young friends.

"I should mention in justice to Bholanath Bose, that I understand his gaining the Gold Medal in Comparative Anatomy and the Gold Medal in Botany, which he received on a former occasion, is the only instance on record since the foundation of the College of any one student obtaining such distinctions in two branches of study so very dissimilar, with the exception of my late lamented colleague (Bholanath's former preceptor) Mr. Griffith, the distinguished Naturalist and Professor of Botany in the Calcutta College, who, amongst the honors gained by him at University College carried off the two prizes in question; an example so worthily followed by his former pupil on this occasion."

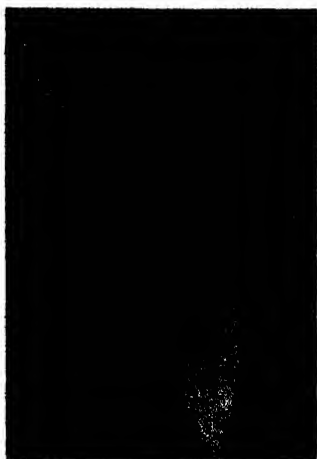
In his report for the last half of 1847, Dr. Goodeve wrote that Bholanath Bose and Gopal Chandra Seal presented themselves for their first examination for the M. B.

degree at the London University, the result was very satisfactory, and both were placed in the first division. Bholanath Bose was also admitted to the M. D. degree of the University within a short time, for which he had to undergo all sorts of ordeals." Dr. Goodeve then wrote :

"These young men are now members of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, both bachelors, and one of them Doctor of Medicine of the London University, the highest professional degree which can be procured in Europe. They have obtained these distinctions not by favor or indulgence, but by severe labor, and by submission to those rigid tests of proficiency which the highest scientific authorities have devised to regulate their studies, and by which they authorise the admission of candidates to the privilege of exercising the Medical profession. Thus, besides the ordinary diplomas, they have taken degrees, which, mainly on account of the high standard of the qualification required from the candidates, are sought by a very small portion of our English students. In addition to these satisfactory results of their labor, they have throughout the whole course of their previous studies distinguished themselves amongst their fellow students, by obtaining high honours in almost every class examination in which they have contended for prizes. Bholanath has been especially distinguished in this respect; besides many certificates, he has obtained two Gold Medals and two Silver ones on different subjects, an amount of collegiate honor rarely attained by the best English Medical students. They have moreover displayed a degree of zeal and energy in the acquisition of knowledge of every description, and above all, have pursued a line of moral conduct, which has rendered them an object of praise and admiration to all who have had an opportunity of witnessing their career."

Surja Kumar Chakravarty passed the first M. B. examination in August, 1847. Though young, he showed wonderful proficiency in some of the scientific subjects. He travelled more than once with Professor Grant on the Continent. He had a special knack of picking up languages within a short time. While in France he picked up French. He spent some time in Germany and became proficient in German language, too. As Surja Kumar could not complete his courses in the scheduled period Dr. Goodeve made all possible arrangements for his stay in England for one year more. In this connection Dr. Goodeve also gave a hint that Surja Kumar was, of his own accord, inclined towards Christianity. Professor Goodeve returned to India in January, 1848 with Bholanath Bose and Gopal Chunder Seal. This return of theirs was termed as 'the most remarkable event connected with the progress of education in this country.' 'With the view of carrying out the wishes of the Court of Directors relative to their employment,

Dr. Gopal Chunder Seal has been appointed to take charge of the hospital and dispensary of the Medical College and Dr. Bholanath Bose of the dispensary, established in a populous and suitable part of Calcutta.²⁸ Dr. Goodeve also took charge of his duties in the Medical College, but this time not as professor of both Anatomy and Midwifery. In consequence of the recognition of the College by various Institutions in Europe, it was deemed necessary permanently to separate the Chairs of Anatomy and Midwifery. Henceforward Dr. Goodeve occupied the Chair of Midwifery.²⁹



Surjakumar Goodeve Chakravarty

Another important event of this year (1848) was the laying of the foundation-stone of the Medical College Hospital on the 30th September by Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India. This hospital has got a history of its own, which should be briefly told. Calcutta was the most insanitary city in those days. Fever and cholera took a heavy toll of lives every year. It may be mentioned here that the Eurasian poet Derozio and David Hare died of cholera. On 20th May, 1835 the European and Indian gentry assembled, on the invitation of Dr. James Ranald Martin, Surgeon of the Native Hospital at Dharmatala, and formed a committee to devise ways and means for fighting fever and other pestilences, as also to effect some improvement in the municipal conditions of the city. The Committee was at first called the Fever Hospital Committee. On 3rd June, 1836, Lord Auckland, then Governor-General, approved of the Committee, but on his advice its functions were so enlarged as to include levying and collecting municipal taxes and cognate matters. Public health was intimately connected with the improvement of the city's municipal condition and finances. Since then the Committee came to be known as Fever Hospital and Municipal Enquiry Committee. The Committee laboured for twelve years, collected materials, sifted data and embodied their conclusions in three reports. The Indian gentry contributed liberally to the fund raised by the Committee, which stood at more than

sixty thousand in 1846. The Committee resigned in 1847 in favour of the Calcutta Medical College establishing a general hospital for the sick poor in its vicinity, which was also the heart of Calcutta. The general public again contributed liberally. In this connection the names of Raja Satyacharan Ghosal, Raja Pratab Chand of Burdwan and Motilal Seal should be specially mentioned. Satyacharan contributed Rs. 10,000, Raja Pratab Chand Rs. 50,000 and Motilal, as has been already said, land worth Rs. 12,000.³⁰ The General Hospital took full four years to be completed. It was formally opened on 1st December, 1852, but patients were being received a few months earlier, that is, on and from 1st March.³¹

We have seen that Dr. Goodeve founded a Midwifery scholarship of Rs. 16 a month, for the best Midwifery student. The scholarship allowance was regularly paid by Dr. Goodeve himself monthly. In March, 1849, Dr. Goodeve placed 'in the hands of the Council the sum of Rs. 3,600 in Government securities, for the perpetual maintenance of his scholarship, leaving all arrangements for its general management to the Council of Education, and expressing a wish that it should be awarded only to matriculated students of the Medical College, who are *bona fide* natives of India, of Hindu or Mohammedan parentage, as long as such youngmen can be found in any way eligible to perform the duties of the office.'³² This scholarship has come to be known as Goodeve Scholarship of the Calcutta Medical College.

The only change in the establishment of the College this year was that Dr. Gopal Chunder Seal was appointed to the Resident Surgeoncy of the Female Hospital, with the additional duty of teaching to the Hindustani Class³³ on medicine. He, however, could not perform the duty, in consequence of being ordered to join the Army of the Punjab.³⁴ His 'place was then occupied by Baboo Prasunno Coomar Mitter, the original House Surgeon of the Institution, who assisted so materially in its establishment.'³⁵ During this session Pandit Madusadan Gupta and Shibchandra Karmakar were promoted to the first and second rank of Sub-Assistant Surgeons respectively. It should be noted here that there were three ranks of Sub-Assistant Surgeons at this time.³⁶

The year 1850 was marked by two important events. Dr. Surja Kumar Chakravarty, the only student left in England to complete his medical studies, returned to India in May, 1850 after having obtained the M. D. degree of the University of London. He had already embraced Christianity and came to be known as Surja Kumar Goodeve Chakravarty. He adopted 'Goodeve' after the name of Dr. Henry Hurry Goodeve in recognition of the invaluable assistance he received from him. In the Educational Report, Surja Kumar's return, together with his brilliant career in England, has been noticed as follows :

"The experiment of educating the natives of India in England, commenced by Dr. H. Goodeve, and conducted

27. *Ibid.*, for 1832-55, pp. 74-6.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

29. *Ibid.*, for 1st May, 1848 to 30th September, 1849, p. 100.

30. Originally called the Secondary or Military Class.

31. *The General Report*, etc., for 1848-49, p. 91.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

by him for some years, terminated in May last by the return to Calcutta of the remaining pupil Dr. S. G. Chuckerbutty. Dr. Chuckerbutty studied for five years at University College, London, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine in that University. He laboured strenuously and diligently in Europe, and has brought with him testimonials from the Professors under whom he studied in England, who all testified to his zeal and honourable acquirements.³⁴

The Report further says that 'since his return Dr. Chuckerbutty has been employed in the Medical College Hospital as Assistant Physician, and has performed his duties in a highly creditable manner.'³⁴

Another memorable event of this session was the presentation of a portrait of Pandit Madhusadan Gupta by J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, the legal member of the Governor-General's Council and President of the Council of Education, in recognition of his services since the inspection of the Medical College. The portrait of Madhusudan, painted by Mrs. Belnos, the Artist now hangs in Anatomical Lecture Theatre of the College.³⁵ It may be said that Madhusudan was not only versed in the Hindu system of medicine, but fully acquainted himself with the Western

system as well. He sat for the annual examination of Medical College in 1840 and, in spite of his deficiency in English, passed it with credit. He, as demonstrator of Anatomy in the College, helped the dissection of human body for the first time, of which Dr. Bramley has left a graphic description.

In addition to the Hindustani class, a Bengali class was opened on 15th June, 1852 after mature deliberations by the Council of Education. The authorities started this class with a view to providing civil stations and interior parts of Bengal with physicians. The scheme had been drawn up long ago in 1843 by Dr. Mouat in consultation with Ram Comul Sen, a patron and promoter of medical education in Bengal. Madhusudan Gupta was appointed general superintendent of both the Hindustani and Bengali classes, Shib Chandra Karmakar—teacher of Materia Medica and Prasanno Kumar Mitter—teacher of Medicine.³⁶ Teaching medicine, the most intricate of sciences, through the medium of Indian languages was experimented upon, and proved fairly successful. But as fate would have it, the experiment was not continued. The curse of foreign domination has now been almost removed, and it behoves us that the experiment started so long ago will obtain fruition in no time.

34. *Ibid.*, for 1850-51, p. 84.

35. The Centenary of the Medical College, Bengal, pp. 13-14.

36. *Ibid.*, for 1851-52, pp. 64-5 and for 1852-55, p. 79.

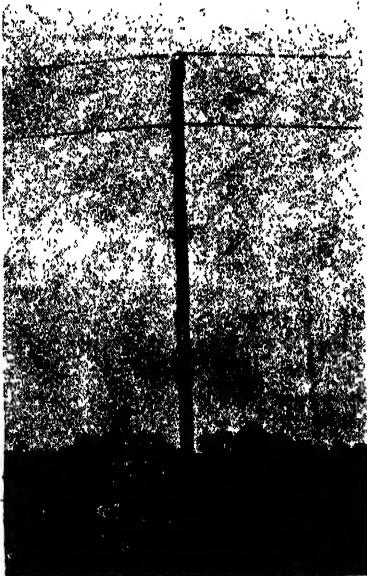
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RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN THE UNITED STATES

MORE than four out of every ten American farms are equipped with electric light and power today, serviced by private and public facilities and by systems

financed by the Rural Electrification Administration, which was established by an Act of the U. S. Congress in 1935.

Nine years ago only one U. S. farm in ten among America's six million farms was serviced with electricity. Candles and oil lamps illuminated millions of

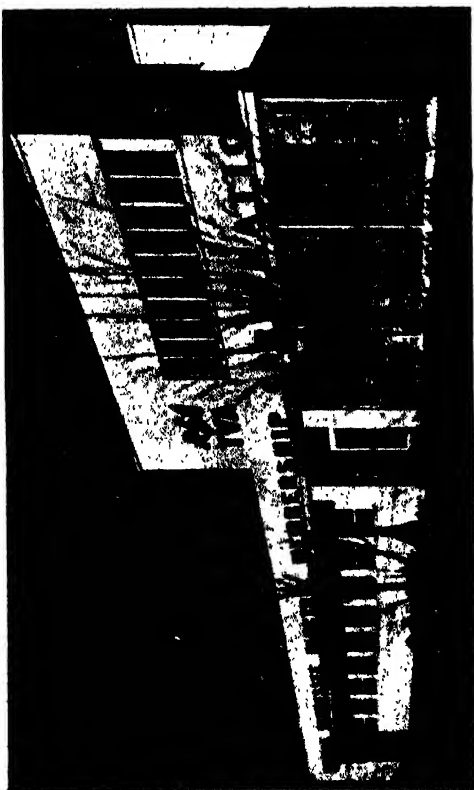


This is a typical standardised low-cost rural electrification line pole used by co-operative farm groups in the U.S.A.

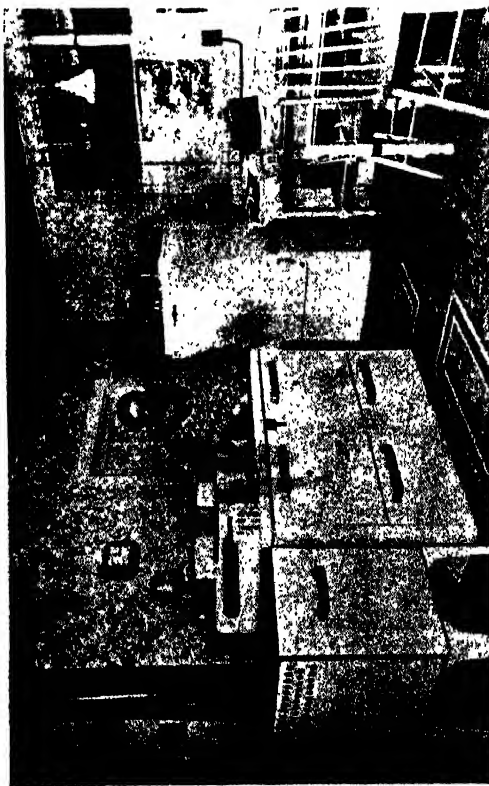


This electric ironer cuts ironing-time in half

farm homes by methods which had changed little in a century of national growth. Electrification of farms and rural areas in the United States lagged far behind the wealth of electrical power and facilities provided for U. S. urban populations with their huge manu-



The office of the Middle Tennessee Electric Corporation. This is a farmers' co-operative group which organised to bring electricity to farms and homes in the country



The electric stove in this American kitchen eliminates the need of building fires, carrying fuel and emptying ashes



An impressive array of electric power lines leads to this modern American barn on a farm in the eastern U. S. State of New Hampshire



This feed mixer on an American farm is operated by an electric motor

featuring plants and industries. In recent years through farmers' co-operative groups, the electrification of farms and rural areas in the United States has brought

about the construction of hundreds of large and small power plants in all parts of the country.

Farm electrification aids the efficiency of farm labor, reduce labor problems, increase profits on many farm operations, and adds the health and relaxation of the whole family. Co-operative power systems, voluntarily organized by farmers' group and financed by the Rural Electrification Administration now operate 385,000 miles of transmission and distribution lines in 46 out of 48 American states as well as the Alaska and the Virgin Islands. Each farmers' co-operative group operating on a non-profit basis, tries to provide low cost electric service to its members. The members usually read their own meters and sometimes compute their own bills. Such is the trust that the co-operatives have in their members.



Long-distance high-power transmission lines like these are found throughout the U.S.A., carrying electric power to remote farms and sparsely populated areas



This electrical milking machine saves a good deal of time and labour to the farmers owning large herds of dairy cows



This girl now mends cloths in a fraction of the time before electricity was available

Installations of electrical refrigeration on American farms enable U. S. farmers to enter the dairy business in addition to their other farm activities. Besides the household refrigerators found in many farm houses, a number of rural groups have large-sized community refrigerators, to eliminate spoilages of meat and other farm produce. Electricity brought to millions of U. S. farms and isolated rural communities through co-operative non-profit-making projects, has greatly aided U. S. food production.

The intensive development of rural electrification in the U. S. has brought many inquiries and specialists from other lands. Twenty-six engineers from 13 Latin American nations, and two from Puerto Rico, each completed a year of work with REA in the United States and the plan may be used as a pattern for the successful development of rural electrification in many nations of the world.—USIS.

THE VILLAGE INN

By GEOFFERY GRIGSON

CHURCH and vicarage apart, the building which survives and flourishes all over England, in every parish, every village, is the public house, sentimentally called the "Inn", commonly called the "pub".

they share in a community of interests, jokes, gossip, weather, crops, sales, gardens, politics.

In the nineteenth century, and earlier, the public houses did not have a good name. There was noise, drunkenness, rowdiness. Beer was cheaper and more potent, the isolation of the villages was extreme, the living conditions of working-men not good.

As a result, public houses were, and are still, carefully controlled. Careful enquiries are made before an innkeeper is granted his licence, and licences are reviewed by magistrates. The public houses are opened only for two or three hours in the middle of the day, and, in the evenings, usually from six till ten o'clock. Gambling and noisy singing are forbidden.

The pub, of course, has its limitation. The pub buildings, if clean and pleasant to look at, are usually old and small. And a move is on foot to provide the villages with small community centres, in which village people can see films, hold their concerts, play billiards, and so on.

A good many community centres have been built. A good many more will be



The exterior of an English village inn in the New Forest, Hampshire

The "pub" is very much more than a place to which one goes for a drink, or to buy cigarettes. It is a social centre, without distinction of class or income. In the towns and cities, the public houses are bigger, and those who frequent them are apt to use different rooms according to income; the working men in the bar, those who are better off in the saloon bar and sometimes the private bar.

But in the country pubs, there are usually two rooms at the most. There is the bar, and an extra room, often in use only on Saturday and Sunday nights, which takes the overflow, and particularly the women of the village, since there is a certain division of the sexes. The wives sit and talk and drink their bottles of stout or beer.

The men, across the way, drink their pints of beer, play cards, or table skittles, or (now the most popular of all public house games) play darts, a game that needs a steady hand, a good aim, and constant practice. Nor does playing darts end at a particular pub. Village teams will play other villages, one pub team against another.

A village public house sells a variety of drinks: spirits, a little wine (mainly port and sherry), beer, cider—if it is a cider-making district—and mineral waters. Here and there, in a few fruit-growing districts, one may find a public house which sells perry, which is cider made from pears, instead of apples. Everywhere, as one may expect, beer in all its many varieties is the basic drink. Apart from cider it is the cheapest.

Social differences drop off when village people cross the door step of the pub. They all sit and drink together, and buy each other drinks; farmer, working-man from the farm, carpenter, garage hand, and the trade unionist who work in the nearby town. Over their pint-pots



The typical interior of an English village inn which is the common resort of all conditions of men

built in the next 10 years as village memorials to those who have been killed in the 1939-45 war.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SALT INDUSTRY OF BENGAL

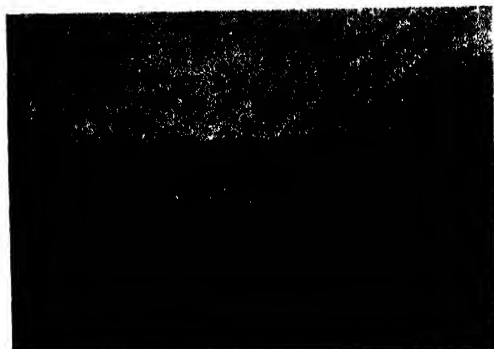
By J. K. NAG, M.Sc.

THOUGH the question of developing Bengal's nascent industry in salt (revived after half a century) has long drawn attention of the Provincial Governments, the steps taken by them unfortunately have been so far very meagre. The biggest market for salt in India is Bengal, through the main ports of which, Calcutta and Chittagong, pass annually one and a half crore maunds of salt from the outer countries to different regions of Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Nepal and Bhutan. Orissa also used to derive her fifty per cent of the net consumption from this market a few years back. She has fortunately been able lately to be almost self-sufficient to meet her entire demand. Bengal meets barely one-tenth of her requirement from her cottage salt producers, who have revived the industry on a cottage basis since the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1930. And she might be able to supply up to one-fifth only of her entire demand, in case the potential capacity of of the cottage producers was fully utilised. But the supply for eighty per cent of the net consumption will not await the developed salt industry of Bengal on a commercial basis. If she cannot go ahead, this huge market will completely pass into the hands of the salt traders of Madras, Bombay, Sind, Rajputana, the Punjab and Aden. The Indian sources alone, on the other hand, will never be able to meet Bengal's requirement, for, they will have to meet the consumption of the whole of India, which they have done hitherto. It is regrettable that Bengal and Assam depend on the salt supply from foreign countries, when all other provinces of India have been able to derive salt from inland sources.

So Bengal's factory-made salt on rapid development of the industry will not only get a ready market, but also a very huge market resulting in an inducement to increase the output year by year. She will not only feed the people of Bengal but also the people of the adjoining provinces like Assam, Nepal, Bhutan and Bihar too, to a certain extent.

It is needless to mention that Bengal has ample possibilities of developing her salt industry. Not only she has got a big market for her salt, but she has also received a backing from the Government, which, till the other day, had no sympathy for the revival of her lost industry in salt, that used to yield during the last century 50 lakh maunds annually to meet the entire requirement. The province is blessed with vast resources from the Bay, suitable lands and a preferable climate to expand its salt manufacture along the entire deltaic region. As for the climate, it is never unfavourable as experts from Khewra and Bombay held some time ago. I shall set forth in this article a short study of the meteorological factors of Bengal, to place before the public as well as the Government to judge whether my conviction is right or wrong.

Contrary to the successful efforts made by the other coastal provinces of India, Bengal did not make any endeavour in reviving her salt industry even after World War I, when the dearth of foreign salt and dependence of the province on foreign supply were keenly felt, because of the biased opinion of a few salt experts, who far from closely investigating the suitability of the province in salt manufacture, created an unwarranted prejudice against future attempts. It became rather a public belief for the last fifty years that Bengal's delta did not afford climate and land for a successful salt manufacture.



Saltern Naupada

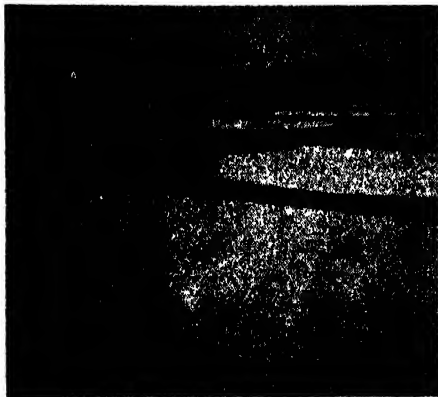
Right from the days of the first Swadeshi movement in 1905 when the programme of the boycott of British goods was first launched, Bengal's case of establishing national salt manufacturing units was thrown out for two main reasons :

1. Enforcement of the Prohibition Act of 1898.
2. Indirect campaign of the salt traders (mostly non-Bengali) who had interest in the salt manufacture of the foreign countries like Cheshire, Aden, etc., to strengthen the pessimistic view of the public by propagating against Bengal's salt strength of the bay water and the climatic conditions.

An enquiry, though non-official, into the manufacture of salt in Bengal was however made in 1918 by late Mr. Kapilram Vakil, a renowned chemist of Bombay, who was deputed by Messrs. Tata Sons, Ltd. Mr. Vakil tried to explore the possibilities, in face of a standing pessimism of the Government and the local people as well. He too, without examining the topography of the coastland as a whole, opined that Bengal's climate was not favourable for a big-scale salt industry.

The salinity of the bay water off the Bengal littoral in different parts of the province from Contai to Cox-Bazar was never examined scientifically by any official expert though a wrong idea of weak brine from the sea along the shore of Bengal had long been maintained and the reason attributed to this was that much

fresh water flowing through the estuaries of the Ganges lessened its density. The statement cannot be substantiated by evidence. The only explanation that can be advanced is that when the sea water, if any, was examined, the sample was most probably drawn during the wet season.



Another view of saltern Naupada

The next scientific investigation was made by Mr. C. H. Pitt, General Manager of the Khewra Salt Mine (Punjab) in 1931 on behalf of the Salt Industry Committee of the Central Legislative Assembly. Of the entire coastland of Bengal he visited only Midnapore and Western Sundarbans and left out the entire East Bengal littoral districts from the purview of his 'valuable' investigation. He completely threw out Bengal's case, though he suggested opening of an experimental salt farm by a private concern. He was, of course, good enough to endorse in his Report at page 7, paragraph 14, "In my opinion it would be desirable to commence immediately compiling a series of readings of the strength of brine at different points. I do not consider that direct readings taken by hydrometers would be sufficiently accurate for this work." Mr. D. N. Mukherji, now Collector, Central Excise, took out a series of readings in Sundarbans only, by Beaumme's Hydrometer in 1938 on behalf of the Government of Bengal. Since then a thorough examination of the water of the bay or from any of its arms was not made by any expert, official or non-official. Even the experts from Sind and Burma brought by the local Government in 1941, failed to test them at several points and analyse samples to ascertain the average strength of Bengal's vast resources. Last year we had occasions to examine the strength in several places at Contai, the Sundarbans, Bhola island, Hatiya island and on the Chittagong foreshore by a Beaumme's Hydrometer and collected three samples for analysis to determine the average strength of the bay. The analysis may be seen in Table I.

Complying with Mr. Pitt's advice, the Central Government did not undertake any attempt to found any salt work in Eastern India. Their past enquiries were only confined to the examination of the existing sources to ensure steady inland supply to the

Bengal market. The Tax Committee, though it opined that India should be made self-sufficient in salt supply, laid stress on Bombay and Madras only. The Tariff Board appointed by the Central Board of Revenue on the recommendation of the above Committee too did not scrutinise the case of Bengal as a source of supply and devoted all the pages of their report towards the development of other salt sources of India for supply to Bengal.

The Salt Survey Committee of the Central Government under the Chairmanship of Sir Chunilal Mehta also left the potential sources of Bengal out of their consideration as no such direction was given to them. The Salt Industry Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly examining the reports of the Tariff Board and the Survey Committee in 1931 recommended to the Central Legislature the levy of the additional import duty on foreign salt. The revenue derived from this duty was earmarked for *inter alia* "the investigation of the possibility of the development of other sources of supply in India, for example, in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and generally on the East Coast, including possibly actual experiments in suitable methods of manufacture." But the Central Government remained satisfied by deputing Mr. Pitt and paying Bengal her share amounting to about Rs. 17 lakhs from the additional import duty in 1938. Since then no effort has been made by them.

It will be evident from historical records that Bengal's old industry in salt did not die a natural death and the failure to revive it is wrongly attributed to the reasons that were put forth by the Government and the salt traders who had vested interest in the foreign supply and thus in controlling the Bengal market. The main reasons, which now I do contradict and which were partially contradicted by late Mr. Vakil, were :

(a) Decreasing salinity of the sea water due to discharge of fresh water by the Rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra ; and

(b) The climate of Bengal is very humid and does not favour salt manufacture.

The arguments against these ideas will be found below.

II

The raising of marine common salt is very much dependent on the climatic conditions of a country (humidity, rainfall, temperature, etc.) and the saline strength of the initial brine obtainable from the arms of the sea or tidal creeks of the sea. Therefore, it is better to ascertain these factors from actual records or experiments, if necessary, and by making a comparative study of the Bengal littoral with the other sea coasts of India especially Bombay and Madras, where the salt industry has remarkably developed on a commercial scale.

The following investigations were carried out in different saline areas of the province to explore the possibilities in promoting the indigenous salt industry and to base the result of the examinations on the

meteorological factors, as determined and recorded by the Meteorological Department of the Government of India.

TABLE 1

*Analyses of sea water from different parts of Bengal**
(Collection place and date)

	Contai (Digha 12.2.46	Saptamukhi, Sunderbans 13.3.46.	Moisal Chann Chittagong 10.12.45.
Reading on B's Hydromete.	2.7°	2.8°	
Sodium Chloride (Common salt)	2.20	2.198	2.427
Magnesium Chloride	.24	.27	.29
Magnesium Sulphate	.19	.19	.20
Calcium Sulphate	.1	.1	.1
Calcium Carbonate	.01	.01	.01
Silicia	.001	trace	.003
Oxides of Aluminium and Iron	.001	trace	.001
Potassium Nitrate	nil	nil	.002

Let us calculate the average composition from the above and compare it with the analyses of other sea waters.

TABLE 2
Analyses of sea water

	Bengal's Bay (average from above)	Madras (Bay of Bengal)	Mediterra- nean	Atlantic
Sodium chloride	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7
Magnesium chloride	.27	.28	.61	.23
Magnesium sulphate	.19	.18	.70	.18
Calcium sulphate	.11	.13	.04	.15
Calcium carbonate	.01	—	.02	—
Other matters	.003	—	.01	.2
Analysed	Briggs.	King Lament from Ratton	Ure from Calvert	

The analyses compared in Table 2 will show that in the strength of common salt there is only a difference of 3/4 between the bay water of Bengal and the sea waters of Madras, Italy, France, Spain or Portugal.

A little diminution in the strength of the brine does not materially affect the manufacture of salt to such an extent as to make it an impracticable problem.

* All were analysed by Messrs. R. V. Briggs & Co.

It is well known that the brine of the sea in its initial strength evaporates more quickly than a strong brine and therefore a low brine does not, to any great extent, make the process difficult and unremunerative.



Brine condensers, Naupada

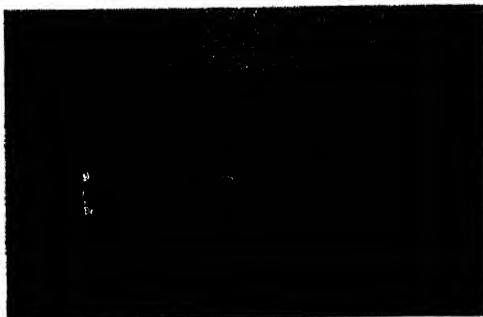
The composition and the exact total density of the brine in terms of Beaumme's Hydrometer from the Arabian Sea in Bombay and around, where 95 lakh maunds of salt are manufactured per year, could not be collected by me unfortunately, so that I could make a comparative study. From one Government Report and the latest publication of Mr. Vakil, it is learnt that a saline of about 3°B is let into the Bombay Works in high tides twice a month. So from the point of brine supply Bengal's deltaic region is not unsuitable and it is time the erroneous idea of a low density of the sea water of this province was abandoned. The discharge of water by rivers everywhere decreases the salt strength of the sea near the shore during the rainy months and up to November utmost. As for the River Hoogli in Western Bengal dissecting the salt land of West Bengal, we know very well that from January to May or till the break of the monsoon, this river, as its bed has considerably silted up, seldom carries sweet water from the north and it greatly depends on the tidal water from the sea.



A cottage furnace, Cox Bazar

From the analysis of the samples it is manifest that our sea water during the salt season is not less salt in comparison with the other sources and it never precludes the idea of establishing an extended big scale manufacture along the entire coastland. The

samples were collected mostly during the early part of the last salt season and they would have no doubt an increased strength, had they been collected simultaneously in April or May before the rains.



Burma process at Dulahajra, Chittagong

The coastal part of the southern part of Chittagong is by far the best place from the point of brine supply. The channels of Kutubdia and Moiscal due to a partial stagnation of sea water afford a saline strength better than that available in Bombay or Coromandal. And for this reason, the present output of cottage salt from the district of Chittagong has been estimated to be 3 lakh maunds annually and I have seen, the entire coastland from the mouth of the river Sankha right up to the estuary of Cox Bazar river is cultivated for salt production by the local people.

The other saline tracts of the maritime districts, except Khulna and Bakarganj, which are really not fit for salt culture in an extensive scale, are not less hospitable for a wide-scale growth of the salt industry on factory basis. And this our assertion is strengthened by the fact that about ten salt companies have been manufacturing salt in Bengal for the last decade.

III

The climatic condition of the coastal part of the province may now be examined to see how far it is suitable for commercial manufacture of salt. The important meteorological factors favouring development of the salt industry are :

1. Dry weather or low humidity during the season of manufacture;
2. High temperature to accelerate evaporation when the land breeze blows; and
3. Less rain shower during the manufacturing season.

In considering the above aspects of Bengal's climate, we will have to determine the following :

1. Humidity, 2. Average temperature, and 3. Rain-fall.

The Humidity Factor : Relative humidity is the ratio of the actual vapour pressure to the dew point of the atmosphere, the other conditions being the same and is determined in percentage. The following is a comparative study of the humidity in places where salt is or can be manufactured in a big scale :

TABLE 3

Average Relative Humidity for 6 years, 1940-44

	Bombay	Sagore Island, West Bengal	Madras	Viragapatam	Cox Bazar, East Bengal
*December	70.25	63	89.2	73.4	65.4
*January	75.8	62	82	77.2	63
*February	73.8	61	82.6	80	59
*March	77	73	82.2	77.8	69.8
*April	74.8	80	77.2	74.6	71
*May	75.8	78.6	68.6	74	76
*June	82.2	78.6	64.2	75.6	86
July	87	84	67.4	78.8	88
August	86.4	83	72.6	77.4	87
September	86.2	80	76	81.6	85
October	81.6	75	83.8	78.4	75.4
November	71.8	66	88.2	70.2	67

It will be evident from the table above that the relative humidity of West Bengal or East Bengal sea-shore region is not detrimental to progress of salt works and in comparing the average figures it will be found that the humidity of Bengal delta is almost similar to that prevailing in the coastal parts of Eastern or Western India. During the dry months of December to March the Bengal delta is rather more dry than Bombay coast. That is probably due to its geographical position being in between 21 deg. to 23 deg. latitude North, whereas Bombay sea-shore, where salt is manufactured, lies between 16 deg. to 20 deg. latitude North.



Salt-golas, Astrang

The average relative humidity for five years 1940 to 1944 for the period December to June which may be ascribed as the salt season, is 71 per cent in Sagore Island (West Bengal coastland), 70 in Cox-Bazar (East Bengal coastland) but 75.6 in Bombay. Therefore, the possibilities of salt manufacture from the

* Salt Season.

point of humidity factor of Bengal's sea-shore lands cannot be disputed. The tropical countries are nevertheless dry only for a short period during the wintry months and moist generally during the rest of the year. The lands situated in northern latitudes are no doubt arid and afford a very suitable climate for sea salt culture and that is why Karachi and Okha in India have much developed their salt industry. But moist countries like Bombay or Madras as a whole produce salt more than the out-turn of Karachi and Okha works, taken together.

So the humidity factor in Bengal, if not singled out from the other factors, cannot do away with the progress of the salt industry as we find it from the examples of Madras and Bombay.

Average Temperature : The mean temperature of the atmosphere during the twenty-four hours of day and night and that in the daytime only are to be taken into account to measure the progress of condensation of the brine and its crystallisation in open pans, when artificial heat is not used in the final stage to evaporate the saturated saline.

The temperature of the air depends on the altitude of the sun, latitude, elevation, distance from the sea, character of the wind and amount of rainfall. During December to June, the temperature of air in India, in general, decreases with the increase of latitude and hence from South to North, the isotherms run across India nearly parallel to the parallels of the latitude. The climate, being not very cold, remains moderately dry. During the less arid months the lands away from the sea become more hot due to the rise of temperature causing a dry breeze blow towards the shore during the daytime which is then longer than nights and thus accelerate the progress of evaporation in the salterns.

TABLE 4
Average temperatures for 5 years 1940-44
Sagore Island (West Bengal)

	Max.	Min.	Mean.
December	84.6	56	70.3
January	81.33	53.4	67.4
February	85.4	55.8	70.6
March	90.8	66	78.4
April	92.4	69.2	80.8
May	95	71.8	83.4
June	95.6	75.2	85.4
October	88.5	71.6	
November	87	62.8	

Cox Bazar (East Bengal)

	Max.	Min.	Mean.
December	85.4	54.4	69.7
January	84.6	53	68.8
February	88	53.2	70.6
March	92	60.8	76.4
April	92	66.4	79.2
May	93	69.8	81.4
June	90.6	71.8	81.2
October	91.6	68.6	
November	90	61.4	

In Table 4 above, it may be seen that Bengal's coastland in the western part maintains a mean temperature of 80°F and in the eastern part maintains about 75°F in average during the salt season, 1 mean December to June. Such temperatures afford with a clear sky and humidity of 70 to 80 per cent, a favourable climate for salt culture by evaporation of sea water in very shallow lagoons. Moreover, the maximum temperatures from 82°F to 96°F during the daytime are very much favourable in accelerating the progress in the condensing beds. In West Bengal shore the temperature rises up to 96°F in the afternoon and this must have been a helpful factor in depositing salt in the crystallising beds of a few existing salt works in Midnapore and 24-Parganas.

In East Bengal manufactories, though, the solar system of crystallisation is not practised due to heavy rainfall, the other factors remaining favourable, I see, there is possibility of resorting to this economic method, utilising the sun up to the end, in Chittagong, at least for the dry winter months, when it does not rain frequently. Moreover, in the Chittagong coast, a beautiful dry land-breeze blows from the hill-tracts towards the sea, similar to that Bombay gets from the Malabar ranges. Only for this advantage, I mean the prevalence of land wind counteracting the effect of a high humidity, the Bombay salt works have been successful to expand their manufacture. Otherwise her rainfall is about 80" and the humidity is nearly 80 per cent, and the maximum temperature in summer hardly exceeds 87°F. In Bengal coastland, the temperature rises even up to 97°F in May.

Rainfall : Whether salt is manufactured by artificial evaporation, employing fuel or by solar evaporation, the condensation of the saline is an inalienable factor; the sea water or concentrated brine is allowed to evaporate in the sun either to the actual deposition of salt or to the point of saturation before it is boiled on a furnace. So the number of working days is a great factor for the progress of a salt factory. Accordingly, rainfall is a serious impediment to the working of a salt garden. It not only spoils a saline by dilution with fresh water, but also stops evaporation. For this reason, in sea-salt-making countries where rainfall is high and is generally distributed in post-summer months, the salt season is confined to 6 or 7 months only. Rain showers being always a handicap especially for the manufacture of solar salt, the places which have the lowest rainfall may generally be said to have a more suitable and valuable climate factor in their favour as compared with the places with heavier rainfall. The most important point to consider is the distribution of rainfall over the year and its intensity, since the localities with limited rainfall over four months only are decidedly more suitable than those where it is spread over a larger number of months in a year. But it can never be an impracticable proposition to manufacture salt by condensing brine in open pans in places where rainfall is distributed over more than four months in some years. In Bombay, as well as in Bengal, some

years it rains from May to October, some years from June to November, though normally monsoon breaks in the middle of June and the rainy season is almost over by the end of September. In the East Coast last year it rained untimely during April and May and hampered the salt manufacture of the entire coastal part of Madras and Orissa. The occasional interruptions cannot throw out the case of any country to establish its salt industry. Both Madras and Bombay have an established salt industry for a long time and they feed entirely the people of Southern India.

Therefore, when Bombay has been successful in manipulating its adverse weather conditions and soil (which is said to be much more plastic than that of Bengal) to foster a fully developed industry in salt, I think, Bengal should lose no time to follow her and expand salt culture to the fullest possible extent in the interest of the country.

Table 5 below will show that the rainfall in Bengal is not all a disappointing factor in the way of the promotion and expansion of the salt industry.

TABLE 5

Total rainfall

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Bombay	97.58	63.81	81.7	78.38	74.10
Madras	58.04	61.08	65.22	85	77.21

—:O:—

Puri	79	55.55	64.66	65.66	39.06
Balasore	87.2	85.82	63.7	70.77	58.16
Sagore	86.34	97.6	94.49	59.64	69.78
Chittagong	122.98	116.78	97.82	92.69	93.96

Average rainfall: Bombay 77.37, Madras 67.48, Puri 56, Balasore 73.13, Sagore 87.57 and Chittagong 104.8.

The rainfall figures of the Sagore Island observatory have been taken as indices for the seashore of West Bengal comprising the districts of Midnapore and 24-Parganas and that of Chittagong have been taken as indices of the coastal part of Eastern Bengal. In both these parts of the province there are salt factories, producing salt for the last eight years. In Cox-Bazar Subdivision of the district of Chittagong, there are private salt manufactories that yield about 3 lakh maunds annually. They are following for the last four years the combined process of solar evaporation and boiling as adopted in Burma. As they have abundant fuel in hand from the neighbouring forests of the hill-tracts, they do not resort to natural evaporation in the crystallising stage. This they had to take recourse to for the interrupting rains might spoil a crop.

REMINISCENCES OF ACHARYA DHRUVA

By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKILARA BHATTACHARYA

I had the privilege of making an acquaintance with Acharya Anandshanker Bapubhai Dhruva quite in an unexpected way. It was through the late lamented Prof. Sylvain Levi. In 1921 Prof. Levi came to the *Visva-Bharati*, Santiniketan, as its first visiting Professor for delivering some lectures specially on Indology. But accidentally at my request he introduced there the study of Chinese and Tibetan of which I myself was one of his first students. He gave me the *bija-mantras* of those two languages thus becoming my *guru* and I began to mutter them as far as I could.

With a view to seeing the ancient sacred city of Benares he went there, and as could naturally be expected, he paid a visit to the Benares Hindu University of which Acharya Dhruva was then the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Both the scholars met each other and discussed on various topics. Within a few days Prof. Levi returned to Santiniketan being not quite satisfied with what he saw there in the University. He observed, I remember, "There are no arrangements for Chinese and Tibetan, nor even for Pali and Prakrit, yet, it is a *Hindu University*!" The authorities of the University might take note of it. It may, however, be mentioned here that the last two languages are now provided for, but the first two are not introduced

even though they are essential for an adequate appreciation of Hindu Culture in general, and specially of Sanskrit Literature in its wider sense.

Just before Prof. Levi's arrival in India Prof. Mirnov noticed in an Annual of the Jain Svetambar Conference a work on Buddhist Logic, viz., *Nyayapravesa* of which he secured a *tika*, but not its original. Making search in different Jaina libraries in Gujarat, which have still been preserving some Buddhist works, though not to the same extent as Nepal, Acharya Dhruva succeeded in finding out the original Sanskrit Text of the work together with two commentaries. He was thinking of editing them and discussed the matter with Prof. Levi when the latter met him in Benares. Prof. Levi suggested to Acharya Dhruva to prepare an edition of the Sanskrit Text comparing it with its Chinese and Tibetan versions. It was further discussed between them that while the Sanskrit portion of the work would be done by Acharya Dhruva the portion relating to Chinese and Tibetan would be entrusted to me. Prof. Levi having returned to Santiniketan from Benares told me of it and I was simply amazed as to how he could suggest my name in this connection, as I was then only a novice of those two languages. At first, I refused the proposal downright, but Prof. Levi prevailed upon me en-

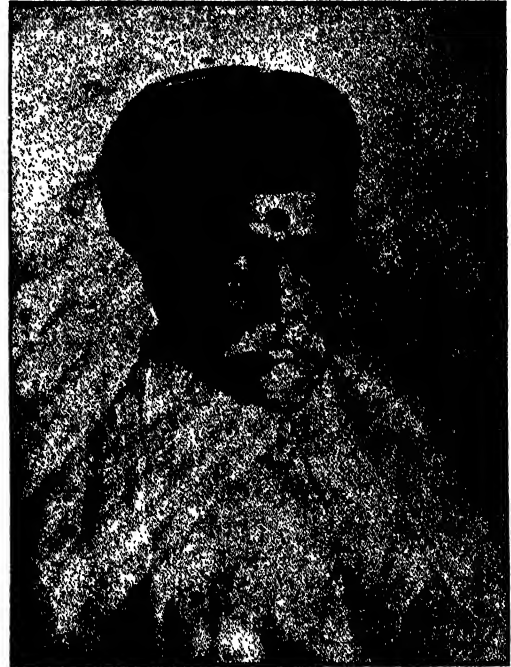
couraging me for its acceptance. I did not and do not still know how he could insist in offering a work to one who was really not fit. However, I had to accept it and in a few days I received a letter from Acharya Dhruva on the subject and we began to work carrying on necessary correspondence. It goes without saying that Prof. Levi helped me much taking 'greater interest in this work. He could not stay long in Santiniketan and went to Japan, and on my part I went on working at the *Nyayapravesa*. This work in two parts is published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

In October, 1922, my mother was seriously ill in Benares and I had to go there. I already intimated Acharya Dhruva of my going there saying that I would not see him with my hands empty, meaning thereby that I would show him what I was doing of the *Nyayapravesa*. The illness of my mother proved fatal and I was to return as soon as possible and so I was in a hurry to see Acharya Dhruva. I went to the University and saw him there in his residence. An unassuming and simple man, just like a *Brahmana Pandita* of our country as he was, Acharya Dhruva once impressed me very much by his appearance reminding me of the following line of Kalidasa: *akarasadrsaprajnah*. We talked and talked on different topics certainly not leaving the subject of the edition of the *Nyayapravesa*, and became nearer to each other. I took leave of him and had had other occasions to meet him again in Benares.

In 1933 the All-India Oriental Conference was held under the patronage of His Highness Sayaji Rao Gaekwad at Baroda. I went there to attend it as a member of the Executive Council and as a Representative of the *Visva-Bharati* of the Vidyabhavana of which I was then the Principal, carrying with me a message from our Gurudeva, Rabindranath Tagore, regarding the financial position of his great Institution. I personally delivered the message to His Highness explaining to him all about the *Visva-Bharati*. There I met Acharya Dhruva and the occasion ripened our intimacy all the more. He presided over the Philosophy Section of the Conference in which I had the honour to read a paper. I remember here how kindly I was received by the late Bhagavanji in his *Asrama* at Karelilbag where I put up. He took so much care for my comfort that I felt myself at home.

On my way back from Baroda my esteemed friend, Suniti Babu (Prof. Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee of the University of Calcutta) was with me and we both broke journey and halted at Ahmedabad being guests of Muni Jinavijayaji, our common friend. I had already much intimacy with him as for three years he lived at Santiniketan being the Head of the Department of Jaina Literature. In those days in the *Visva-Bharati*, in its different departments such as school, college, Research, Music, Art, and Village Reconstruction, there was a good number of students, boys and girls, from Gujarat. In that connection I was fortunate to have made many a Gujarati friend there, and I was so glad to meet some of those students and friends at Baroda and Ahmedabad. One Sri Narsimhai Patel lived for some time at Santiniketan, with his wife, two little daughters, Santa and Vimala, and a son Ramanbhai. In order to meet me Patelji kindly came to Ahmedabad

from a very far-off village. Dr. Manilal Patel, first a pupil and then a colleague, was with me from Santiniketan. Bhaktiprasad Trivedi, Pinaki (he preferred to be called *Pinakin*) Trivedi with his wife Srimati Indumati, all students of Santiniketan, as well as many other students came to meet me. I had also the pleasure of meeting some parents of my Gujarati students, who came to Baroda. So I felt myself in no way a stranger.



Acharya Anandshanker Dhruva

Here I must particularly mention the name of Sri Karunashanker Kuberji. I already made him my friend at Santiniketan. Occasionally he used to come there to pay his homage to Gurudeva and to look after the Gujarati students reading there. Indeed, his name Karunashanker is literally true, he being full of kindness and conferring happiness. Rare is the type of man to which he belongs. He was my constant companion there grudging no pains nor care for my ease and comfort.

Muni Jinavijayaji's house at Ahmedabad which is significantly named *Ankantarada* is a rendezvous of the scholars of the place with a good library. It gave me an opportunity for meeting a good many scholars whose friendship and association I can hardly forget.

A meeting was arranged by the friends in the local Gujarati Sahitya Parishat to meet Suniti Babu and myself. With much reluctance I had to accept the invitation. This meeting was attended by some of the celebrated persons of the town and the members of the Society including Sri H. K. Dhruva and Acharya Dhruva, the former being the President of the assembly. The President, Acharya Dhruva, Muni Jinavijayaji and Dr. Manilal spoke suitably of the occasion in the meeting and welcomed us both in an *aristhava* the literal sense of which, according to Mimam-

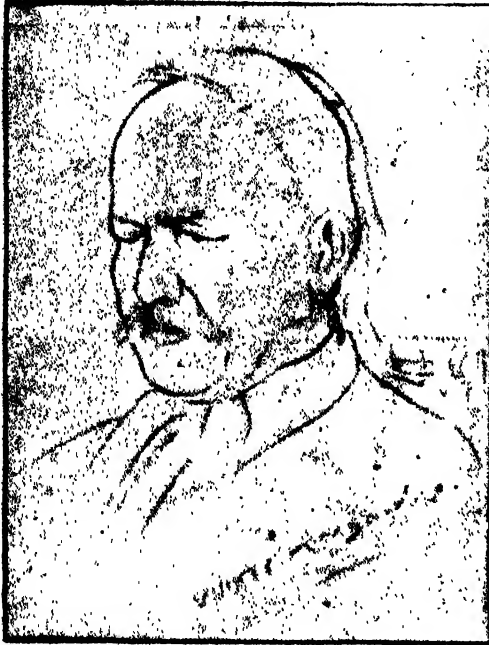
ists, has no validity at all. Then came there our turn for giving reply. The meeting was proceeding rightly in the local language, Gujarati. I was glad that it was not in English. But it put me into a great difficulty. For my philological studies I had a stammering knowledge of Gujarati just enabling me to use somehow or other a grammar or a dictionary of that knowledge. So it was simply im-

Santiniketan invited us to a tea party in his house. Acharya Dhruva was also among the guests present there and the function which we enjoyed so much was a great success mainly on account of his presence there.

Here I must note one thing that struck me very much during my sojourn in Gujarat. I shall and can never forget the warmth and the depth of hospitality, courtesy and kindness that I received from my Gujarati friends and students alike.

In July, 1934, I met Acharya Dhruva for the last time at Santiniketan. He came there only for two days having broken his journey to Calcutta. The inmates of the *Asrama* including the teachers and the students accorded to him a reception befitting a person of his position. I had the honour of taking him round all the departments of the *Visva-Bharati* situated in Santiniketan and Sriniketan. On the morning of the second day of his sojourn there he went to see the work of Sriniketan and addressed a small gathering of workers there highly appreciating the idea of the Poet which was being translated into action. In the Visitors' Book kept there he wrote only *one* word underlined thrice, and it was "Excellent." He wrote only one word but unusually he took much time to do so holding the book in his hand. In the evening there was arranged a big meeting in the *Uttatavana*, the house of Sri Rathindranath, Poet's son, Gurudeva himself presiding. In reply to Poet's address welcoming the august guest and dealing with the ideals of the *Visva-Bharati* he expressed his high appreciation of what he had heard for years witnessing the varied achievements in the *Visva-Bharati*.

Next morning he started for Calcutta. After that though we could not meet our friendship continued uninterrupted to the last day of his life. The University of Calcutta felt proud of him having him occasionally as an expert in making some high appointments, and as an Examiner in Sanskrit of M.A. Examination, as well as of theses for Premchand Roychand Studentship. In 1943 he refused with regret a similar offer on the ground of ill health and after some time we received the news of the sad demise of that great savant and "the last of the learned Brahmins of Gujarat"—as Sri K. M. Munsii would like to express.



Principal Dhruva at home.
Sketch by R. M. Raval

possible for me with that amount of knowledge to express myself in that language, and specially in such a learned gathering. In this helpless state I had no other alternative than to take resort to my broken Hindi with which somehow or other I attempted to manage. Suniti Babu spoke first partly in Hindi and then partly in English.

Next day Sri Ambalal Sarabhai, a well-known figure of the part of the country, whom I already met once at

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DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

(22ND AUGUST, 1877—10TH SEPTEMBER, 1947)

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

In the sudden death of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy within a few days of the celebrations of his seventieth year, the study of Indian Art and Culture, Civilization and Philosophy, and the cause of Indian Nationalism have suffered a grievous and irremediable loss. In him the world has lost a versatile scholar, a collector and connoisseur of Art of rare sensibility and discrimination, a mystic philosopher of a wide range of thought, with a rare insight into the three great disciplines of civilization, namely, Art, Science and Religion. In him India has lost her greatest art-critic, and art-historian, and the most learned and authoritative exponent and interpreter of the basic principles of Indian Art and Aesthetics, her greatest champion and defender of the values of Indian Civilization in all its phases and aspects. The wide and almost encyclopaedic range of his studies and his critical understanding of Western Philosophy and Art helped him to demonstrate the fundamental unity of man's approach to the deepest and highest problems of life; this was richly demonstrated by his brilliant essays in the elucidation of the comparative values of Indian and medieval European Art in its Gothic Christian phases. Yet he began life as an enthusiastic student of the objective science of Geology to which he made many new and original contributions, and his scientific training in early life lent to all his thoughts, to all his writings and to all his studies of Art, a rare precision, a subtle power of analysis, and a distinctive and accurate way of presentation of his themes, which have never been excelled by any author in the East or in the West. His accomplishment as a great linguist, happy in all the major European and Indian languages, imparted to everything that he wrote a highly exquisite literary flavour. He wrote the English language with an erudition, with a mastery, with a flexibility, with an expressiveness and a charm rarely attained by any Englishman. Educated in England in his youth, he earned the diploma of a Doctor of Science from the University of London, and in later life he devoted himself to profound and intensive studies of the leading languages and cultures of India, specializing in Hindi, Pali and Vedic Literature. In him the culture of the East and the West had met in rare and surprising unity, bringing forth fruits of the highest values to the stores of the world's culture. As a publicist and an educationist his contributions deserve the highest praise and admiration. Indian Art had suffered grievously in the past owing to bad and insufficient reproductions. In his brilliant series of books and monographs he presented Indian Art through the most expensive and accurate processes of reproductions in order to bring forth and demonstrate their highest quality and beauty. It will be impossible to present within the limits of this article anything like an exhaustive survey of his great contributions to Art and Literature. His researches into all phases of Indian Art and the elucidation of the intricate evolution of its history can never be surpassed and shall ever remain as a standing monument to his genius.

By an unhappy combination of circumstances and by

the philistine attitude of Indians towards the finest flowers of their own civilization, India and modern Indians had lost the advantage of a personal contact with this high priest of Indian Nationalism and the greatest teacher and authority of Indian Art, and it is sad to think that the loss of India has been the gain of the United States where he was destined to live the greater part of his life. He never sought publicity in any form or kind and led the life of a recluse and a devotee to the cause of Indian Art, for which he incessantly worked to make new discoveries and incessantly wrote to set forth their meaning and significance. He visited India three times staying for long stretches to study the monuments at first hand and to collect materials and data for the understanding of the whole evolution of a great cycle of Art, unique in the

Late Dr. ANAND K. COOMARASWAMY



this Scholarly Pursuit

Sketch by S. N. Alankar

history of the culture of the world. In the course of an extended tour in Northern India during the autumn of the year 1910, he collected an enormous quantity of the finest specimens of Indian Paintings and Drawings and other master-pieces which presented Indian Art in hitherto unknown phases and expressions. This enormous collection of Indian Art he offered to present to the Indian Nation, on the condition that an adequate Museum and Gallery should be built at Benares, he himself offering to act as its Curator. A printed Appeal was issued, and widely circulated, but our nationalists impervious to the claims of Indian Art failed to respond to his appeal. And ultimately the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, agreed to accept the collection and built up a worthy

Gallery to house and to present the collection for the benefit of students and connoisseurs from all parts of the world. This collection now stands as a unique and the most comprehensive presentation of all phases of Indian Art brought together under one roof in any part of the world. Indeed, there is no collection in any museums of India which present such a connected and comprehensive picture of the history of Indian culture as the Indian wings of the Boston Museum. It is impossible to estimate in rupees, annas and pies the extent of the loss of this treasure to India by its transference to a distant corner of the world, inaccessible to the general bodies of Indian students. The loss of India has been an invaluable gain to America and a gain to the access in prestige and understanding of Indian Art in the West. Since this transfer of one of the finest collections of Indian Art, chosen and selected by a gifted and talented connoisseur of rare discrimination and knowledge, various Indian collectors have attempted to build in India important collections of Indian Art, but none of these later collections can approach the Ross-Coomaraswamy collection of the Boston Museum, in the range and rarity of its items. To build such a collection is itself a signal service to the knowledge and understanding of a great culture which is still a sealed book to the majority of Indian Nationalists.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's appointment as the keeper of the Boston collection and as the Research Fellow in Indian Art, brought him opportunities for profound and extensive studies for elucidating the history of its evolution, studies which he published in the *Bulletins of the Museums* in incessant series of short but erudite articles, revealing the glory of Indian Art, presented with a wealth of scholarship and citations which have extracted unstinted praise from savants from all parts of the world. Unfortunately, his signal services in the cause of elucidating the finest phases of Indian civilization have been very little known to his brother-nationals in India and the name and fame that he had acquired in India during the years 1909 and 1910 at the height of the Swadeshi Movement to which he gave a brilliant lead in the right direction by his lectures and articles (many of which were published in the pages of this journal) faded out of memory, when this Banished Yaksha was forced to make Boston his home and his venue of cultural studies. The Indian Universities have several times invited many Western Orientalists to deliver Extension Lectures and the Indian Oriental Conferences have even invited some English Orientalists as Presidents of their sittings, but the claims of this eminent and erudite Indian scholar have been deliberately neglected and ignored in spite of repeated suggestions made by the writer. A prophet is, indeed, never honoured in his own country!

It is necessary to recall the actual nature of the fruits of his studies in the field which he had chosen and which he enriched with rare colour and flavour. Yet the task is impossible to fulfil within a limited space and we must content ourselves with a bare recital of the most important and significant of his many publications.

His first negotiations with the basic foundations of Indian culture began during his few years' stay in Ceylon as the Director of the Mineralogical Survey of that island.

In the intervals of official duties he was sorely aggrieved by the denationalized outlook of Sinhalese youths, wearing foreign costumes and adopting English names and ignoring the ancient Sinhalese culture under the enervating influence of English education. Dr. Coomaraswamy attempted to change the attitude of his brethren towards their ancient heritage and published and edited for two years the *Ceylon National Review*, preaching the value and beauty of indigenous culture of the island. This led to a scientific survey of the surviving guilds of Sinhalese craftsmen and their beautiful crafts, the history of which was set forth in his erudite monograph on *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (1908). It was the writer's privilege to request this prophet of Indian culture to render his tribute to the shrine of Indian Art proper. And the response came in a few weeks in a stimulating pamphlet on the *Aims of Indian Art* (May, 1908) later reprinted in the pages of this *Review*. This was followed by his challenging paper read at the Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen (August, 1908) in which he courageously and ably refuted the theory of Greek influence on Indian Art, creating a great sensation among the coteries of European Archaeologists. Then followed a succession of beautiful publications, setting forth in accurate facsimiles the merits of Indian Drawings and Paintings (Hindu as well as Mughal) in two series of admirable portfolios published by the India Society, London, which, for the first time, opened the eyes of European connoisseurs to the beauties of these treasures, the high merit and technique of which challenged the merits of Holbein and Ingres. As practical aids to the study and understanding of Indian Art he published in 1910 his admirable portfolio of *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, reproducing with comments, forty well-chosen masterpieces, many in colours. This was followed by a series of 100 collotype Plates reproducing distinguished examples of Indian Art under the caption *Viswakarma* to which the famous artist Eric Gill contributed an illuminating introduction eulogizing the values of Indian Art. These publications were not only eye-openers to European students, but also to Indians, till then absolutely imperious to the appeal of their national Art. In the intervals of incessant articles on many phases of Indian culture (later collected in 1918, in the *Dance of Siva*), Coomaraswamy published through the Oxford University Press (1916) two admirable folio volumes on *Rajput Painting*, which for the first time recovered the identity of Hindu-Bramhanical Paintings, hitherto confused by European writers with Moghul miniatures. The demonstration, illustrated by 78 admirable examples for the first time placed Hindu Paintings on its own pedestal. The text set forth, with scholarly accuracy and philosophical interpretation, the entire spiritual atmosphere of Vaishnavite and Saivaite doctrines of thought in relation to which the Rajput paintings were proved to be the visual commentaries on the Bhagavata and Shaiva Puranas. Raphael Petrucci and Laurence Binyon and other European connoisseurs acclaimed this new eye-opener with unstinted praise. In the same year, a popular survey of Buddhist culture was given in his *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, admirably illustrated by typical Buddhist masterpieces and

especially drawn miniatures by Dr. A. N. Tagore and Nanda Lal Bose. Three years before this work, an Edinburgh publisher issued his little volume on *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, which with its 195 illustrations is still the best general survey in a handy form. His duties in the Boston Museum brought forth three admirable *Catalogues of the Collection*, (Sculpture I, Rajput Painting II, Jaina Painting III), which for accuracy and scholarship will stand as unsurpassable models for Museum inventories. The introductions to these catalogues and the bibliographies annexed to them are mines of information and permanent guides to the study of their subjects. In the stately series of tomes of the *Ars Asiatica*, Dr. Coomaraswamy contributed two important volumes, one on the *Sculptures of Bodhi Gaya* (Vol. 1935), another on the *Oriental Miniatures of the Goloubew Collection* (Vol. XIII, 1929). That he was equally at home in his erudite excursions into Hindu Paintings as in Musalman Miniatures is proved by his various essays and articles, richly documented at every step and specially, by his small monograph on the *Treatise of Al-Jazari on Automata* (Boston, 1924). His series of illustrated articles on Moghul Iconography (*Artibus Asiae*, 1927) is replete with new information and data, throwing a flood of light on little known aspects of the theme. His *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927) is the only complete survey of the subject destined to remain as an indispensable text-book for specialists as well as for ordinary students. His service in the field of Buddhist Archaeology and Iconography are invaluable. In his epoch-making essay on the *Origin of the Buddha Image* (1927), he completely demolished Foucher's thesis on the Greek origin of the Image. In his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (1934), he analyses and traces the origins of Buddhist Art to Vedic sources and supports his thesis by illuminating references covering the whole field of Vedic literature. His erudite dissertation on the *Nature of Buddhist Art* (published as an Introduction to *The Wall Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon*, 1938) displays an encyclopaedic knowledge of the vast expanse of Pali literature which is truly astounding. On many points, he cites parallel ideas from Greek, Latin and medieval Christian literature to elucidate the basic ideas underlying Buddhist iconography. His rich contributions to Comparative Mythology are attested by several learned essays, out of which two outstanding ones may be here cited:—"The Tree of Jesse and Indian Parallels or Sources" (1929), and "The Iconography of Durer's 'Knots' and Leonardo's concatenation" (1944). His two dissertations on "Yakshas" offer the most illuminating interpretation of a very little known phase of Indian Iconography, documented at each step by a wealth of illustrative photographs and drawings unsurpassed by any works on Indian Art. His meticulous examination of the *Silpasastras* and the relative texts have given us rich fruits of his brilliant studies on this topic in numerous articles. His learned and accurate rendering of various texts bearing on the techniques of Indian Art have thrown a flood of light on the most obscure phases of its history. On the theoretical aspects of the subject his outstanding contributions are the translations of the *Sukranitiars*, *Vishnu-dharmottara*,

Silparatna, *Abhilasārtha Chintamani*, and his *One Hundred Passages on Early Text on Painting*. His meticulously accurate philological interpretations of the technical words reveal a stupefying erudition bearing on the whole literature of the subject. The most illustrative examples are his essays on *Paroksa*, *Abhasa*, and on *Alamkara*. For the last ten years, he had almost exclusively devoted himself to the study of Vedic texts and their interpretation. These investigations appear to be the crowning laurel of the scholastic career of one who began life as a man of science and an expert geologist. Numerous essays bearing on his studies of the Vedas attest the marvellous philological feats of an aesthete and surprise us by the astounding range of his scholarship and expert knowledge. The present writer is not qualified to assess the merits of his Vedic studies, but competent scholars have lavished unstinted praise on his two booklets, *Angel and Titan: an Essay in Vedic Ontology*, and *A New Approach to the Vedas: An Essay in Translation and Exegesis*. There is hardly any phase of Indian culture which he has not touched and transmuted into gold. His researches into *Early Indian Architecture* documented by illustrative drawings is a solid contribution to the subject, minutely describing each member of Indian architectural construction by its technical term, drawn from the whole field of early Sanskrit literature. As a Reviewer, he has revealed new methods and manners. Most of his reviews are independent articles, supplementing the data of the subject treated, with information unknown to the author reviewed. Thus, his *Indian Architectural Terms*, a veritable encyclopaedia of the subject, has grown out of a review of Dr. Acharyya's books on Indian Architecture, and it now stands as an admirable and indispensable text-book giving a mine of information for all future students of the subject. The range of his wide knowledge, his exhaustive researches on any particular topic, his careful and meticulous way of handling his subjects made him as happy in dealing with Early Indian Terracottas as with obscure points in Buddhist Iconography, as happy in treating with any phase of Mughal Painting as in dealing with Hindi Ragmala Texts, with illuminating commentaries on the philology of archaic Hindi words occurring in musical inscriptions. As an Orientalist, with a wide range of subjects he surpassed Professor Sylvain Levi; as a Philologist, he has challenged the works of many authorities, and, as an Historian of Art, his works surpass those of Renan and Maspero. It is unfortunate that the rapid progress of his scholarship took him many miles away from his popular and propagandist essays of his early Swadeshi days, with the wide popular appeal of his lectures republished in *Art and Swadeshi* (1911) and his admirable *Essays in Indian National Idealism*, and in his later works he became too much of a mystic and a metaphysician beyond the reach of ordinary individuals, though still exciting the envy and the admiration of scholars. Most of his writings are lit up by a surfeit of breath-taking references and parallel passages from all the philosophical writers of the world, and, sometimes, an interpretation of the symbology of an ordinary Indian Picture or Icon is supported by citations from Kausitaki Brahmins, Plato, and Jalaluddin Rumi, as well

as from Homeric epigrams and Coptic Gnostic treatises! His works drew the warm appreciation of Western savants, but Indians have yet to pay their debts of tribute to one of their greatest prophets. It is proposed to issue a Memorial Volume of Essays on Indian Art to honour the memory of India's greatest savant, and it is expected that the citizens of Free India will flock to collaborate in this

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THE PROBLEM OF WATER FERTILITY IN FISH CULTURE*

By A. KUMAR DUTT, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Cornell) and AMIYA B. KAR, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Edin.).

New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Fish is the most important member of the aquatic environment that is used in human food extensively all over the world. It is also used in the manufacture of oil and other useful products. The fish meal and its by-products are used as concentrated feed for the cattle and poultry or as fertilizer for soils. Under normal conditions in India fish is a cheap source of protein and certain vitamins, and forms a common item of every-day diet for a large bulk of the population. In view of the fact that in the humid parts of India, such as Assam, Bengal and Madras, the absence of suitable perennial legumes for pastures as well as the prevalence of various diseases among the livestock population are limiting for the growth of a large-scale, prosperous animal husbandry, the importance of fish to enrich the food of the local population cannot be over-emphasized.

All animals derive their food, directly or indirectly, from plants. Green plants are organisms that can synthesize—with the aid of light and green colouring matter of their leaves (chlorophyll)—carbohydrates from water and carbon dioxide. In pond water, it is the assemblage of minute, often microscopic, plants and animals known as plankton, instead of the large rooted plants, that are the basic source of food for the aquatic life. Collectively, the minute animals are known as zooplankton and the minute plants are phytoplankton.

Phytoplankton consists mainly of algae that include the diatoms, desmids, blue-green algae and green algae. It is the presence of these organisms that tints pond water green or brown, makes the green scum on the surface, and produces the effect known as 'water bloom'. It is the algal members of phytoplankton that synthesize, with the aid of light and chlorophyll, carbohydrates from water and carbon dioxide. Bacteria are also members of phytoplankton, but quantitatively they are not as important as the green members of this group in so far as their role as food for other organisms is concerned. Bacteria, however, cause the decomposition and conversion of dead organic matter into simple compounds that may be used in the growth of zooplankton and phytoplankton. Thus, phytoplankton is the basic organic resource in water upon which depends the life of all aquatic animals.

tribute. It may well be said that no monument raised to his memory can surpass the brilliant and shining monuments of his own scholarly works. Dr. Coomaraswamy is dead, but he will live in the inspiring and shining pages of his writings, the brightest banners symbolizing the supremacy of Indian Culture and Civilization.

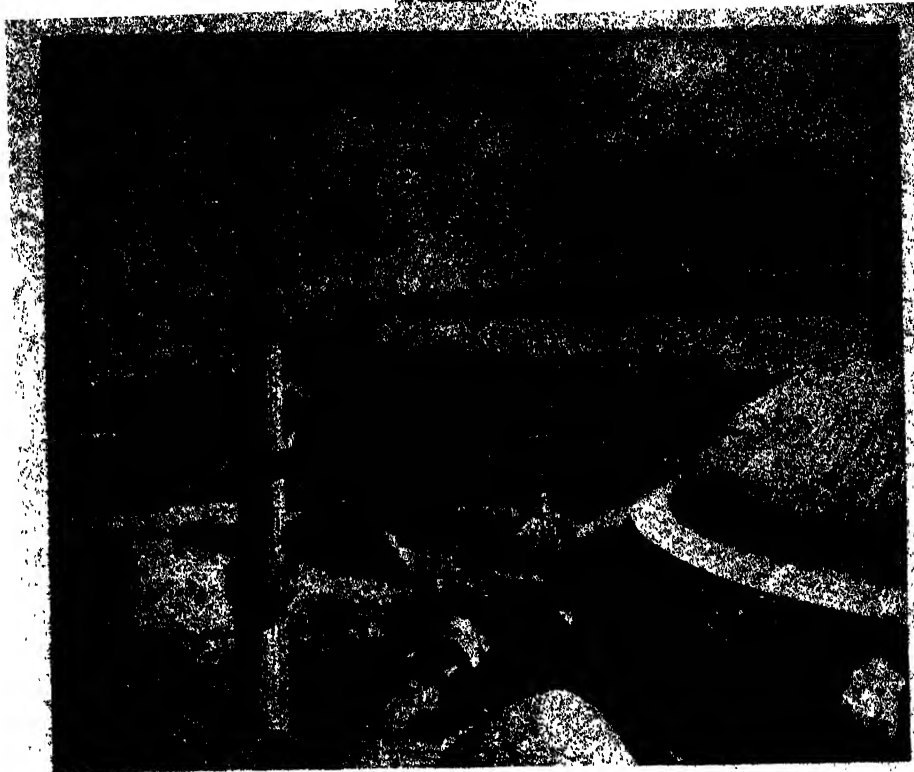
Zooplankton consists principally of protozoans, rotifers, and crustaceans. Most of these animals feed upon microscopic plants or phytoplankton, although some are carnivorous and feed on other minute animals. The largest animals in the zooplankton group are the crustaceans that are an important source of food for insect larvae and fish.

As stated before, phytoplankton is the basic food in the pond, nevertheless, few fish feed directly upon it. The *Punti* and *Mourala*, feed primarily on plankton organisms, but most sport fish, such as *Rohu* and *Katla*, feed on either insects or their larvae or other fish. The fish that usually feed upon animals, take plants only when there is insufficient animal food. Carnivorous fish will eat fish smaller than themselves, irrespective of the species to which the prey belongs. Such smaller fish are known as forage fish.

There should be a proper balance in the proportion of forage and carnivorous fish in a pond so that there may be sufficient forage fish to support the carnivorous fish population and also there must be enough carnivorous fish to prevent the forage fish from overcrowding the pond. It is interesting to note that the fish population in a pond will affect the size to which the fish will grow but not necessarily the carrying capacity of the pond. The fish-carrying capacity in a pond can, however, be altered by changing either the species of fish or the presence of dissolved minerals in water. Therefore, the management of a pond involved mainly the manipulation of two factors, (1) fish population and (2) water fertility. It is the second factor that will be the focal point of our subsequent discussion in this article.

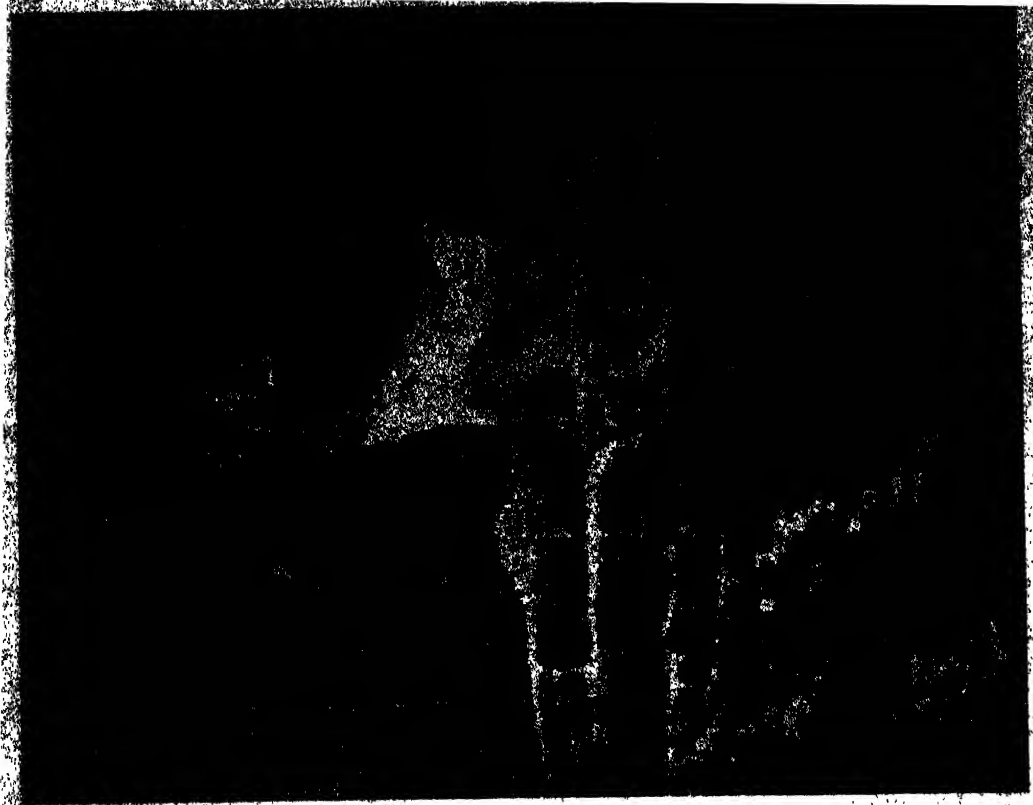
Pure water will not support living organisms. To do so, water must contain certain mineral salts of nitrogen, phosphorous, potassium, calcium, etc., and also certain gases must be present. Of the gases present in water the most abundant are oxygen, nitrogen and carbon dioxide. Most of the carbon dioxide results from the decomposition of organic matter present in the pond while varying portions of this gas may be absorbed from the atmosphere. Carbon dioxide is utilized by plankton in the production of carbohydrates and oxygen is released during this process. The carbohydrates, together with the mineral salts, build up the living cells and keep going the 'food chain' in the pond. During respiration of plants and animals oxygen is consumed followed by the liberation of carbon dioxide. Some oxygen is also absorbed from air by the

* The authors acknowledge their gratitude to Dr. O. F. Curtis, Professor of Plant Physiology, Dr. J. K. Wilson, Professor of Microbiology, and Dr. R. E. Nutt, Professor of Animal Genetics, Cornell University, for their valuable suggestions and constructive criticisms.

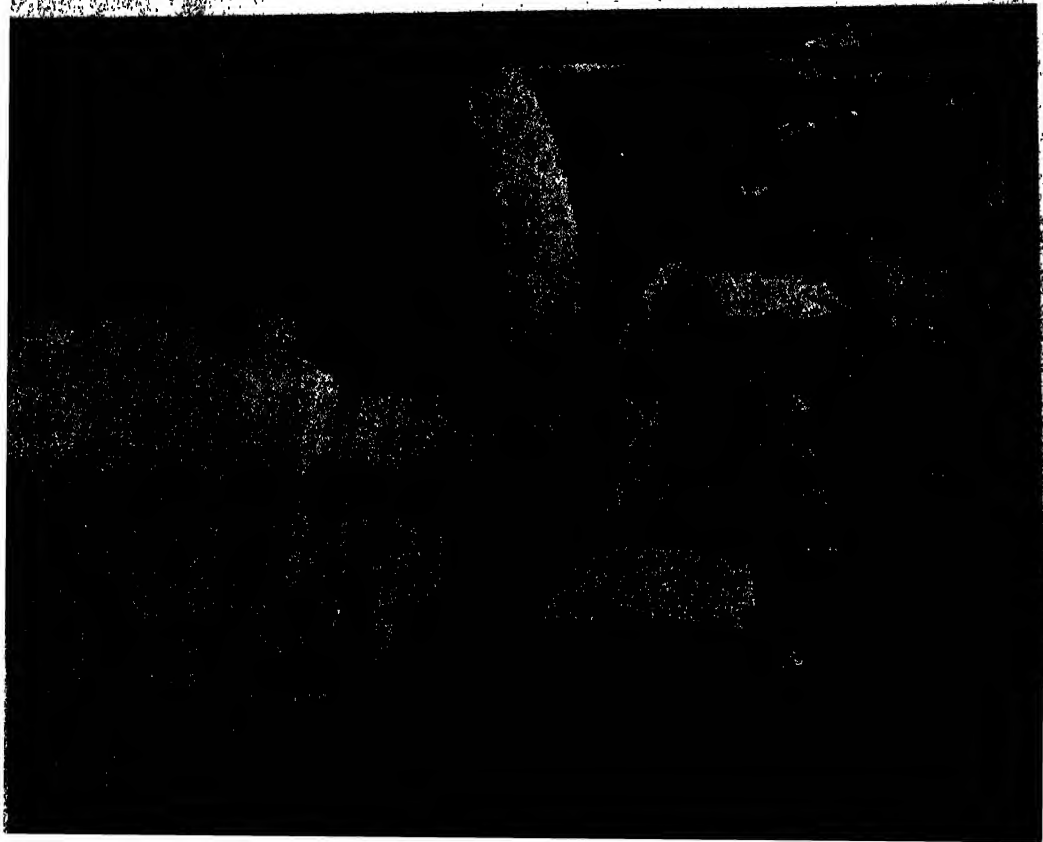


Istanbul : St. Sophia and, in the foreground, Sultan Ahmed Mosque





The Sphinx in Cairo



Street scene in Cairo

pond water. The rate of exchange of oxygen and carbon dioxide between plants and animals on the one hand, and between the atmosphere and aquatic medium on the other determines the balance of these gases and thus influences the nature of life in water.

The raising of fish in ponds for direct or indirect consumption by man means the depletion of the inherent water fertility. When the rate of consumption exceeds the rate of recuperation of this depleted fertility, the productivity of the pond goes down with a corresponding reduction in fish production. Thus, to maintain the maximum production of fish the productive capacity of the pond must be raised and maintained at the optimum level. The drainage of fish from the pond to the market means the draining of mainly its phosphorous and nitrogen contents. Nitrogen enters into the constituent of the protoplasm and so also does phosphorus; but a great bulk of phosphorus is in the bones. In point of fact, next to carbon and hydrogen and oxygen, nitrogen and phosphorus constitute the largest proportion of the fish body while the potassium content is comparatively low. *Therefore, the fertilization of a pond means the addition of mainly two constituents, nitrogen and phosphorous, while the problem of maintaining potassium content in a pond is merely a question of tapping the potash reserve from the bottom of the pond, adding this element if and when necessary.* Elements other than these, and possibly calcium, are ordinarily present in water in quantities sufficient for the growth of aquatic life. However, for fertilization to be effective and economic for fish production, a proper understanding of the sources and reserves of these elements in nature is essential.

Nitrogen constitutes about 78 per cent by volume of the gases present in the air. There are about 70 million pounds of nitrogen over every acre of land or water. It is from air that Mother Earth has received, and still receives nitrogen for life to bloom on her bosom, and it is also from the same source that she accumulated in the past her nitrate reserve for man to exploit it for chemicals and fertilizers. This unlimited source of atmospheric nitrogen is useless to plants unless they are supplied with this element in suitable combinations.

Each year, it is estimated, the crashing electricity of lightning produces more than 10 million tons of nitrogen in combined forms that fall to the earth in rains. At some points over the earth's surface, for instance, in the tropics, lightning strikes with greater frequency and duration than it does elsewhere, thus adding more nourishment for the plants. But with lightning alone as the only source of supplying nitrogen, life, be it aquatic or on land, cannot bloom to the full and man cannot reap his harvest to the fullest extent.

Besides lightning, there are some bacterial populations in the soil that can fix atmospheric nitrogen and make this element available to the plants. These organisms increase the nitrogen level of the soil more than lightning does, and their annual contribution to the world's supply of nitrogen is considerable. However, for the fertilization of the pond, the present knowledge that

the role of these bacteria is not as universal as that of lightning, confined only to the land area of the earth's surface.

Phosphorus is rather uniformly distributed in the lithosphere to the extent of about 0.12 per cent. The known deposits of mineral phosphates are very small, occurring in sizable portions in but a few places, such as the United States, North Africa and Soviet Russia. Its importance lies in the fact that in any kind of farming the addition of this element from an external source is more imperative than nitrogen and potash, for the successful output of a crop, be it wheat or fish.

Potassium is very widely distributed in the earth's crust. Unlike nitrogen and phosphorus, the quantity of potassium found in soils is comparatively high. The earth's crust contains about 2.45 per cent of potassium in contrast to about 0.04 per cent in oceanic waters. Yet the accumulation of soluble potassium salts suitable for fertilizer purposes occur in large quantities in but few places, chiefly Germany, France and South-west United States. The nature of soil underlain by the bed of a pond is an indicator of its potassium reserve and also of the degree of its availability. In general, a more or less sandy soil will be poor in potassium while a clay soil will be richer in this element.

Pond water does contain nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium, but their amounts depend upon the fertility of the soils over which the waters have flowed or through which they percolated. The soil composing the bed of the pond also exerts some influence on the fertility of water, and the degree and kind of this influence is a function of the nature and properties of the soil. Nature is fertilizing the pond every year in her own way, and man should fertilize it fitting to his own needs. An American biologist says, "A pond is much like a pasture, the amount and kinds of animals and plants may be counted and regulated, and the production of meat may be increased by fertilization."

A review of the experiments conducted in Europe reveals how the use of various kinds of fertilizers produced increases in fish output ranging from 20-300 per cent. In many of these experiments nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium, when added all together, gave better results than when used separately or in pairs. The tests conducted at the Alabama Experiment Station in the United States have shown that as much as 580 pounds of fish per acre of pond can be produced annually by proper fertilization. The application of commercial fertilizers stimulates primarily the growth of plankton and through it the 'food chain' in the pond. When sufficient fertilizer is added to double the plankton content the amount of fish production is considerably enhanced. In the United States experiments conducted with distilled water, inoculated with plankton cultures, showed that the most efficient production of plankton is obtained when the water contains 4 parts per million of nitrogen, 1 part per million of phosphorus and 1 part per million of potassium. The fact that a considerable quantity of phosphorus may be tied up by the soil in the bottom of the pond and thus made temporarily unavailable for plankton growth, necessitates

allowance being made for this fixation by increasing the phosphorus content, so that the nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium supplied may be in the ratio of 4: 2: 1 respectively. However, this rate of application is not a universal practice. The conditions and the requirements of the pond and its aquatic life will vary from place to place, from country to country, and so also will the process and rate of fertilization.

The inorganic fertilizers commonly used in pond fertilization are sulphate of ammonia, nitrate of soda, superphosphate and muriate of potash. Fertilizers that develop acidity should be used where the waters are alkaline, or if used elsewhere, lime should be added to neutralize their acidity effects; while fertilizers that cause alkalinity should be used where waters are neutral or acid. In any case, fertilization must be done, every year, at regular intervals and throughout the growing season if the carrying capacity of the pond is to be kept at the maximum. It seems that repeated applications of fertilizers at intervals are more effective than when a large amount is applied at one time. In general, fertilizer application is to be made whenever there is a fading of the green tint of the pond following the previous application.

The reports on the results of fertilization of ponds with organic manures are rather meagre and vague. The organics used as fertilizers are numerous of which cotton-seed meals, soybean meals, grain and grain thrashings, sewage and sewage sludge, tankage, hay and manure are but a few. Farm manures, seed meals, hay, and plant compost have been principally used in the United States. In Germany fish have been cultivated successfully in specially constructed tanks fed by sewage effluents. However, all of these organic materials are, as a rule, low in phosphorus; therefore, to get better results, their reinforcement with superphosphate is essential.

It is well to remember that the nutrients present in the organics are not as readily and as completely available to phytoplankton as commercial fertilizers. A portion of the organics that is soluble in water may fertilize the pond for the growth of algae, a portion may be eaten by insect larvae and zooplankton, and the rest, depending upon the kind of organics used, may be eaten in small quantity by fish. With organics the fish production may be raised considerably, but there is a lack of proportionate relationship between the carrying capacity of the pond and plankton production which increases only slightly. With inorganic fertilization, and on the other hand, the plankton production increases and with it the fish production increases in a proportionate manner.

There are a few other points that should be considered when ponds are to be fertilized through organics. The amount of organics to be applied for effective fertilization is more than that needed with inorganics. With organics that reduce greatly the growth of phytoplankton through its direct consumption by the aquatic animals, the growth of phytoplankton will be reduced with a corresponding reduction in photosynthesis. As a result, there will be an increasing accumulation of carbon dioxide with a corresponding reduction in oxygen in water to which may also be added the carbon dioxide produced by the decomposition of whatever

organic matter there is on the bottom of the pond. Thus, there may develop locally spots with high acidity and reduced oxygen supply, bearing the potentialities of injury for the aquatic life. Moreover, the decomposition of the organics in water may bring about pollution. *In a country like ours where the knowledge of personal hygiene is still nebulous among the masses of population the problem of water pollution with certain organics is too serious to be ignored.*

In India where the soil is starving from nitrogen and phosphorus, the use of the inorganics for fertilizing pond on a large scale will be an acute problem. However, means should be sought for the crops to grow abundantly on the land as well as in the waters. A farmer grows legumes to imprison atmospheric nitrogen in suitable combinations for use by the standing crops and also for benefit of the crops to follow. The question may be raised: why not then grow legumes on the banks of the ponds to increase the nitrogen content of the waters?

The problem, however, is not as simple to solve as one may think. The growing of legumes on the sides of the pond sloping down to the water will stimulate the growth of the existing grass sods and the addition of nitrogen to the waters through leaching under this condition will be but little. If, however, the grass sod is cleared with its tough fibrous root systems and the legumes are grown on the banks of the pond, there will be some loosening and incomplete protection of the soils. Rain may readily wash down the fine soil particles and add turbidity to the waters. The turbidity thus induced will tend to reduce the amount and intensity of light, as well as its depth of penetration, in water. Light is essential to photosynthesis of algae, and the reduction of light means the manufacture of less carbohydrates and consequently less food and less oxygen for the aquatic life. Thus the physiological disturbance set up by the turbidity may more than upset the nitrogen gain of the waters as may accrue from the growing of legumes. In practice, a compromise in the proportions of grass and legumes must be sought depending on the soil and the steepness of the banks, so that as much of Nature's inexhaustible gaseous nitrogen as is possible can be utilized for fertilizing ponds, reducing to a minimum the chances for the turbidity of the waters. It may also be worthwhile to try in the *bill* or its related prototypes some of those legumes that can stand water-logged conditions and fix atmospheric nitrogen.

In modern agriculture the problem of potash fertilization is to tap and make available for successful cropping the unexhausted reserve of this element beneath our feet, adding it in artificial fertilizers only to certain soils and crops and under certain conditions. In pond water phytoplankton utilize for their growth only those nutrients that are in solution and for this the soil lying in the pond releases its absorbed nutrients to water only slowly. The rooted aquatic plants, on the other hand, obtain their nutrients mostly from the soil and thus utilize, among other elements, its potassium reserve. When the plants die, the organic residues release the nutrients on decay through bacterial action and raise the fertility of the waters. If, however, the rooted aquatic plants consist predominantly of species that have broad leaves or if there is a luxuriant

stand of either emergent or submerged species or both, there will occur considerable shading of the algae floating on the surface or scattered elsewhere in the interior of the waters, with a consequent reduction in their growth. Under such circumstances the beneficial effect of the enrichment of water fertility may be outweighed by the harmful effect of shading and as a consequence, the 'food chain' in the pond may be adversely affected and the output of fish reduced. *However, in order to utilize the potash reserve in the bottom of the pond and to avoid at the same time the injurious shading of algae, the principle involved should not be one of complete clearing of all rooted plants as is now advocated by the fish culturists in Bengal and elsewhere, but it should be one of controlled clearing that will eliminate the plants with broad leaves and allow the growth of the narrow-leaved submerged species to an extent that there will be but comparatively little shading and even then only within the waters.*

Thus, the nitrogen and potassium requirements of pond water may be partly met through good management and cultural practices. But the situation with respect to phosphorus is rather different. The total content of phosphorus in the soil is small and the percentage recovery of this element in harvested crops is very low as compared to that of nitrogen and potash. Under continuous exploitation of the land or water resources this element is likely to be more limiting for increased production than nitrogen or potassium. Therefore, emphasis should always be made on the regular addition of suitable phosphorus fertilizers to the waters, while most or a large part of the potash requirements may be had from the soil in the bed of the pond and the nitrogen requirement partly through growing legumes and partly by direct fertilization.

A few words ought to be said about the fertility of the inland streams, rivers or similar waterways which it is not practical or economic to fertilize in the same way as is done with the pond having little or no overflow. The continuous circulation of nutrients in these large waterways through the action of wind and water currents, permits optimum conditions for the growth of the aquatic

life at a lower fertility level than in still waters. In Bengal where these waterways supply a large proportion of the fish consumed by the local population, the necessity for the improvement of their fertility merits consideration. Phosphorus is usually present in these large waterways in but traces while the nitrogen and potassium contents vary widely depending on the fertility of the drainage areas from which the waters flow down and out into the streams. But, today, our soils are themselves deficient in nitrogen and phosphorus almost all over the country and as a result the waters that drain out from such soils will naturally be poor. However, the fertility and the carrying capacity of such vast masses of water can be readily and very economically increased only when our lands will be fed sufficiently with fertilizers and manures, so that the waters that will then escape in drainage will be rich in nutrients and will thus stimulate the luxuriant growth of aquatic life.

Water fertility is as important as is soil fertility if life in water is to grow abundantly to meet the increasing requirements of man. Perhaps, it is far from truth to say that man has not been endowed with sufficient natural resources to procure enough food therefrom for himself and for his society. Nature has given man her land resources on which he can raise the crops he needs and if more is needed he can harvest crops also from the unlimited waterways which she has so abundantly stocked with varied forms of life. Only will a careful and judicious exploitation of both land and water make it possible to raise more crops and to maintain a high productive capacity of each. Nature demands that man should understand his needs as they are and also as they affect the needs of the other forms of her creations, so that he can appreciate fully the conflict going on in her during eternity and thus solve it for the mutual benefit to himself and to the other communities of life influencing the means of his sustenance. In other words, there is no perpetual motion in this universe as there is none in human society: man must enrich the soil and the waters as he exhausts them in his harvests

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POLITICS IN BURMA

By BARINDRA NATH DASS

Pre-War Development in Burmese Politics

Little is known about yesterday's politics in Burma. The war has projected Burma on the screen of international affairs. To-day's politics in Burma, particularly the political rivalries which have culminated in the assassination of U. Aung San and his colleagues and the sequel thereof, will be interesting if we set it in its proper perspective provided by the pre-War and the Jap occupation politics in Burma.

OCCUPATION OF UPPER BURMA AND THE EARLY DAYS (1886-1919)

Upper Burma was occupied in 1886. The British at first intended to preserve the Kingdom of Ava as a fouda-

tory state, and the *Hludaw* (the Burmese Council of Ministers) carried on the administration for three months. But very soon the industrial as well as the agricultural propensities of Burma were realised, the Royal House of Ava conveniently failed to provide any successor to the Burmese Throne, and consequently the *Hludaw* was abolished. Disorders broke out which degenerated into armed dacoities. Five troubled years of military action were necessary to convince them that white men were God-sent. The disorderly leaderless insurrection quashed.

After that a dreamy period of political complacency steam-rolled their vitality. It persisted for a quarter of a century. Yet there was some constitutional shadow dancing. A limited measure of local self-government was

introduced. The Lt. Governor of Burma was given a nominated legislative council of five members. By 1915 the number was increased to thirty with two elected members. That was all. There was no significant political activity.

THE DIARCHICAL SPRING-BOARD

The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of 1919 did not accommodate Burma. This generated a wave of agitation. It was sponsored by U Chit Hlaing's *Wunthunu* (i.e. the People's) Party. A delegation was sent to England. It contained U Pu, U Ba Pe and U Maung Gyi among others. That was the beginning of Burma's political consciousness. They agitated for five years and then in 1928 secured the dubious blessing of diarchy. That served as a spring-board for diving into the troubled waters of constitutional agitation for liberty and freedom.

Nothing sensational happened before 1929. There were two distinct developments from now on. Firstly, the extremist politicians found that the anti-Indian sentiment of the mass—an outcome of economic exploitation by the Indian capitalists—was a convenient straw to clutch at in the sea of confused uncertainties. It served as a rallying ground. U Ba Pe (whose father was an Indian and mother was Burmese), an extremist and a crazy demagogue then, who is nowadays described in all newspaper headlines as a "veteran politician", conducted the most vigorous drive against the Indians and demanded the separation of Burma from India.

THE DOBAMA ASIAYON

The second development was the growth of the *Dobama Asiayon* (i.e. Our Burma League), the party of the Thakins. At this time a suspicion began to gain ground that the separation movement might be utilized by the government to prevent any linking up of the Burmese and the Indian nationalist movements. The Dobama Party was originally an outcome of this attitude. It grew out of and drew its strength from the All-Burma Students' Union and The Rangoon University Students' Union. Its sponsors were a group of progressive and educated young men like Ba thaung, Thein Pe, Ba Sein, Maung Nu, and Thein Mya. Curiously enough no Indian was associated with them except two—a certain Thakin Das, who faded out, and Mr. M. A. Raschid, who is quite prominent nowadays.

At this time there was a multiplicity of other political parties. The most conspicuous and important were the General Council of Burmese Associations and the *Wunthunu* Party. The others were the Three Men's Party, the Twenty-one Men's Party, the *Komin Kōchin Aphwe* (Self-Government Group) etc. They were all separationists. The Thakins and some element in the Students' Union (which was a powerful political faction) were anti-separationists.

In 1929 the report of the Simon Commission was published. It favourably commented upon the separation question. But otherwise it was unsatisfactory. There was a general dissatisfaction. The culmination of this was the Tharawaddy rebellion of 1931 led by Saya San. He was arrested, tried and hanged. Dr. Ba Maw, a barrister of the Rangoon High Court and a member of the GCBA,

came into prominence at this time by defending Saya San. Another less known GCBA man, U Saw, was arrested on suspicion and was released after the troubles were over. After this he slowly came into prominence as one of the editors of the leading nationalist daily of Burma, the *Thuria* (Sun).

THE DEPRESSION OF 1930 AND THE INDIAN QUESTION

The most important factor that gave fillip to Burmese politics emerged very soon. The depression of 1930 came and hurled the Burmese peasants headlong into economic distress. The peasants were unable to pay their debts, and the Indian Chettyars and the money-lenders became landlords overnight through a process of rapid foreclosures. This gave rise to the problems of absentee landlordism and rackrenting of the Burmese tenant farmers. Further, there was an increase in the wage-earning group which found no employment. On the face of retrenchment the existing job-holders were mostly Indians. There was a widespread dissatisfaction which led to the first Indo-Burmese riots of 1930.

The separation question became the leading issue during the general election of 1936. The anti-separationists were returned by a large majority, the most conspicuous among whom were Dr. Ba Maw. The pro-separationist big noise was U Saw who was also returned.

The Indians at this stage made a mistake. They did not try to understand the Burmans and in 1935 the first All-Burma Indian Conference was held in Rangoon presided over by Mr. M. M. Rafi, an ex-mayor of Rangoon; and this Conference made a vigorous protest against the proposed separation. This further alienated the Burmans.

The Dobama in the meanwhile rapidly changed into an anti-Indian and aggressively nationalistic party. The strike in the Rangoon University in 1936, where the prominent figures were Thakin Nu, the president of the Students' Union, Thakin Mya and Mr. Raschid, who later on succeeded Thakin Nu, clearly indicated that the leadership of the younger generation passed into the hands of the extremist Thakins. Aung San, who was at this time the vice-president of the Students' Union, was a student in his undergraduate years and was a student leader. At this time the Thakin Party was gaining strength by the participation of such active workers like Thakin Than Tun, Thakin Soe, Thakin Lun Raw and Thakin Sukumar Sengupta.

THE PERIOD OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

Burma had her new constitution which commenced working from 1st April, 1937. There were five parties in the House of Representatives viz. Dr. Ba Maw's *Sinyetha* (the Poor Man's) Party, U Chit Hlaing's *Wunthunu* (People's) Party, the GCBA, U Saw's *Myochit* (the Patriots) Party, and the Thakins' *Komin Kōchin Aphwe* (Self-Government Group). There was no numerical preponderance of any party. Dr. Ba Maw, who was the Education Minister in the diarchy, formed a coalition, lit his pipe and thought all would go well. But it didn't.

Very soon after he formed the ministry, labour troubles broke out in Lower and Central Burma. The Thakins

were up and doing. In 1938 there was a large strike in the oil-fields of Yenangyaung and Chauk. They deputed Thakin Das who toured the oil-fields and drew up a report. It was published in all the newspapers of Rangoon and in the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta. The public was enlightened about the real nature of the affairs which the government had tried to suppress. There was a hue and cry and a storm of questions in the House of Representatives. The ministry was severely criticized. The government soon intervened and settled the strike to what people said the employer's advantage.

In 1939 there was a labour unrest in Rangoon. Aung San was arrested under the Rangoon Emergency Security Act along with other labour leaders. The Second Indo-Burmese Riot had already occurred in 1938 and Indo-Burmese relations were very much strained. It was imperative that a solution was urgently needed. But Dr. Ba Maw was not very keen over it and his popularity was on the wane.

This led to the notorious era of no-confidence motions. The Sinyetha Party had few seats in the House. He could not count on them. Nor could he rely on his coalition. The end of his ministry came about in an unexpected manner. By the end of 1938, when Aung San was the president of the Students' Union, a one-day strike was declared to back up the University Amendment Bill pending before the House. There was picketing and demonstration at the Secretariat which resulted in a *lathi* charge by the police, due to which many were wounded and a student lost his life. There was a general and universal condemnation of the ministry, as a result of which the Bill was passed (which incidentally provided for an elected Chancellor instead of having the Governor in that office). This was a great moral success and early in 1939, the Ba Maw ministry was voted out of office.

After that, while U Pu and then U Saw stepped into premiership, Dr. Ba Maw resigned his seat in the House of Representatives and formed the Freedom Bloc with the Thakins in 1940. The war in Europe had come. The leftist politicians found in it an opportunity to drive home their demands for independence. A mass meeting was held in Jubilee Hall in August 1940, which was a hallmark in Burmese politics. This meeting was addressed by Thakin Nu and Dr. Ba Maw and many others, where a demand was made for the immediate recognition of Burma as a free and independent country.

By this time significant incidents took place which did not attract much notice. In 1939 Dr. Thein Maung, a minister in Dr. Ba Maw's ministry visited Japan. Next year a Siamese goodwill mission came to Burma, and the Burma-Siam border was arranged to the advantage of the Siamese. Dr. Ba Maw later on had given a seditious speech in Mandalay, declaring himself the *Ayashin* (the Dictator) and was sent to prison under the Defence of Burma Rules. Thakin Nu and Thakin Than Tun were arrested in June and July respectively. Aung San fled from Burma in June 1940 to avoid arrest and later on arrived in Bangkok. Thakin Ba Sein made an unsuccessful attempt to run away from Burma, and was arrested. He was defended by Thakin Das and was let off with a light

sentence, after which he absconded again. Thakin Das came away to India in December, 1941, and was later on arrested under the Defence of India Rules. He was released from his detention in Jubbulpore in 1944 and has not been heard of ever since.

U SAW COMES TO LIMELIGHT

In the meanwhile U Saw captured the sentiments of the country by his vigorous anti-Indian measures, such as the Land Alienation Act, Tenancy Act, Buddhist Women's Marriage Act and finally the notorious Indian Immigration Agreement, which were subjected to violent criticisms.

While Dr. Ba Maw and the Thakins were agitating for independence and thinking of a joint action with the Indian leaders, U Saw took a narrow and aggressively nationalistic view of things. In November 1911, Mr. Amery declared that Dominion Status was the ultimate goal of Burma's political evolution, and in December U Saw flew to England to negotiate a quicker Dominion Status. Later on he was arrested on his way back to Burma on a charge of communication with the enemy.

By this time Burma was drawn into the Far Eastern theatre of the World War.

Burmese Politics during Japanese Occupation

BAMA BAHU GOVERNMENT OF 1942

By March 7, 1942, Rangoon was occupied by the Japanese and the war was moving north close on the heels of the retreating allied army. There was a general turmoil, disorder and dislocation in the country.

At this time Thakin Tun Ok set up a 'Bama Bahu' or a Burmese leftist government. Aung San became the general officer commanding of the Burma Independence Army with the rank of a full colonel. But the efforts of this Bama Bahu government was unsuccessful in its efforts to run a stable administration.

The Japanese army over-ran the whole of Burma by May 15. They had an war effort to invigorate and so wanted a stable administration to suit their needs which would make treaties so that nobody would call a spade a spade. On March 23, 1942 the Bama Bahu government negotiated a treaty with the Japanese military authorities granting a number of economic, fiscal and commercial privileges and facilities to Japan.

THE BURMESE EXECUTIVE ADMINISTRATION, 1942-43

This treaty however did not improve matters. On June 5, the Japanese authorities wiped out the Bama Bahu government. A Burmese executive administration was set up with Dr. Ba Maw as the Chief Executive.

In March 1943, Dr. Ba Maw led a delegation to Japan apparently to negotiate greater administrative and political independence. He was decorated by the Japanese Emperor with the Order of the Rising Sun, First Class with Grand Cordon. U Aung San, now a major-general, was decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun, Third Class with Middle Cords. Thakin Mya, who was now an executive without portfolio in the Executive Administration, received the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Second Class. There was apparently a show of enthusiastic considerations for the Burmese demands and after the return of Dr. Ba Maw, General Iida, the Commander-in-Chief of the

Japanese forces in Burma, formed an Independence Preparatory Committee in Rangoon, on May 8, 1943, consisting of the leading diplomats. In the following July the Burma Independence Army was disbanded.

THE "INDEPENDENT" GOVERNMENT OF BURMA, 1943-45

On 1st August, 1943, the Independent Government of Burma was formed and established and this government declared war on Britain and America.

The organization of the government was totalitarian. A Burma State Assembly was formed which had shadowy functions. All power was vested in the *Naingandaw Adipadi* (the Head of the State) who was also the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces. Dr. Ba Maw was appointed to this office. The Adipadi retained the full sovereign status and authority. He was aided by a cabinet of ministers, presided over by a Prime Minister, which post also was retained by Dr. Ba Maw. All the ministers were appointed by and held office during the pleasure of the Adipadi. Besides there was a consultative body called the Privy Council consisting of not more than twenty-five nominated members. Legislative power was reserved by the Adipadi who exercised it in consultation with the Cabinet and the Privy Council. A Supreme Court was brought into existence and the appointment of the Chief Justice and the other judges were all made by the Adipadi.

It was understood that this system was only a war time measure. At the end of the war a Constituent Body was to be convened, composed of members nominated by the Adipadi and it would frame a new constitution for Burma.

A new Burma Defence Army was formed with Major-General Aung San as the Commander-in-Chief. He was also the Minister of national defence in the Cabinet. Thakin Mya became the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for the interior. Thakin Nu became the Minister of foreign affairs. Some of the other members in the Cabinet were Thakin Than Tun, Thakin Lun Baw, U Ba Win, U Thein Maung, U Aye, U Hla Min and U Set.

The Burmese Government was recognized by nine axis countries. The Azad Hind Government appointed Thakin Sukumar Sengupta as their liaison officer with the Burmese Government. The Japanese Government appointed Renzo Sawada, a former ambassador to France, as the Japanese ambassador to Burma. The Burmese Government also took steps to establish diplomatic relations with other countries. Dr. Thein Maung was appointed ambassador to Tokyo, U Baw Lwin, who had recently visited India as a delegate to the Inter-Asian Conference, was appointed ambassador to Siam. Thakin Ba Sein was appointed ambassador to Manchukuo, and Thakin Tun Ok who had formed the Bama Baho Government was appointed ambassador to Nanking. Out of these four, only Dr. Thein Maung was able to reach his destination.

DR. BA MAW'S ADVISORS

The Burmese Executive Administration was ultimately controlled by the Japanese C-in-C. in Burma. Japanese advisors were attached to each department at the centre.

Japanese Officers were associated with Burmese officers in the districts. When the independent government was set up, the government was independent enough not to suck at the feeding bottle of Japanese patronage; but before the year was out Dr. Ba Maw appointed one Dr. Gotaro Ogawa—a member of the Japanese Diet, ex-minister of commerce and railways and a financial expert—as the Supreme Advisor to the Burmese Government.

This independent government however could not solve the economic problems. The economic and financial distress became worse day by day. There was an all-round dissatisfaction. People began to assume a skeptical attitude towards the independent government regime which was referred among them as '*chauk mu dan lut lat yay*', the ten-anna independence. In the black market the value of British currency began to rise. It was no compliment for the Japs.

POLITICAL SITUATION DURING THE "INDEPENDENT" REGIME

Among the communists there were two groups. One section, under Thakin Soe, which had declared an anti-Fascist war when the war broke out in December, 1941, was already working underground after a brief period of collaboration and disillusionment. The other group led by Thakin Than Tun supported the government. Than Tun himself was the minister of agriculture in the Cabinet.

Thakins had earlier collaborated with the Japs. But now they were displeased. The principal reason was the replacement of their Bama Baho government by the Japanese since it demanded too much independence. Disorders were rife in the party as well as in the government. The fifty-fifty basis on which Thakins and Sinyetha-men were to divide power among themselves were not adhered to by Dr. Ba Maw. He was subjected to vigorous criticism by Thakin Ba Sein. This was the beginning of a dog's bone rivalry between Ba Sein and Ba Maw.

Conflicts between Aung San and Ba Maw were also heard of and it was reported in May, 1944 that in a cabinet meeting there was a sharp argument between them and Aung San put a finishing touch to it by slapping the Adipadi in the face.

Thakin Ba Sein and Thakin Tun Ok organized an opposition and tried to interfere with the Ba Maw administration. By the middle of 1944 they were removed to Singapore by the Japs who wanted to keep Thakin Ba Sein safe as a future alternative to Dr. Ba Maw if occasion demanded.

Nor was there any love lost between Dr. Ba Maw and the Japs. The co-operation that they wanted was not forthcoming and the political situation being most propitious they threatened to remove Dr. Ba Maw. Hence, on May 11, 1944 he sent a Burmese Special Mission to Tokyo. The real object of the mission was to put before the Jap authorities the difficulties in Burma, to ask for economic relief and to request them to remove the burden that had been imposed upon Burma by the military authorities. The mission was a failure and it returned to Burma by the end of the year.

In the home front Dr. Ba Maw tried to amend matters by reshuffling the ministry. But there was no

improvement. The allied victory at Imphal and Kohima changed the tide of events. By the time monsoon set in, the British had already advanced up to Myitkyina, and a large-scale invasion was imminent.

The general revulsion against the Japs reached its peak. U Aung San got in touch with the British. He went underground and organized the Burma Patriotic Forces. Thakin Soe was already in. Very soon two others from the cabinet, Thakin Mya and Thakin Than Tun, joined him.

The administration now was fully disorganized. With the advance of the allied troops after the monsoon in 1944, Aung San's army rose and fell upon the Japs from the rear and helped to disrupt their communications.

By the end of April, 1945, the Japanese accompanied by Dr. Ba Maw and six other ministers left Rangoon. On May 4, the British 14th army marched into the city.

Here ends the second phase of Burma's struggle for freedom.

Post-War Developments in Burmese Politics

When Burma was re-occupied she was no more a blinking baby in the cradle of Far Eastern politics. Now she was a grown-up, self-conscious damsel who could jilt you. The British knew that well enough. It was evident that the Tory Blue Print of November, 1944 was too unfashionable to placate her feelings. Consequently the Labour Government issued a White Paper in May, 1945 which envisaged a Constituent Assembly.

But even this fell far short of Burmese aspirations. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League formed under the leadership of Aung San had openly pledged itself to complete independence for Burma. At the beginning the communists were associated with it. The Thakins of the Dobama did not get into it but associated themselves with the AFPFL without any reservations.

Sir Dorman Smith, the Governor, who assumed charge after a brief period of military administration, did not fully appreciate the change of times. His attempts to form a representative executive council fizzled out in October, 1945 as he was not prepared to swallow the AFPFL's claim of representing the whole country, to allow them 11 seats out of 15, and to give them the charge of the key portfolio of Home Affairs. There was a universal feeling of frustration and distrust, and Aung San threatened a national struggle in a historic mass rally at Shew Dagon Pagoda on November, 1945.

THE INTERIM NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The arrival of a new Governor and the return of three eminent leaders by the first half of 1946 brought about a new phase of activity and enthusiasm in Burmese politics. Talks were resumed for the establishment of a national government. A settlement was reached on September 26. Two days later a national government assumed office. It consisted of U Aung San, Thakin Mya, U Ba Pe, U Thein Pe, Maha Ba Khaing and U Aung Zan Wai representing the AFPFL, U Saw representing the Myochits, Thakin Ba Sein representing the Dobama, and three other independent members, Sir Maung Gyi, U Tin Tut and Saw Ba Gyi. But the Sinyetha Party under Dr. Ba Maw kept aloof.

This was a milestone in the constitutional development of Burma. The new situation helped to increase the confidence of the Burmese politicians. It was expected that the new executive council could now proceed unhampered with the economic rehabilitation of Burma. But unfortunately internal strifes began to manifest themselves on the Burmese scene.

CONFLICT BETWEEN AFPFL AND THE COMMUNISTS

Early in September Thakin Than Tun, leader of the 'Red Shirt' communists resigned his post of the General Secretary of the AFPFL. His party had demanded two seats in the executive council and this demand being refused there was discontent among them. The AFPFL accused them of their disruptive activities, and expelled them from the organization in October. Thakin Than Tun in reply stated that "the AFPFL has reduced itself from the status of a united national front to that of a capitalist party kneeling before Imperialism." Subsequently, Thein Pe resigned from the executive council.

This turn of events was painful to the country. Efforts to bring about a reconciliation failed. On the other hand the Red Shirts could not amalgamate with the Red Flag Communists led by Thakin Soe.

THE MAHABAMA MOVEMENT OF DR. BA MAW

The next significant development was the revival of the Mahabama movement by Dr. Ba Maw. At the three day conference of the Sinyetha Party commencing from October 18 it was decided to replace the Sinyetha Wunthun by the Mahabama organization. Dr. Ba Maw criticized the policy of Aung San and the ideology of Than Tun and enunciated his own policy of immediate freedom of Burma based on a constitution drawn up by a sovereign constituent assembly. The movement aimed at a national revolution through which alone Burma's real freedom could be achieved; and on this issue, said Dr. Ba Maw, there could be no compromise with the British Government.

THE POLICY OF THE DOBAMA ASIAYON

The third important event was the Conference of the Dobama Asiayon which began on November 6. Thakin Ba Sein, the president of the Dobama and a member of the interim cabinet, reiterated their policy of fighting for the complete right of self-determination and a sovereign constituent assembly consisting of Burmans only, as well as the complete scrapping of the White Paper.

The Dobama now sponsored to move to organize a Democratic United National Front to fight for freedom. In this move all the parties including U Saw's Myochit party, Ba Maw's Mahabama Organization and the Communists supported Ba Sein. Only the AFPFL withheld its approval of the move though the policy of the Front differed little from that of the AFPFL--because the AFPFL was not favourably disposed towards the communists whom it did not trust and the Mahabama politicians whom it thought too utopian and impractical.

Here the seed of discord was sown between the AFPFL and the other parties which became rife during the recent elections to the constituent assembly.

DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTRY

Troubles began to ensue. Firstly, there was an increasing momentum of labour strikes and industrial disputes. Secondly, there was widespread disorder and lawlessness in the rural areas. The reason for both were attributed to the activities of the communists. Armed dacoities and pitched battles with the police and military supported by AFPFL volunteers were reported from the districts of central Burma where the rebels were alleged to have established parallel government of their own. In the Arakan division there was an armed separatist campaign under U Seinda, an ex-monk and underground leader. By December the Naga Hills also was in a state of disturbed conditions.

On the other hand, the frontier people instigated by interested parties began to express their dissatisfaction. They demanded separate administrative arrangement and federation for the Hill tribes. The Karens also made similar demands and Karen Goodwill Mission visited the United Kingdom in October.

AFPFL SPURRED INTO ACTION

On November 12, 1946 the AFPFL issued a statement containing the following demands :

- (a) recognition of the existing executive council as a full-fledged national government by January 31, 1947.
- (b) an announcement by the British within that date that Burma shall be completely independent within one year and that those of the non-Burmese nationality would not participate in the general elections for a sovereign constituent assembly.

The AFPFL representatives in the executive council were directed to resign if those demands were not met by January 31, 1947.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE

As an outcome of these demands the London Conference was held in January, 1947 where Burma was represented by U Aung San, Thakin Ba Sein, U Saw, Thakin Mya, U Ba Pe, and U Tin Tut. The main Burmese demands were : (a) transference of full responsibility; (b) direct election into the constituent assembly and not through the machinery of the 1935 Act; (c) immediate transformation of the executive council into a responsible national government with the powers of a Dominion government; (d) transference of full responsibility for defence, external affairs and of financial autonomy.

The agreement was reached on the following basis: (a) a constituent assembly to be elected in April consisting of Burma nationals only and elected through the machinery of the 1935 Act; (b) during the interim period Burma would be governed under the special powers of the 1935 Act and the temporary provisions of the Act of 1945; (c) during the interim period there would be a legislative council, the members being nominated by the Governor from among the elected members of the constituent assembly, and it would function until the constitution drawn up by the constituent assembly could

be made operative; (d) the Interim Government should be conducted generally in the same way as that in India.

Thakin Ba Sein and U Saw however did not agree to these terms. They felt that the original demands of the Burmese people were not conceded, that the constituent assembly would not be a sovereign body, the question of final independence within one year was ignored, and the British terms did not go beyond the framework of the 1935 Act. They further objected to a nominated government without any legislative council till the elections, and to a nominated government with a nominated legislature after the elections which would function for an indefinite period.

PROSPECTS AND OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

While the majority of Burmans hailed the agreement, U Saw and Thakin Ba Sein resigned from the Executive Council and along with Dr. Ba Maw, Sir Paw Tun and the Red Flag communists formed themselves into a formidable opposition. They refused to participate in the elections and were joined by a section of the Karens led by Saw Ba Gyi who also resigned from the executive council recently during the elections. But Aung San promised the people their freedom within one year. The AFPFL had an extensive support. The Hill tribes, especially the Chins, Kachins and the Shans decided to co-operate with Aung San after the Panlong Conference. The Red Shirt communists under Than Tun and Thein Pe agreed to participate in elections. Aung San was joined by other leaders who were so long in the opposition camp, such as U Aye and U Mya of the Myochit party, Thakin Lay Maung and Thakin Lun Baw of the Dobama, Dama Ba Thein and his Dama party group. He was also supported by the Karen Youth League led by Maha Ba Khaing. The Mons of the Tenasserim pledged their support for the AFPFL though a section among them under Mon Po Choe went over to the anti-AFPFL camp.

The oppositionists formed themselves into an "Independence First Alliance" and organised a countrywide campaign boycotting the elections. As a sequel to this, disorders and disturbances were reported from several parts of the country including railroad sabotage which greatly disturbed U Aung San.

But one fact must not be overlooked at this stage that this non-participation of the other political parties accorded a dubious prestige to the victory of the AFPFL in the Constituent Assembly elections. Further the employment of armed members of the People's Volunteer Organisation, a private army maintained by the AFPFL to help the police and the regular troops in maintaining law and order during the elections had a damping effect on the whole show.

The Constituent Assembly held its first sitting in the month of June and elected Thakin Nu, the Vice-President of the AFPFL (who has recently formed the new government in Burma. He was the Foreign Minister in the Ba Maw regime during the Jap occupation) as the President. The Constituent Assembly decided to declare Burma an independent sovereign socialist republic on the lines adopted in India. But since the Assembly

consisted of AFPFL members and their supporters only the Opposition outside was very much dissatisfied. Even Dr. Ba Maw himself criticised what he thought was a one-party constitution-making and he particularly stressed upon the fact that instead of attending to the particular needs of Burma, the Assembly was reproducing in Burma the whole political pantomime in India.

There was also another development. It was rumoured that the AFPFL-supporter Red Shirt communists had asked for a rapprochement with the AFPFL. Their most important demands were the removal of U Tin Tut and U Ba Pe from Executive Council. This led to dissatisfaction in certain quarters because U Tin Tut, a former I. C. S. man and the first elected Chancellor of the Rangoon University, was considered to be a genius in matters of public and national finance and U Ba Pe was the oldest politician associated with politics since 1919. A few days later on people came to know with profound surprise that U Tin Tut was nominated as the High Commissioner-designate to London and U Ba Pe was forced to resign on alleged grounds of bribery and corruption.

All these unfortunately led the opposition leaders to believe that Aung San was trying to set up what they called a totalitarian one-party rule in Burma. They decided to resist. There were talks of an impending nation-

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wide struggle. The crisis began with two events—the Police strike in Rangoon and the renewal of the armed rebellion in Arakan led by U Seinda who demanded a separate sovereign territory for the Arakanese. The climax was reached with the recent assassination of Aung San and his colleagues in the Government. The subsequent arrest of U Saw, Thakin Ba Sein and the disappearance of Ba Maw are understandable.

Troubles are now brewing and the political stage is now set for a new drama. Though Aung San was a popular figure, Thakin Nu has an extensive support and the AFPFL is the strongest party in the country, the abilities and the personalities of Ba Maw, Ba Sein and U Saw should not be overlooked. The general situation in Burma is yet unsettled and economic distress is acute, which may be advantageously utilised by the Independence First Alliance.

Burma is going to be independent; and nothing can stop that. But the future of Burma is fraught with conflicts involving leadership and power politics. That seems to be the general pattern in the wide canvas of South-East Asia. And what developments it can effect on the present and the future trends of world affairs depend much on the cross-currents of international diplomacy.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ESSAYS IN SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY : By Alfred North Whitehead. Published by the Philosophical Library, 15 East 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y., U.S.A.

Whitehead's is a well-known name in Science and Philosophy and generally in the realm of letters. Of him the only possible criticism now is praise and admiration for his acute thinking. One may differ from him and we need not conceal the fact that we do not accept all his conclusions—but that cannot be construed as any the least disparagement of his position as a thinker. The book before us is not his *magnum opus*; but it shows in a more or less popular way the making of the great thinker; and with a biographical background behind, it is an excellent introduction to his higher and more abstruse writings. The *Essays* collected here have been neatly arranged into groups; and discuss not only philosophical and scientific matters but also educational topics and autobiographical memories.

The book has been very nicely got up. But there is an error in the *comments* which omit to mention the chapter *Uniformity and Contingency* under Part II (p. 132).

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

PRIORITIES IN PLANNING (Food, Education, Housing) : By K. T. Shah. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kolbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Price Re. 1-4.

During the World War II, the National Planning Committee, under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, envisaged a comprehensive scheme of development of India's resources—physical, material and cultural. The Committee had to face various handicaps, and though they were burning with a desire to go ahead, they could not give shape to their cherished plans as the country's destiny was then entirely in the iron grip of an alien Government.

In 1946, Priorities Sub-Committees were entrusted with the task of recommending ways and means for the solution of the urgent national problems of Food, Education and Housing. Hence the present Report.

Food : India is a deficit country in respect of foodgrains and the low vitality of her people and the wide prevalence of diseases may be traced to malnutrition. A nation cannot be sturdy and prosperous unless it has rich and sufficient food. The Report states that by the introduction of scientific methods of agriculture, by bringing waste land under the plough, by the adoption of co-operative organisation on socialistic lines the total yield of the land may well be doubled within a span of five years.

Education : The Report asserts : 'Education of the children of the community up to a given minimum standard must be accepted as the absolute and unescapable obligation of civilised society and, therefore, of the State representing it.' It concerns itself with Primary and Pre-Primary education as well as the Education of the Adults. The Committee have recommended supply of free mid-day meal to pupils and the adoption of the system of school conscription "as a sort of poll tax paid in kind."

Housing : The problem of the shortage of housing room has been thoroughly discussed from various points of view and suggestions offered for its solution.

The entire Report is held practical and masterly. The framers have planned for a bright and prosperous India. That they are not visionary day-dreamers but realists in the true sense of the term can be judged from the fact that they have considered financial implications of the plans and indicated the paths to be followed.

The responsibility of making India happy and great has now devolved on the Indians themselves. In the changed conditions of the country the recommendations of the Planning Committee deserve the most careful consideration of the Central as well as Provincial Governments. If India has to take a place of honour in the comity of nations, the plans must be translated into action.

Prof. K. T. Shah, Honorary General Secretary of the National Planning Committee, deserves the sincere praise of his countrymen for his untiring zeal in the cause of India's prosperity. The Report is a blue-print of hope and deserves wide circulation.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

ANCIENT SOCIETY : By Lewis Henry Morgan. Bharati Library, 145 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 572 + xx. Price Rs. 7-8.

Morgan's *Ancient Society* is one of the most comprehensive works on social history for the pre-historic period. Morgan discovered in his own way the materialistic conception of history and in his comparison of barbarism and civilisation, he has arrived at the same conclusion as Karl Marx. On a close study of the form, development and progress of ancient society, Morgan came to believe in the existence of a class struggle and the materialistic conception of history. He says, "Property and office were the foundations upon which aristocracy planted itself. Whether this principle shall live or die has been one of the great problems with which modern society has been engaged . . . As a question between equal rights and unequal rights, between equal laws and unequal laws, between the rights of wealth, of rank and of official position, and the power of justice and intelligence, there can be little doubt of the ultimate result."

The materialist conception of life has been the guiding principle of European civilisation and it is only natural that European scholars on sociology would look upon the theory of materialist conception of history as the foundation for their philosophy. Materialists hold that the determining factor in history lies in the last resort pre-eminently in the production and reproduction of life and of the immediate essential requirements of life. The social institutions under which men of a particular historical epoch and of a particular country live, are according to the materialists, determined on the one hand by the production of the means of subsistence, viz., food, clothing, shelter and the necessary tools and on the other by the production of generations of children—the propagation of species. Morgan says, "Upon their skill in this direction, the whole question of human supremacy on the earth depended. Mankind are the only beings

who may be said to have an absolute control over the production of food. . . . It is accordingly probable that the great epochs of human progress have been identified more or less directly with the enlargement of the sources of subsistence." These sociological researches are incomplete because Western scholars have failed to understand the oriental conception of life which is based not on a materialist but on a spiritual philosophy. Not possession and power but happiness and bliss was the guiding factor in human relations in India and China. In India, changes in the occupants of the thrones were frequent, but the society was based on a such a strong spiritual foundation that it survived political upheavals for millenniums. This side of sociology has wide virgin field of research.

The outstanding contribution of Morgan is his history of the development of family in human society. He has provided the basis for an arrangement in historical order the three forms of family system—monogamy, oriental polyandry and Indo-Tibetan polyandry. In the gens organised in accordance with mother-right, Morgan discovered the primitive form which had developed the later gens organised according to father-right as found amongst the ancient civilised peoples. Morgan's great contribution is his reconstruction of the forms of family. He has shown a new way to investigation and research and has provided a retrospect of far-reaching significance into the pre-history of mankind.

Morgan's *Ancient Society* has been translated into Russian by the Academy of Sciences as a work of the greatest importance. Indian scholars in sociology will welcome the first Indian edition of this monumental work.

D. BURMAN

SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF INDIAN PROBLEM : By Dr. Patabhi Sitaramayya. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Pages 104. Price Re. 1-12.

The book contains six thoughtful essays from the pen of a well-known politician not less known as a writer on economic subjects relating to India. He asserts that India has all the necessary requisites that make her people a nation and that differences in religions professed by different groups are no hindrances to India's fundamental unity. The exploitation of the economic resources of the country by an alien administration for the last two centuries is the next theme of the writer and he has made his subject quite clear by facts and figures which cannot be challenged. His clear analysis of the various aspects of the economic problems portrays a gloomy picture of the Indian conditions but his hints at the way out of the present struggle are admirable and encouraging. Free India as a political and economic unit in the emancipation of the world is yet to be. But the prospects are bright and the contributions of India to the world's economic rehabilitation will be considerable. Freed from the shackles of foreign domination, India will take her rightful place in world leadership and world reconstruction. We are sure, the book will benefit the public as well as the students of the university.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDUISM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT : By K. Satchidananda Murti, M.A., Lecturer in Philosophy in the S. V. College, Tirupati. Published by Sunder Ram and Sons, (S. India). Pp. 148. Price Rs. 8.

The learned author had a brilliant University-career. His maiden work, a Telugu book on the Gita, appeared while he was an undergraduate. His second book, the Isa-Upanishad, was written when he was a student in the Andhra University. His third work, the book under review, contains a series of five lectures

delivered under the religious education scheme of the S. V. College, Tirupati.

The first lecture deals with the spiritual vision of Hinduism. The Hindu vision, the author remarks, is essentially a global outlook as contrasted with the circumscribed outlook that promotes isolationism or sectarianism. The more one comes out of one's compartmentalised outlook, the author observes, the more one cultivates the cosmic vision which is the goal of Hinduism. The second, third and fourth lectures discuss respectively the rise of religion, Vedanta, and religion in life. The fifth lecture gives a historical survey of the development of Hinduism and traces the forces, internal and external, that brought about its successive stages. From the ancient times down to the present day the stages of Hindu evolution are carefully surveyed in a short compass. The survey is succinct and masterly.

While tracing the Muslim influence on the Hinduism of South India, the author observes that Sankar's insistence on the Unity of Brahman, his unqualified acceptance of the Veda, his missionary zeal and the prevalence of Islam as a living force in his birth-place forced him to think that Sankar was very much influenced by Islam. He then quotes Prof. Humayun Kabir to corroborate his statement. It is a pity that a learned scholar like Mr. Murti would make such an ignorant and unwarranted observation. That Islam was prevalent in Malabar during Sankar's times is an untenable assumption. None of the Sanskrit works records Sankar's contact with Islam. In the absence of any historical proof how the author hazards such a hasty remark? Prof. Humayun Kabir's assertion has been exploded by Dr. Rama Choudhuri in an article entitled "Sankar and Islam" in *The Modern Review* for February, 1946. The author concludes with a timely appeal to modern Hindus to purge away all unnecessary and useless accretions of our old religion and restate it with reference to the needs of the age. The treatment is throughout refreshing and readable, informative and up-to-date.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

VEDIC BIBLIOGRAPHY: By R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 15.

This is a very important publication giving almost a comprehensive record of the work done between 1930 and 1945, in the field of the Veda and allied antiquities including Indus Valley civilisation. This is a continuation of *Bibliographic Védique* of Prof. Louis Renon published in 1931. A number of publications prior to 1930 not included in Prof. Renon's work have also been included in the present volume. The total number of entries in the two volumes comes up to about 10000, 6500 in the first and 2500 in the second. The volume will be of invaluable help not only to students of Veda but to all students of Indology in general. It is really reassuring to be told that similar volumes of the Bibliography will be periodically issued at suitable intervals. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, for an individual scholar successfully and satisfactorily to carry on such a huge undertaking single-handed as has been done by Dr. Dandekar and his predecessor Prof. Renon. And it may be hoped the world of scholars will consider it a sacred duty to help the learned compiler with information not easily accessible and with suggestions for improvement. Help and co-operation is essential especially with regard to publications in different provincial languages and those not issued by well-known societies and firms. Without

such help omissions are only natural. Of course, it is desirable that the Bibliography should confine itself only to scholarly works leaving out publications 'of purely popular interest of which the number is a legion in different parts of the country. It is, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that popular ritualistic works have not been included in the present volume, though popular items have not been excluded as a rule. As regards important omissions in the volume reference may be made to the following: 1. Two interesting and valuable papers on Vedic studies in old Bengal and Animals in the Vedas published in the *Haraprasad Samvardhana-lekhamala* (Calcutta, 1938-1939 B. S.). 2. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Calcutta, 1935) which deals, among other things, with about 200 Vedic MSS. some of them being unique. In Section 163 dealing with biographical notices one misses those about Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BHARAT-MUKTISADHAK RAMANANDA CHATTOPADHYAY O ARDHA-SATABDIR BANGALIA (with 26 full-page illustrations): By Shri Shanta Devi. Published by Shri N. C. Das, Prabasi Press, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. To be had of the author at P 28 Raja Basanta Ray Road, Calcutta, and local book-sellers. August 1947. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 6.

'A Bengali, an Indian, a citizen of the world'—this is how Sister Nivedita had described Ramananda Babu, the doyen of Indian journalism, years ago. Born in 1865, he grew to be a scholar of considerable academic distinction, but at the altar of idealism he sacrificed, early in his life, all the natural promptings of youthful ambition. Not for him the lure of scholarship and its prizes, nor the fascination of a foreign degree or Government service. He chose for himself the usual vocation of idealists, a teacher's job, and though he was successful both in teaching and in administration as a Principal, he left the cosy corner of a Principal's office and entered on a life of struggle.

Having won golden opinions of critics for his incursions into journalism, in 1901 he started the *Prabasi* for Bengali readers, and in 1907, *The Modern Review* for a more extended circle. The intense work which he put forth in their connection bore fruit; the monthlies grew during his life-time to be powerful means of creating and influencing public opinion. He was a champion of Bengal, of Hindu culture, of Brahmoism, Rammohun Roy, Rabiindranath and Mahatma Gandhi, of Indian printing which he succeeded in popularising, but in his writings he could never forget the local in his interest in the universal—the vision of a Free India and the famine situation in Bankura went together. The "Vividha Prasanga" and the "Notes" in the *Prabasi* and in *The Modern Review* were eagerly expected every month by numerous readers all over the country, because they revealed an original mind, fearless in its expression of what it understood to be the truth. His journalism was inspired by the spirit of service, and the restraint exercised by him in conversation was admirably reflected in his writings. In the notes he has, here and there, left for us a message that has not grown old, e.g., "We for our part do not see the need or feel the wisdom of being in a hurry to create or recognise a split in our camp: we prefer to stick to the rule, 'In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity'."

The Editor's job was performed by him not only scrupulously with regard to time, but also regarding language, expression, subject-matter. He went through

everything himself and edited the contributions carefully. It was rumoured that even Rabindranath's writings bore the marks of the Editor's pencil! This involved strenuous work, and he bore the strain well enough for years. It was doing real service to the nation, and the trouble was worth taking.

His last days were clouded by the great bereavement; Rabindranath whom he had loved so much had predeceased him by three years, and Ramananda Babu's words briefly and poignantly expressed his feeling: "I did not even dream that I would have to live in a world which Rabindranath had left." His health also broke down. The nation paid him due respect in his last days. He received ovations in his sick-bed, and the end came in September, 1943.

Ramananda Babu's life-sketch has been written at length and for the readers of Bengal by his daughter, and there is patient chronicling of events with commentaries. It has been no easy task. This biography is also, as it necessarily must be, the history of his times, of the Brahmo Samaj which he had joined early in life. It contains sketches of Indu Bhushan Ray, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Rajani Kanta Guha, Apurba Chandra Datta and others who had been associated with him in life. More than all else, there is occasionally an intimate picture of Rabindranath, e.g., on page 160. The subsidiary title is quite fitting—"Bengal during the last fifty years" of which we get a glimpse, though nothing more than a glimpse. At the same time it is a book of reminiscences. The pathos of Mulu's death, the picture of Santiniketan as it was in those days, the description of life at Allahabad, to name a few only, live in this account.

Ever zealous for the honour of India, Ramananda Babu was an alert sentinel, guarding her good name both at home and abroad. A nationalist to the core, a journalist to the very end, a champion of Rabindranath, Netaji Subhas Chandra, of Bengal, he fearlessly criticized the powers that be, and though there might be occasional disagreement on the point at issue, every one admired the spirit of fearless criticism for which he stood. Shanta Devi's detailed and interesting narrative should prove an attraction to the readers who will be grateful to her for having collected and preserved this wealth of materials—a labour of love—for future generations.

P. R. SEN

HINDI

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY (in Hindi): By Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Sahityacharya, M.A., Professor, Sanskrit and Pali Department, Benares Hindu University, with an Introduction by Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A. Published by the Manager, Sarada Mandir, 29-17 Ganesh Dikshil, Benares City. Pp. 16+13+628. Price Rs. 6.*

Pandit Upadhyaya is already well-known to us as a prominent Sanskritist and an author of Sanskrit works. He has occupied a right place in the learned society. His present volume has, however, brought him before us as a Buddhist scholar of eminence, conversant both with Sanskrit and Pali Buddhism. One must congratulate him on the amount of success he has achieved by writing the book.

Buddhism with special reference to its philosophy as represented in different countries and diverse languages and discussed by contemporary scholars all over the world in their individual speeches is now by no means an easy subject. And to write on it in a language in which materials are not ready-made and consequently are to be collected from other sources is also not free from much difficulty. Without taking other matters such as gravity and profundity of the subject into consideration, simply from the above facts

it can be understood how arduous the work was before the author; yet it is gratifying to note that he has produced a book which was a desideratum.

Mainly it is divided into five parts sub-divided into twenty-five chapters. The parts are called thus: 1. Original Buddhism, 2. Religious Developments, 3. Philosophical Schools, 4. Buddhist Logic and Tantras, and 5. Propagation and Greatness of Buddhism. Besides, it deals with almost all the important aspects of Buddhism connected with the philosophical thoughts including the theories of different sects even in Japan.

In discussing the philosophical theories the author has also attempted, so far as possible in the limit of his space, to give a short account of the literature of each of the schools mentioning the important works and their authors.

Necessarily a considerable portion of the book is a compilation from its predecessors; yet evidently there is much originality. There are subjects which are collected or discussed here for the first time and as such not to be found in similar works.

Evidently in order to offer a comprehensive volume to his readers, the author has undertaken too many topics to discuss, and consequently appears not to have done full justice to all of them by treating them adequately.

In a big volume like this, dealing with a very difficult and controversial subject, it can hardly be expected that it is absolutely free from all sorts of defects, omissions and commissions. As it appears, here and there are some omissions and commissions. Only one instance may be given. While he has discussed from the non-Buddhist points of view against the theory of Flux of a thing (*Ksanabhanga-vada*), he does not show how it is maintained by the Buddhists themselves. One also wishes the author had attempted to show the origin and gradual developments of the philosophical thoughts he was concerned with in his work. Such defects, if they are really so, may be removed in the second edition which we are sure, will soon be demanded by the public considering the merits of the book by a scholar who is really a *bahusruta*. It may be mentioned in this connexion that by writing the book the author has won the prize called *Sri Harjimal Dalmiya Puraskar* for 2002-2003 V. S. of the value of Rs. 2,100 in Delhi. The introduction is, as it is rightly expected, from the pen of the celebrated savant Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

GUJARATI

(1) **MHARO BHARAT DESHA**: By Kantilal Parikh. *Thick card-board. Pp. 136. Price ten annas.*

(2) **GAMDUN BOLECHHE**: By Chunilal Madia. *Thick card-board. Pp. 148. Price ten annas.*

Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, 1946.

In twenty-one sections all the attractive and famous places in India, North, South, East and West, have been described by Mr. Parikh, e.g., Jeypur and Chitor, Udaipur and Ajmer, Madura and Rameshwaram, Hardwar and Girnar and many others. The descriptions have the merit of terseness, but that does not mean that the writer omits any prominent feature of the town, city or holy place. Mr. Madia has in thirteen chapters realistically set out the different and interesting phases of village-life in Gujarat and Kathiawad. The beauty of the compilation is that Mr. Madia's characters speak the language they usually speak, that is, the language of the villager or countryman. That contributes to the reality of the picture.

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Message of Sri Aurabindo The Fifteenth of August 1947

The following is published in *New Asia* :

August 15th is the birthday of free India. It marks for her the end of an old era, the beginning of a new age. But it has a significance not only for us, but for Asia and the whole world; for it signifies the entry into the comity of nations of a new power with untold potentialities which has a great part to play in determining the political, social, cultural and spiritual future of humanity. To me personally it must naturally be gratifying that this date which was notable only for me because it was my own birthday celebrated annually by those who have accepted my gospel of life, should have acquired this vast significance. As a mystic, I take this identification not as a coincidence or fortuitous accident, but as a sanction and seal of the Divine Power which guides my steps on the work with which I began life. Indeed almost all the world movements which I hoped to see fulfilled in my lifetime, though at that time they looked like impossible dreams, I can observe on this day either approaching fruition or initiated and on the way to their achievement.

I have been asked for a message on this great occasion, but I am perhaps hardly in a position to give one. All I can do is to make a personal declaration of the aims and ideals conceived in my childhood and youth and now watched in their beginning of fulfilment, because, they are relevant to the freedom of India, since they are a part of what I believe to be India's future work, something in which she cannot but take a leading position. For I have always held and said that India was arising, not to serve her own material interests only, to achieve expansion, greatness, power and prosperity—though these too she must not neglect,—and certainly not like others to acquire domination of other peoples, but to live also for God and the world as a helper and leader of the whole human race. Those aims and ideals were in their natural order these; a revolution which would achieve India's freedom and her unity; the resurgence and liberation of Asia and her return to the great role which she had played in the progress of human civilisation; the rise of a new, a greater, brighter and nobler life for mankind which for its entire realisation would rest outwardly on an international unification of the separate existence of the peoples, preserving and securing their national life but drawing them together into an over-riding and consummating oneness; the gift by India of her spiritual knowledge and her means for the spiritualisation of life to the whole race; finally, a new step in the evolution which, by uplifting the consciousness to a higher level, would begin the solution of the many problems of existence which have perplexed and vexed humanity, since men began to think and dream of individual perfection and a perfect society.

India is free but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom.

At one time it almost seemed as if she might relapse into the chaos of separate States which preceded the British conquest. Fortunately, there has now developed a strong possibility that this disastrous relapse will be avoided. The wisely drastic policy of the Constituent Assembly makes it possible that the problem

of the depressed classes will be solved without schism or fissure. But the old communal division into Hindu and Muslim seems to have hardened into the figure of a permanent political division of the country. It is to be hoped that the Congress and the nation will not accept the settled fact as for ever settled or as anything more than a temporary expedient. For if it lasts, India may be seriously weakened, even crippled: civil strife may remain always possible, possible even a new invasion and foreign conquest. The partition of the country must go, it is to be hoped by a slackening of tension, by a progressive understanding of the need of peace and concord, by the constant necessity of common and concerted action, even of an instrument of union for that purpose. In this way unity may come about under whatever form—the exact form may have a pragmatic but not a fundamental importance. But by whatever means, the division must end and will go. For without it the destiny of India might be seriously impaired and even frustrated. But that must not be.

Asia has arisen and large parts of it have been liberated or are at this moment being liberated; its other still subject parts are moving through whatever struggles towards freedom. Only a little has to be done and that will be done today or tomorrow. There India has her part to play and has begun to play it with an energy and ability which already indicate the measure of her possibilities and the place she can take in the council of the nations.

The unification of mankind is under way, though only in an imperfect initiative, organised but struggling against tremendous difficulties. But the momentum is there and, if the experience of history can be taken as a guide, it must inevitably increase until it conquers. Here too India has begun to play a prominent part and, if she can develop that larger statesmanship which is not developed by the present facts and immediate possibilities but looks into the future and brings it nearer, her presence may make all the difference between a slow and timid and a bold and swift development. A catastrophe may intervene and interrupt or destroy what is being done, but even then the final result is sure. For in any case the unification is a necessity in the course of Nature, an inevitable movement and its achievement can be safely foretold. Its necessity for the nations also is clear, for without it the freedom of the small peoples can never be safe hereafter and even large and powerful nations cannot really be secure.

India, if she remains divided, will not herself be sure of her safety. It is therefore to the interest of all that union should take place. Only human imbecility and stupid selfishness could prevent it.

Against that, it has been said, even the gods strive in vain; but it cannot stand for ever against the necessity of Nature and the Divine Will. Nationalism will then have fulfilled itself; an international spirit and outlook must grow up and international forms and institutions; even it may be such developments as dual or multilateral citizenship and a voluntary fusion of cultures may appear in the process of the change and the spirit of nationalism losing its militancy may find these things perfectly compatible with the integrity of its own outlook. A new spirit of oneness will take hold of the human race.

The spiritual gift of India to the world has already begun. India's spirituality is entering Europe and America in an ever-increasing measure. The movement will grow; amid the disasters of the time more and more eyes are turning towards her with hope and there is even an increasing resort not only to her teachings, but to her psychic and spiritual practice.

The rest is still a personal hope and an idea and ideal which has begun to take hold both in India and in the West on forward-looking minds. The difficulties in the way are more formidable than in any other field of endeavour, but difficulties were made to be overcome and if the Supreme Will is there, they will be overcome. Here too, if this evolution is to take place, since it must come through a growth of the spirit and the inner consciousness, the initiative can come from India and although the scope must be universal, the central movement may be hers.

Such is the content which I put into this date of India's liberation; whether or how far or how soon this connection will be fulfilled, depends upon this new and free India.

Guidalo : Queen of the Hills

Prafulladatta Goswami writes in *Triveni* :

The food of patriotism let loose by the 1942 movement took its toll of heroes and heroines in Assam, and now we cherish the memory of Kanaklata, Kusul Konwar, and others. Well has it been said that we appreciate our heroes, only when they are dead. The newspapers sometimes make mention of another patriot—Rani Guidalo, the Naga lady—happily with us still, who sacrificed herself at the altar of Liberty and suffered more than was necessary.

Our story takes us back to a dainty girl who was born into the Kaccha tribe. She belonged to a village some seventeen miles away from Mokokchang. It is an interior village bordering on the home of tribes that still take an interest in head-hunting. She was a moody girl, often betaking herself to the quiet haunts of Nature for which the Naga Hills are so noted. She dwelt among 'the untrodden ways' beside the springs of the hills. Perhaps she had sensibilities which could not be appreciated by her associates. Her eyes were luminous with unrealized visions and her well-developed nose bespoke an energy which was to make itself felt later on.

She was picked up by some Missionary who brought her to Mokokchang and tried to instil into her a dose or two of Missionary lore. There she was for some time, reading up to Class VI, but then she attained her puberty and had to go home. That was the custom of her forefathers.

In the meantime the call of freedom was stirring up the Nagas. It was no part of the general Indian nationalist movement, but fostered by the traditions and circumstances of the Nagas themselves. The British did not look upon this with an eye of tolerance. They captured two rebels—Haideo and Jadunang, and had them hanged.

The young maiden was feeling pulsation of a new life around her. She was probably in tune with the poet :

"We bear the wrong in silence,
We store it in our brain;
They think us dull, they think us dead,
But we shall rise again".

She was just awaiting her chance, when she heard a rumour that India had attained freedom. It was 1930, and of course India and the plains of Assam were shaking with the tide of the Civil Disobedience movement. The Naga girl felt that her hour had come.

Guidalo gave a call to her people, to rouse themselves and break the shackles that had been put upon them by the Britishers.

A hunt was set up. But she was too swift for her pursuers. She stirred the people and passed swiftly from village to village, from hill to hill. She attained some amount of prestige and even a halo, the halo of a goddess. She became the Rani, the sobriquet which now decorates her name.

At last she was caught with the help of, it is said, a Naga doctor. She was captured in 1932 and brought for trial to Mokokchang. There she remained for some time as an under-trial prisoner. The chief charge that was brought against her was that she abetted murder. For, seven heads hunted by the wild tribes in the neighbourhood of her village had been found, and it was 'politic' to put the blame upon her.

The trial was held within jail and she was awarded a life sentence. The news inflamed thousands of patriotic Nagas and there was a threat of rushing upon the jail itself, especially when she was about to be removed after the verdict. It was the Rani's gesture which restrained them. For she played up to the role which she had taken upon herself and spoke to the crowd which had gathered there. She said: "Do not be unruly. Do not lose your patience. For I shall come back; they won't be able to keep me for more than two years. I shall come out and go to see the Mahatma who has given freedom to India. You shall be free again." Thus spoke the valiant girl, and the simple-hearted Nagas listened to their Rani.

Then followed her travels and travails. She was moved from place to place. She was taken to Shillong, to Tura, to Aijal in the Lushai Hills. The loss of their dear daughter shattered the happiness of her parents. Her mother became blind with weeping. Her father died of sorrow. Her elder brother, who was also a rebel like her, is believed to have been shot dead. Her younger sister came to be adopted by the Missionary.

She had imagined that she would be able to breathe the air of freedom in a year or two, but when the years rolled on, and all sorts of indignities were heaped upon her, her wild spirit almost broke down.

She hardly talked. She did not look into the eyes of her visitors. She was careless in her deportment, and came very near to losing the balance of her mind.

Of the tortures that were put upon her it would suffice to mention that she was made to walk hundreds of miles when she had to be removed from one place to another. Once she had to walk all the way from Shillong to Tura, and on another occasion from Shillong to Aijal. She was but a young woman brought up on the cool heights of the Naga Hills. In 1939 she was seen by a Jail Visitor at Shillong. She seemed to be borne down by



her suffering. She was kept as a C Class prisoner and was then, fanning the dust and chaff off some paddy.

The outside world hardly knew anything of the affair. That a wild flower of liberty was languishing in prison was not flashed in the news-papers. But in 1935 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru happened to visit Silchar. A band of Nagas met Panditji and apprised him of the heroic exploits of Guidalo. It was a sad item of news for the fiery leader of India's struggle for freedom. Naturally he became indignant and tried what he could to get her released. Then only was the story of this sacrifice to patriotism broadcast to the world.

The plenary session of the Congress which was held at Allahabad in 1936 passed a resolution demanding her release.

Since then, the years have rolled on and much has occurred in the intervening period. Rani Guidalo was released in 1945, and she is now in her own village as an internee. She went to prison as a blooming young lady, still in her teens, and she came out with her health shattered and her mind inhumanly tortured. But her wild spirit still smoulders in her, and, in a recent interview with a Press correspondent she showed a lively interest in recent happenings in the political arena. She does not wish that the Nagas should remain outside the Indian Union, but she demands complete autonomy for the Naga Hills. She would resent any interference from outsiders in their internal affairs. She believes in the co-operation of the plains' people and appeals to them to come to the help of their less advanced hill brethren.

Thus, the tale is soon told. But what draws one's attention on to Guidalo is the poetry in her character and career. The history of events, it has been observed by a notable historian, is ephemeral, and for the scholar; but the poetry of events is eternal and for the multitude. The poem that this wild flower from the backwoods of the Naga Hills acted and lived will survive as a symbol. It will outlast her mere existence as a Naga patriot.

• Shall India Remain Divided?

Mohanlal Saxena, writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

The seeds of separation sown by the alien ruler in 1906 and carefully nursed by British Imperialism and religious fanaticism have ultimately fructified into the hedges of Pakistan dividing the country and the provinces. And again the idea came to my mind that the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs in turn had been also responsible for the wild growth of the cactus in the fair and beautiful garden of Hindustan, the glories of which were so beautifully versified in the well-known songs of Iqbal. In the first instance the Congress failed to realise the far-reaching evil consequences of separate electorates and secondly during the last three decades there came several opportunities when the evil could have been nipped in the bud, but personal pride and communal or party prejudice prevented us from doing so.

In the Nehru Committee and the All Parties Conference that followed it Muslims were prepared to accept joint electorates with reservation of seats for ten years in Muslim majority provinces as well, but we would not have it even for ten minutes, as it was anti-democratic. At the first round Table Conference the late Sir Md. Shafi offered to have joint electorates provided 51 per cent seats were reserved for Muslims in the Punjab, but the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs resisted it. Then came a time in 1937 when the Muslim League and the Congress had come very close to one another and in the general elections the Congress supported some of the Muslim League candidates and the League Parliamentary Board generally did not set up its candidates against Congress nominees. Not

only that, after the elections, the League Party in the U. P. legislature offered to join the Congress Party in working out a common programme for the well-being of the province, but the Socialists and Jamsait-e-ulema would not let the Congress have any truck with the Muslim League, and it cannot be denied that from the ashes of this political rupture and disappointment rose a rejuvenated Muslim League with the demand for Pakistan as its principal plank two years later.

II

I need not recapitulate other occasions when similar opportunities were not availed of for one reason or another, last such occasion being when by certain speeches and statements in regard to the Cabinet Mission scheme, Mr. Jinnah got a loophole to back out of his unqualified acceptance of the same. All this has left no doubt in my mind that we have been in a way largely responsible for the impending division of India. After this the question came to my mind whether the present plan would satisfy Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim community at large. After all Mr. Jinnah has only got what he had spurned a couple of years back as 'truncated moth-eaten Pakistan' which he would not care to touch with a pair of tongs. Either he did not mean what he said then or he is keeping up faces now.

In any case my feeling is that Pakistan in its present form may satisfy the vanity of Mr. Jinnah but it cannot, in the long run, satisfy the bulk of the poverty-stricken and ignorant Muslim masses. It may be wishful thinking on my part but our past experience of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League leads me to that belief. He began by asking for separate electorates and weightage for Muslims but they were found later on inadequate and were followed by Mr. Jinnah's famous 14 points. Afterwards even the acceptance of these points was not considered sufficient and had to be followed up with the demand of Pakistan. Although there is no doubt about the plan being accepted by the Council of Muslim League, still powerful voices have been raised from the Muslim League fold itself that they would any day prefer the Cabinet Mission plan to the truncated, moth-eaten Pakistan. I feel certain that after the heat and dust of the present controversy have subsided and the hypnotic influence of the foreign rulers is removed, our Muslim brothers will be in a position to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of their present political position and to judge for themselves whether they have got what they wanted.

III

I feel confident that the present partition of India, which has been brought about, will not last longer than the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. Cool comes out of evil and the reunion after a brief spell of separation is bound to inculcate stronger and sweeter bonds of brotherhood between the communities. Mother India has un-

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doubtedly been gripped by the demon of communalism to-day and its pristine glory stands partially eclipsed, but it is only a passing phase even as was the eclipse of the moon which took place only a couple of hours later that night.

Lastly the question came to my mind how that happy consummation is to be brought about? Neither by the sword rattling of the Sikhs, nor by the sweet and reasoned post-prayer appeals of Gandhiji to the Qaid-e-Azam. The former has in the past provoked the other Party to better organisation and aggression and the latter have only evoked ridicule and contempt. The Hindu Mahasabha have, as usual, threatened to have anti-Pakistan demonstrations and observance of black days, but they may only prolong the controversy and increase communal bitterness. It may only egg the Muslims to cling even to the 'truncated Pakistan' with increased vigour and tenacity. The Socialists have talked of their special responsibility to bring about the reunion, but we should not forget that it was at the instance of some of them that in 1937 the Congress had spurned the hand of friendship extended by the Muslim League and taken to the programme of mass contact. And we have now come to grief. Further there is no denying the fact that Muslims are essentially a religious minded community and it would rather be a long and uphill task to uproot this deep-seated religious feeling and not so easy as some of them seem to think.

Even the publication of facts and figures demonstrating the weak position of Pakistan economically and financially by the protagonists of Akhand Hindustan, I am afraid, cannot but rub the wrong way. It is a well-known fact that statistics can be made to prove anything and there are independent states which have been functioning for centuries with less economic and financial resources. Lastly we cannot achieve the desired end by the so-called policy of appeasement which the Congress has followed so long. It has to be re-oriented in the light of past experience and in the new setting of things.

IV

In my opinion a three-pronged policy is to be followed to meet the requirements of the situation. Firstly, having conceded Pakistan, not by force but by force of circumstances, it should be the duty of all concerned to see that while the Muslim League takes its pound of flesh no blood is shed in that process. Lord Mountbatten has assured us that leaders of all parties have unequivocally committed themselves to that condition. The people as well as the Governments should devise ways and means to see that this condition is strictly enforced in letter and spirit.

Secondly, we must not fight shy of making the Muslims of Hindustan who do not disclaim allegiance to Pakistan to suffer the logical consequences of the two-nation theory. For instance, it has been given out that the Muslim members from Group 'A' of the Constituent Assembly propose to attend the next meeting of the Assembly. They should not be allowed to do so unless they solemnly declare their

allegiance to Hindustan. The minorities in Hindustan should be provided with adequate safeguards, but no weightage or preferential treatment should be given as at present. The Congress Governments at the Centre and in the provinces have to deal with the situation with a gentle but firm hand. Above all, they have to be quick in decision and action.

Hardy's Philosophy In Fiction

Prof. B. L. Sahney writes in *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University* :

To begin with, Hardy is a fatalist or a necessitarian. Words like "the iron hand of necessity" or "but fate had enjoined" and so on occur frequently in his novels. His conception of Fate, however, is not childish, crude, or primitive, but exceptionally profound and impressive. For fate in his eyes is not merely some supreme external power which kills men for sports as children kill flies. Nor is it the moralised destiny of Greek tragedy, which avenges every violation of established law with ruthless retribution. Nor, again, is it a mere synonym for Death which comes with the suddenness of a bursting bomb and shatters all our sanguine schemes of happiness. His Fate is a Cosmic Force that works from without through nature or environment and also from within through individual human character. Egdon Heath in *The Return of the Native* is a vivid miniature of Hardy's philosophy of fate. It is austere, cold, and callous, liable to be swept by sudden storms. And Hardy quotes with approval the well-known remark of Novalis that "Character is Fate." Our actions are the determined results of our characters, which in their turn were formed by our preceding actions, which in their turn sprang from the characters which expressed themselves in them, and so on *ad infinitum*, till, travelling backward on these lines, we come to the first actions we ever performed which are the result of that initial character, or potentiality for a character, with which we were born interacting with the environment in which we found ourselves placed. Fate, for Hardy, as Abercrombie rightly says, is "not an activity" but "a condition of activity." It is that general, measureless process of existence which includes all activity and which, in working itself out, does not care at all for the needs and desires of individuals. In the long run, it forces the individual, however powerful he may be, to obey the general. Our actions are controlled by our characters. Our characters are controlled by our actions and environment. And our actions and characters and environment are controlled by this Cosmic Force.

Hardy is not an atheist. An atheist is one who does not believe in the existence of God. But Hardy believes in the existence of God.

To pious minds God is not only all-powerful but all-loving too. Hardy believes in His Omnipotence, of course. Only he questions His love and His justice. Nay, he

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accuses Him of blindness, cruelty, and caprice. He has been led to this position by his extreme sensitiveness to human suffering. His denunciation of the ways of God is the direct corollary of his love for man. He is the champion of humanity against the tyranny of the President of the Immortals. Hardy is much worse than an atheist. He is a Profanist or a Blasphemer.

He is a pessimist. He is one of those who deem anything possible at the hands of Time and Chance, except fairplay. Happiness is for him but an "occasional episode in a general drama of pain." The world is a place where everything is inopportune, where nothing is as you wish it. We are ruled by the powers above us. We plan this, but we do that. Life is a piece of irony carried to extremes. It is an ingenious machinery contrived by the gods for reducing human possibilities of amelioration to a minimum "which arranges that wisdom to do shall come *puri passu* with the departure of zest for doing."

While Hardy was a Champion of Man against the injustice of God, he was too much of a realist not to perceive that many of the woes of men were the results of their own perversity. He contrasts the quiet, the peacefulness of Nature against the wilful hostilities of mankind. He opines that even the lower animals behave much better than men. Man, he says, is the one "blot on an otherwise kindly universe."

Nature, he maintains, softens and chastens the mind, whereas civilisation only hardens the heart.

There are two passages in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* which deserve special attention in any consideration of Hardy's pessimism. They are put into the mouth of the hero, Henchard Michael and, as such may be dismissed as of no significance, for, as the critics put it, we must not identify the opinions or the feelings of any of the characters with those of their creator. Yet I feel that they should not be so dismissed but should be taken into account in our interpretation of Hardy's philosophy. These two passages are: first, "Who is such a reprobate as I! And yet it seems that even I be in Somebody's hand!" Second "I, Cain go alone as I deserve - an outcast and a vagabond. But my punishment is *not* greater than I can be. The Italic the latter passage is Hardy's own.

Taken together, these passages mean that God does not give up for lost even the worst reprobate, that even the greatest sinner is not beyond redemption, that our times are in God's hand. Who moulds, fashions, and completes our life according to His own divine but incomprehensive plan, that suffering is the one alchemy of God, that this suffering is imposed upon us not capriciously but because we deserved it, and that it is mercifully proportioned to our capacity for endurance. The universe is kindly and means well by us. But we assert our own individuality against it and invite disaster. We are made to suffer till we are forced to fit in with the universal plan. We know that the suffering we have to go through is the outcome of our own error and we also feel that it is proportioned to our capacity for endurance. These are the feelings of those who are actually engaged in the game of life. But those who look at it from outside as mere spectators feel that there is a little too much of pain and suffering in this game of life. And this feeling is in proportion to their sensitiveness. Who is right, the actor or the spectator? The actor in our opinion, for his wisdom is born of actual experience. Hardy is the pessimist of life as seen and the optimist of life as lived. Or perhaps optimist and pessimist are meaningless labels. They stick and they do not. Hardy is an Artist who reveals the whole vast panorama of life, of life as appearance and of life as experience, of life as it appears to the actors and to the spectators alike. Life, as a spectacle, is, in the main, a sorry scheme of things with occasional points of grandeur. Life, as a game, is an eternal series of cause and effect.



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Ministerial Portfolio of 'Scientific Research'

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is probably the first Prime Minister of a State who has specifically included 'Scientific Research' in his portfolio. It augurs well of the country which has appointed Pandit Nehru at the helm of affairs. This means that science finds a distinction in the administrative machinery of the country and indicates a good beginning in the new set-up of things. We feel that since science and technology have entered intimately into the organization of a modern society, not only science be given a high rank in the formulation of policies but also the directive for work, and executive authority to translate scientific researches into social activities must be delegated to men with real scientific talent and training. We would re-stress that there has been in the past very unwise acquiescence in adorning members of the Indian Civil Service with all available knowledge of laws and constitution down to agricultural farm management and hydro-electric dam construction. We had the experience of metamorphosis of persons from a Sessions Judge to Director of Industries and Director of Agriculture; and ending as a Departmental Secretary. In scientific matters policies must be initiated by competent persons knowing full implications and inter-relations and the execution must be also at the top level by a scientific team who may be assisted by the efficiency of a 'Civilian'.

We believe the creation of a separate portfolio of Scientific Research will now remove the many anomalies in the scope and functions of the different portfolios under each Minister leading to duplication and waste of efficiency and speed. There are the scientific surveys like Geological, Botanical, Zoological, Archaeological and Anthropological; scientific services like, Meteorological, Agriculture, Forest, Health and lastly construction projects for development of power, transport, communication, etc. When a new beginning is being made, it is necessary to bring about a co-ordination and integration in certain cases, and the primary task is to draw a line between scientific research projects and immediate development or extension services. It has been reported in the Press that Planning and Development Department will be revived under the care of Dr. Ambedkar, to whom as Labour Member (scope and nomenclature of the department were paradoxical) much credit goes for the Damodar Valley Authority. But we repeat that a permanent Planning Commission with full time secretariat is the need of the hour and this will be the chief advisory body for scientific research and recommend the priority of works and projects. The Department may have the authority to implement the measures by men drawn from scientific (including technological) fields. Prime Minister Pandit Nehru in the beginning must have an eminent scientist as his personal scientific adviser to secure the best assistance of the scientists in building a new society and a new State.

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Independent India

In an Editorial, *New York Herald Tribune* writes on August 15, 1947:

In all the history of India this is one of the greatest days. The new Dominions of India and Pakistan today became sovereign states in the British Commonwealth, linked to Great Britain only through the British Crown. They have full independence and could break their connection with London tomorrow if they so desired. They are wholly on their own. Their leaders, heirs of the ancient cultures of India, now are obligated to prove they can carry out some of the glowing promises they made conditional on independence.

Only a glance at the new dispatches from India is needed to indicate how perplexing are the tasks faced by these leaders. Most of these tasks are connected with the fact that all India, like most of Asia, is in the midst of several revolutions—not only political but social and economic revolutions. In addition the Indians are afflicted with bitter religious controversies, related to the division of the country between the Hindu Dominion of India and the Moslem Dominion of Pakistan. The religious controversies have produced one mass murder after another in recent months and thousands of Indians have been slaughtered.

But the religious killing horrible as they are, do not seem to many Indians to be as grave a threat as other dangers, for the killings should stop after the division of the country has been completed and mass migrations have reduced minority populations in both Hindus and Moslem cities. *To some Indian mir is the prevalence of corruption in official life in India is even more distressing than murders in the name of religion, for not much can be done about murder of anything else if officials are not honest. The corruption—nothing new—has become far worse since the original announcement by the British of their firm intention to withdraw from India. It is now so serious that it is drawing comment in vigorous terms from such conservative sources as Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor General of Pakistan, and officials of the Reserve Bank of India.*

Scoundrels in office certainly would not do much to alleviate the present distress of the Indians, and especially that caused by their basic problem, which is the dire poverty of most of the people. Much has been heard in recent months and years about poverty in various countries of the world, but the poverty of the Indians can hardly be visualized by any one who has not seen it. Millions upon millions of Indians live on the border-line between starvation and bare survival. Even the most honest and competent government would have trouble in filling so many mouths from so little agricultural land. Food production might be increased considerably and so might imports of food but there is dire need to find acceptable measures to reduce the present high birth-rate.

The shortage of food, and of almost every necessity of life, except air, is one of the causes for the rapidly growing Left-Wing movement in India, now largely under the control of Communists. There is a possibility that India will be won by the Reds unless officials of the new dominions can counter Communist

propaganda by actually filling the stomachs of hungry Indians. Such a victory by the Reds would be a calamity of great magnitude for both the Indians and the world.

Aside from these problems the officials of India and Pakistan must deal with abominable health conditions, with illiteracy, with the Hindu caste system (now beginning to break down) and with many other grave matters. The jobs they have ahead are as difficult as those of political leaders anywhere—perhaps the most difficult to be found in any country. They have vast opportunities for accomplishment but the load they carry is heavy.

Despite the weight of the load, however, India's difficulties should not be viewed in a vein of pessimism. Most nations, including the United States, were born in the midst of tribulation. The nations which overcome their troubles, as we hope the Indians will, have been inspiration to all mankind. All men who hope for a social and peaceful world will extend good wishes to the people of India on this day. Let us hope that India's independence will be celebrated annually for centuries to come as the beginning of a great era in Asia.

The Russo-American Impasse

In *The Catholic World*, August, 1947, John Earle Uhler thus views the situation in the case of a possible clash between Russia and America in the future:

The United States and Russia have reached such a stage in their relations that the only escape seems to be through violence. For this state of affairs Russia is largely responsible, in that she has seized control of her neighbouring nations by force. But America is partly to blame, largely because of the secret agreements made at Yalta, and the general weakness that she showed in her first attitude towards Russian aggression. This attitude the United States has recently stiffened. To stop Russia, the Congress voted "aid," amounting to almost a half billion dollars, to Greece and Turkey, which are among the countries threatened by Russian expansion. Our State Department announced that America intends to protect, not only these two Mediterranean nations, but all peoples that are menaced by the aggression of other peoples. This is the Truman Doctrine, recently reinforced by what might be called the Marshall corollary. It indicates what course America will pursue in her impasse with Russia. It is her attempt to buy her way out, entailing the likelihood of having to shoot her way out in the end. What are the chances of success?

Russia is known to advance her interests in two ways. In the first place, she proceeds with furtiveness. She attacks her prey with propaganda spread by more or less secret agents, as an army might attack an enemy with poison gas. In the second place, she proceeds with deliberation. That Moscow is hostile to the United States is evident. Former Ambassador to Russia William C. Bullitt testified on March 25th before a committee of Congress that Russia intends to "assault" and "conquer" the United States. If Russia had had the atomic bomb, he said "it would already have been dropped in the United States."

That Moscow is spewing its propaganda into this country is also evident. Before a committee of Congress, on March 26th, J. Edgar Hoover testified that there was an alarming number of Russian agents in the United States. They are directed from Paris, he said, "with a very definite pipe line into Moscow." They are a present danger to the country, he explained, in the event of war with a Communist nation. That the Communists are proceeding against America with deliberation is also evident. As Lenin said, Russia's "victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, persistent, desperate life-and-death struggle: a struggle which requires persistence, discipline, firmness, inflexibility, and concerted will-power." A current example of this declaration is the fact that World War II has been over for two years, but the Russians have thrown every obstacle in the way of peace settlements. Openly they prophesy the economic collapse of America in the not too distant future, and they are waiting for it. To their deliberation, the U. N. lends itself viciously. On every plan of this organization lie the shears of the Russian veto. "No" is Russia's atomic bomb. Time and disorder are her advance armies. The more time Moscow has, the more disorder she can create. The longer the time, the greater will be the exhaustion of America in her effort to establish order all over the world.

The war between Russia and America has started. It is a new kind of war. For the present, it is largely intangible, with Russia in possession of weapons, many of which Franklin Roosevelt gave her in his several conferences with Stalin. Against her, America has two methods of defense, either to withdraw from her remote and poorly protected outposts, and put her house in order against the Armageddon that may come, or to try to prevent Russia from further outbreaks. Our Washington statesmen, beginning with "aid"—no longer called lend-lease—to Greece and Turkey, have chosen the method of prevention. This method is at present largely financial. It proceeds by attempted purchase of goodwill abroad, with the prospect of an open clash with Russia just beyond.

In this campaign, America must work on the rim of Europe, because the interior is a shambles. She is trying to get a toe-hold on western Germany, to be sure, but, because of stupid statesmanship, specially in her previous condescension to Russia, she can find but little active support among the Germans and is more likely to meet increased resentment as time goes on. Even beginning with France and proceeding counter-clockwise, an examination of America's new policy—this Truman Doctrine—still reveals a series of titanic difficulties. Some appear insurmountable. In the aggregate, they threaten to drain the strength of the United States, just as Russia hopes and expects, long before they can be solved.

In liberating France, America has had to overrun the country with a huge army. Most Frenchmen are grateful. But an army is never a goodwill ambassador. In the attempt, moreover, to keep what hold we have on western Germany, we have had to antagonize France on questions about the border. She looks to us, too, for financial aid in her economic predicament.

She has been in such sore straits that Russia has made heavy inroads upon her with Communism. Communists were in the cabinet. To meet the threat, America increased the May allotment of grain to France by 36,000 tons, and Ramadier cast out the agents of Moscow who surrounded him. The hope is that France will restore herself to make her own fight against Russia. How long will it take? What will happen if and when America has no more grain to give away?

Portugal is more fortunate than France because the Portuguese stayed out of the war. Their neutrality proved both prosperous and wise. The most that Washington can expect from Portugal, then, is continued neutrality.

Spain, on the other hand, is not well disposed toward the United States. The entire history of America is blotchy with disagreeable relations between Washington and Madrid.

The repercussions were evident in the first World War, in which Spain remained neutral, but groups in responsible positions were pro-German. The same was true in the second World War. If the third war breaks out violently, America may be desperately in need of Spain's friendship, for Spain may turn out to be a necessary spring-board, like England, for a jump into the continent. In relation to Russia, the United States is in a specially precarious position here. She has antagonized the conservative Spaniards by machinations against the Franco regime, and she cannot win large unreliable segments of the lower classes, because they are thoroughly pro-Communist. If America should need Spain, therefore, in this stand against Russian provocations, Washington will have to break through a curtain that has ominously thickened for a century and a half.

Italy offers a different type of danger. The people there will never forget the American invasion. The objectives of the Italian government, wrong as they were, were toward the east as in the case of Germany. But both Germany and Italy were first threatened from the west, by England and France. America came in, took the leadership away from England and France and made the war predominantly her own. As a result, Italy has lost what little empire she had. Although to a less extent than Germany, she is in desolation. Communism has seized Sicily and hovers over most of the mainland. And the Italian is constantly reminded of places like Monte Cassino. "The abbey was originally built," he will tell you, "by St. Benedict in the sixth century—destroyed by the Lombards; rebuilt in the eighth century—destroyed by the Saracens; rebuilt in the tenth century—destroyed by the Americans." Will American dollars, already fast slipping through a sieve, buy off such memories as these?

Greece and Turkey may be passed for the moment. We have already committed ourselves there. The condition of the remaining countries in danger of Russia's seizure will give us some idea as to what this commitment will turn out to be.

In Palestine, America has meddled sufficiently, on the side of the Jews, to create a conflict with England.



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The expressions of our politicians, together with the innate dangers already inflaming the Holy Land, have prompted England to toss the entire agitation into the arms of the U. N., that is—virtually—into the arms of the United States, which has undertaken the chief responsibility for the U. N. Here in Palestine, at the crossroads of the world, lie two questions, both like Gordian Knots. The lesser, involving economics alone, may be cut, as Alexander the Great cut the knot tied by the King of Phrygia. It is wrapped up in the mineral wealth of the Dead Sea, in which Chaim Weizmann, the leading spirit of the Jewish Agency, is said to be interested.

The other question is mainly religious. On the one side are 250,000,000 Mohammedans, who have dominated Palestine for over a thousand years. On the other side are only a few million Jews who insist on immigration there until the immediate control of the Holy Land is Jewish. The Mohammedans, however, will not yield without a fanatical war. In this conflict they are being courted by the Russians, just as in the past war they were courted by Germany and Italy. At the beginning, some of their most trusted leaders, including the Emir of Jerusalem, expressed their support of the Allies, but when England—and then, more vociferously, America—came out plainly for a Jewish State in Palestine, they turned their support to the Fascists. In the war that is now brewing between the United States and Russia, this vast strip of Islam, extending from Dakar to Manila, could be a reinforcement of America's resistance to the Muscovite menace. But, as in the past war, our State Department is doing much to lose it. Here lies a knot that cannot be cut.

From here in Palestine, all the way across southern Asia and north to Siberia, the Truman Doctrine will continue to meet a tangle of difficulties in the effort to stop the Bear-that-walks-like-a-man. Already the Communists have seized the province of Azerbaijan in Iran, a country which, like many Mohammedan lands, is not exactly hostile to Russia. In this province, Moscow threatens one flank of Turkey and the fabulous oil fields that lie in the south. It is irony that, through this part of the world, the United States sent millions of dollars worth of supplies to help the Russians beat the Germans. Now these millions are part of the great bear-hide through which American soldiers may soon have to cut.

To the east spreads India, with social and religious problems far more involved than anywhere in the world. After about two hundred years England is leaving this land in more desperate straits than when she fought France for it in the eighteenth century. If we went into the last war to save the British Empire,

as Winston Churchill suggested, we failed to save this part of it. Not only is India (or areas of it) demanding independence from England, but it is yielding in places to the voice of Moscow. In accordance with the logic of our State Department, if Russia goes too far with what General Marshall calls a bulge into this sub-continent, then America must step in where England has pulled out. A few years ago we had thousands of American soldiers there to fight for Russia and China. If we send them back, we will send them to a land that the English now fear to tread.

In China, conditions are not much better. About a hundred years ago, England fought two wars against the Chinese to force their government to allow the importation of opium. It was from poppies grown by English planters in India. As China collapsed, partly from its addiction to this drug, one European country after another seized pieces of territory on the coast. Then Japan rose for her share, and America aided her with supplies. During the war, so Stettinius reported, we sent ten times as much lendlease to Russia as to China. Only months ago, our State Department was ordering Chiang Kai-shek to "co-operate" with the Communists. General Stilwell complained that he was obstinate. Now we are depending on Chiang's army to drive the Communists back. To make matters worse, Roosevelt turned half of Korea over to Chiang's enemies. And, of course, Japan, in spite of her bows to America, will attack China again—or America—at the first opportunity. The door in China, which we held open for almost a half century, is in danger of closing in our face, with the Communists on the inside.

Farther north, American and Russian territory lie only a few miles apart. From France, all the way southward around Russia to here, the Communists offer no direct tangible military threat to America. There is, of course, the increasing threat of Communism. But from the Aleutian Islands around the icy wastes of the north to Spitzbergen, we are more immediately exposed to Russia's military threat. As for Alaska itself, here too, as elsewhere, Franklin Roosevelt made the situation worse by his agreements with Stalin. Whereas Japan was strong enough to invade the Aleutians, now Russia, having been given Japanese territory, is even stronger than Japan was. From here eastward, therefore, our military departments have been busy with the construction of bases, and it is to be presumed that Russia is equally busy on her side. In Greenland, we are in controversy with Denmark, about which General Marshall pronounced a public statement several months ago. It is known, however, that Copenhagen is not favorable to American settlements there. Better are our relations with Norway

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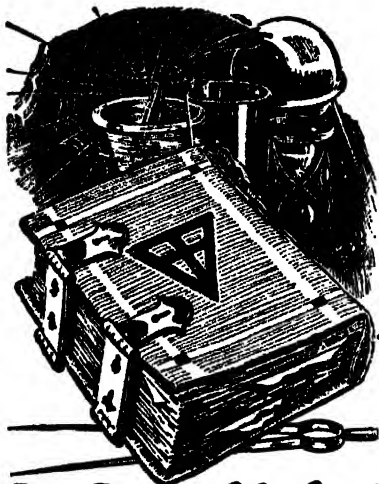
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about Spitzbergen, but southward in Iceland our State Department is dealing with a people who still resent our recent occupation and are now expressing the right to remain neutral in the future. And so with Eire.

This northern territory about Russia logically connects with the southern at England, because, in the event of war between America and Russia, America will need England again for her chief base of operations, as in the past war. But the England of today is not the same country as in 1839. At that time London began her high-pressure salesmanship on Washington to bring America into the war which Downing Street had just declared against Germany. This war proved disastrous to England. She has lost a great part of her strength. In an attempt to regain some of it, she is withdrawing into as large a degree of isolation as possible. Soon she will probably have to pull her troops out of Egypt and the Sudan. There have been warnings that she would withdraw even from her part of Germany. She has had enough of war for the present.

America, therefore, finds herself through a cycle in which she started in one type of isolation and ends in another. At the beginning she was isolated at home, safe in her own powerful geographical position. Now she is isolated abroad, thinly spread and exposed on an immense land that is rotten with confusion and poverty and hostility.

Two facts, therefore, stand out. The first is that Communism cannot be fought with dollars. Even if America should succeed in this way in one place, there is not enough money in the world to continue this kind of war wherever Russia projects a bugle. This fact is specially evident in view of America's calamitous blunders, chiefly at Roosevelt's hands. They have so vitiated our chances to win permanent favor that we can do little else than what England is doing, namely, withdraw for the convalescence that we so sorely need. The second fact is that America's greatest stronghold, for the fight against Communism, is America itself. Her financial sallies against the enemy are draining her strength, whereas an effort to put her own house in order will conserve strength and prove to the world that "the American way of life" is far better than the Russian way. Russia is waiting for the financial collapse that America will inevitably suffer if she continues her present course. Why cannot America wait for the collapse that is soon likely to come to Russia?

Otherwise, Uncle Sam will be in danger—some day in the not remote future—of having to limp home on crutches, talking to himself. That kind of talk is usually the truth.

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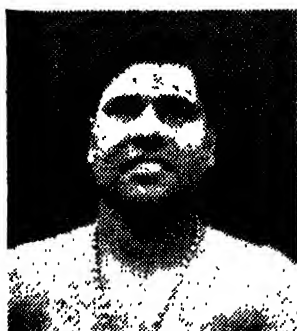
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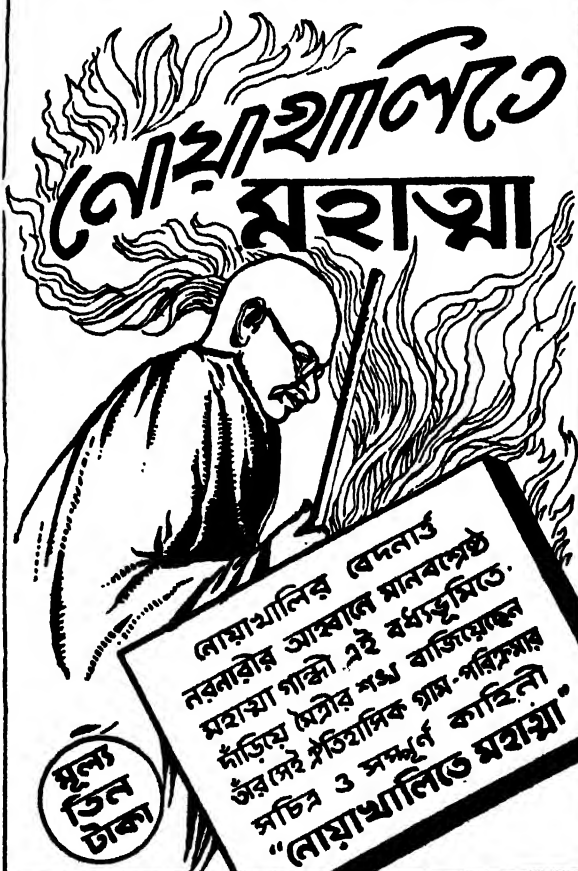
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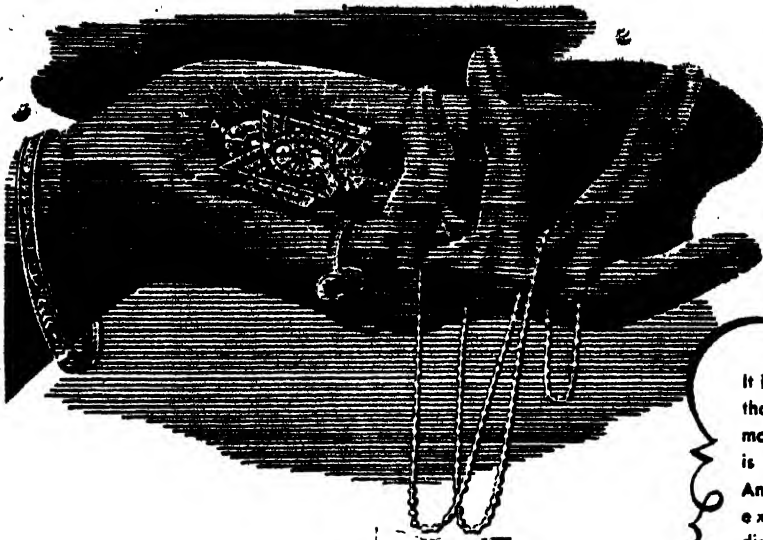
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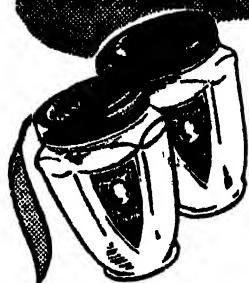


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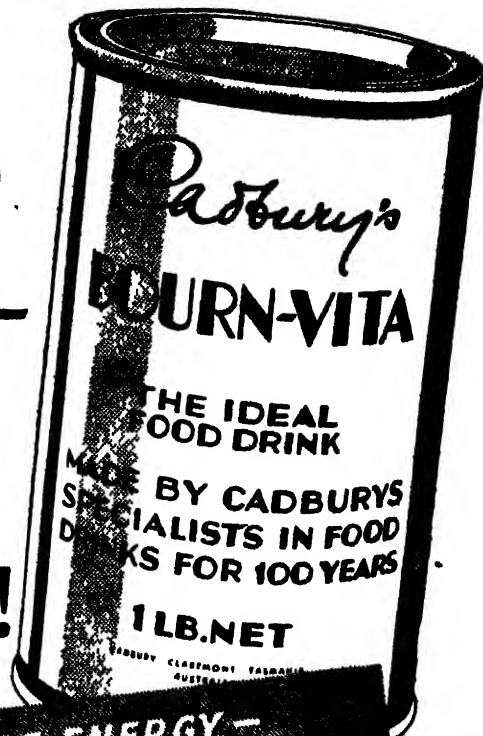
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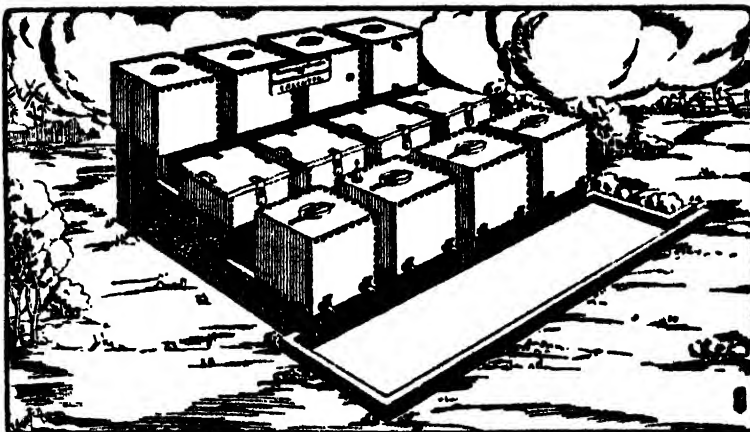
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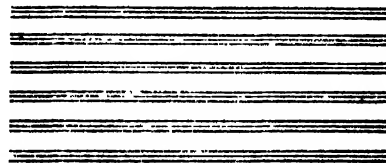
WHOLE No. 491

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER 1947.

	PAGE
FRONTISPICE—SWEET MEMORIES (in colours)—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	
NOTES (illustr.)—	237—356
The Food Problem—Kamaladevi Chattoopadhyay	357
Side-lights On The Indian Independence Act, 1947—Dr. A. K. Ghosal, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)	360
The Growth Of Communalism And Break- down Of The Bengal Administration— Rai Bahadur Bejoy Bihari Mukherji	364
Rural Life In England—T. K. Mookerji	371
Philippine Islands Become Independent Re- public On July 4, 1946 (illustr.)—USIS.	373
In The Deserts Of Africa (illustr.)—Sunil Prokash Shome	376
Potato Farming In The United States (illustr.) —USIS.	379



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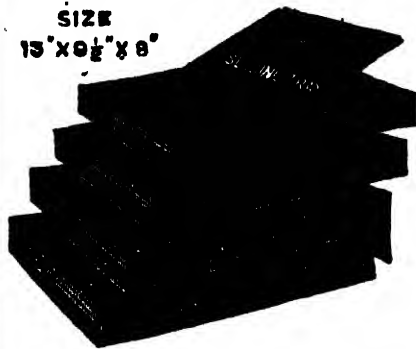


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CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

Robert Browning (1812-1890)

(*illustr.*)—*Augustus Muir* ... 381

Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose—In Memoriam

(*illustr.*)—*Asutosh Bagchi* ... 383

The Late Ambuj Nath Banerji (*illustr.*)

—*A. G.* ... 384

Curry Powder—*Hiranmay Ghoshal* ... 385

Control Of Strategic Minerals In India: Mica

—*Ramani Ranjan Chowdhury* ... 389

Refugee Problems And Their Solution—*V. V.*

Sayanna ... 391

Some Information About Omichand From

The Calcutta High Court Records—*Dr.*

N. K. Sinha ... 395

A Plea For Higher Bank Rate—*Prof. P. C.*

Banerjee, M.A. ... 397

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
The Political Future Of Indian States—Prof. K. V. Rao, M.A., M.Litt., M.L.A.	... 399
BOOK REVIEWS:	401—404
A. K. Ghosal, S. C. Mitra, U. C. Bhattacharjee, A. B. Dutta, D. Burman, Swami Jagadiswarananda, Nalini Kumar Bhadra, Narayan C. Chanda, G. M., K. M. J.	...
INDIAN PERIODICALS:	405—410
Shakespeare The Master Builder	... 405
Twelve Aspects of American Literature	... 405
Minority Representation	... 408
Santiniketan and Sevagram	... 408
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:	411—420
New Day. New World	... 411
The Future of Indo-British Relations	... 411
Philippine Republic Holds First Elections Nov. 11	415
The Social and Economic Role of Engineers and Technicians	... 415
Turkish Women Today and Yesterday	... 417
The Philosophy of Sufis and Saints	... 419

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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER ,



1947

VOL. LXXXII, No. 5

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NOTES

After Plebiscite, Anschluss ?

It must be apparent to all students of current history that the Hitlerian technique is being slavishly imitated by the champions of Pakistan. There is the same utter disregard for truth in their propaganda, with the same reliance put on brazen lies, dressed up with half-truths, trimmed by complete suppression of unpleasant contrary facts and the whole reiterated with strong emphasis. These Hitlerian tactics were imitated in the referendums in the N.-W. F. Province and the Sylhet district, the identical mixture of incitement by false propaganda coupled with coercion with violence being used as was done by Hitler in Rhineland. Further the same absolute faith in brute force is apparent in every Pakistani move as was the case with the Nazis.

Fat dividends have accrued to the League in the immediate past through such moves. Without any struggle for liberty, without any sacrifice they have gained enormous concessions. And, true to the type, each gain merely went to whet the appetite of the recipient for further unearned and undeserved dividends. In the past, the conciliation and appeasement policy of the Congress was much to blame for such happenings, and even today in the Nehru Cabinet, there are members whose actions go to strengthen the belief of the Pakistanis in the Hitlerian doctrine of brute force and false propaganda. The Kashmir incident should open the eyes of Pandit Nehru to the danger of keeping such persons in positions of vantage in the government at home and abroad. It must be realized by him that the interests of the Indian Union cannot be sacrificed much longer just for the sake of mere emotional appeal or face-saving arrangements. The Union is now face to face with grim realities, and only those whose efficiency and staunchness to the cause of the Union is beyond all suspicion can now be kept in positions of trust. At home, we have evidence of vacillation, waste and inefficiency in all directions and abroad our case is going by default through negligence and incapacity of the persons who were put

in charge. In short, we may say that the chief sources of strength of Pakistan are the weak spots in the set-up of the Government of the Indian Union.

Let us face the facts. The League got away with most of their gains in the West and the East, not so much because of their strength in such quarters but because of the impulsive as well as reckless undertakings given by the heads of the Union Government in the first instance followed by irresolute vacillations in the face of the serious consequences that followed. Much was given away by them through fecklessness, that they had no justification to give, and not having looked sufficiently far ahead to gauge the *pros* and *cons* of their undertakings, they were unable to cope with the unfavourable situations as they developed.

The Kashmir incident is far from being closed as yet, but there can be no question now that it was a genuine *Anschluss* move on the Hitlerian pattern. It would have succeeded completely before now, but for the cupidity and bestial lust of the hordes that were employed for it, despite their indiscipline and lack of cohesion. The terrain was in their favour and the initiative was completely in their hands. Numerically they were immensely superior to the forces *in situ*, for tens of thousands swarmed in through five directions, and they were equipped with the most modern of fire-arms capable of easy transport. If once the Srinagar aerodrome had fallen into their hands, it would have been next to impossible for the forces of the Indian Union to cope with them, acting, as they would have had to then, from distant bases. The Srinagar aerodrome was occupied by the air-borne troops of the Union with hardly a minute to spare, and the Spitfires and Thunderbolts of the R. I. A. F. that played such havoc on the invading hordes, could strafe them with such sustained ferocity because they were based on Srinagar. Whatever the ultimate result be in Kashmir, it must never be forgotten that the invaders came within an ace of success, thanks to the gullibility of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the emotional complexes of some of the heads of the Indian Union.

The Invasion of Kashmir

A contingent of Afridia, with some soldiers of Pakistan Army on leave and other desperadoes fully armed with modern weapons, entered the Kashmir State on October 23 from Manshera-Ramkot side in about 100 trucks, according to Mr. R. N. Batra, Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir. These 100 trucks, Mr. Batra points out, were driven by petrol released from the N.-W. F. P. rationed quota. On entering Kashmir, these men resorted to murder, arson, loot and rape. The attack synchronised with a statement made by Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Premier of the N.-W. F. P., to the effect that he had asked Frontier men not to infiltrate into Kashmir.

Immediately on receipt of the information, the Prime Minister of India held consultations in New Delhi with the Ministers for Defence and States. Mr. V. B. Menon, Secretary to the States Ministry, left for Kashmir on October 25, to discuss with the State authorities matters relating to the supply of petrol and other essential commodities. The Government of India had no doubt, that they were witnessing a repetition of the Hitlerian technique in Pakistan, only the Pakistan leaders have not the military genius and industrial resources to back their cunning. It was also believed that the Junagadh situation was created by Pakistan to screen its plans on the borders of Kashmir. Just when the Premier of the Frontier Province was assuring the world that no tribesmen would be allowed to enter Kashmir, thousands of them, fully armed, were actually crossing into Kashmir in trucks belonging to Pakistan. In fact, the *Hindustan Times* states that it is said that the Prime Minister of Pakistan himself visited Rawalpindi and gave his blessing to the entire plan to disrupt Kashmir "from within." It was Mr. Jinnah's declaration, that he would not interfere with the affairs of any State, that created a false sense of security among the States bordering Pakistan. How his agents worked behind the scenes are now apparent from the developments in Junagadh and Kashmir. But fortunately the Government of India have not been caught napping; Sardar Patel's Ministry has countered every move on the States chessboard so far.

Mr. Jinnah's statements on the minorities and his Id message of October 25, have also made it clear that he is following the Goebbels' technique, namely, "the bigger the lie the better."

The next 48 hours were crucial. On Sunday, October 26, Sardar Patel reported on the outcome of the flying visit to Kashmir of the States Secretary, Mr. Menon, Pandit Nehru gave the Ministers a gist of his talk with Sheikh Abdullah who arrived in Delhi by air. The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr. Meherchand Mahajan, arrived in Delhi on October 26 and asked for help from the Indian Dominion. It was fully realised that Kashmir had been given a false sense of security by Mr. Jinnah's assurance, that every State was free to join or not to join Pakistan, which was given while preparations were set afoot to storm

the State with the help of irregulars probably armed with Pakistan weapons and conveyed in Pakistan Army trucks. On October 26, the tribal column was within 30 miles of Srinagar.

On October 27, in view of the grave emergency, the Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to the Indian Dominion. The Indian Dominion agreed to accept this accession, subject to the proviso that a referendum of the State's subject on this issue will be taken after law and order had been restored. The Maharaja also stated that he had decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an Interim Government to work with the Prime Minister. Indian troops were immediately despatched by air to defend the State and to protect the lives, property and honour of the people of Kashmir, 75 per cent of whom were Muslims. Indian Union fighter and fighter-bomber planes started fierce strafing operations against the invaders.

News reached New Delhi on October 28 that Indian troops in conjunction with 10,000 National Conference Volunteers, known as *Bachao Fauj* (Defence Army), had assumed complete control of the situation. Advance troops contacted the raiders at Baramula and halted their advance. The raiding columns were forced to retreat to the hills. The raiders had infiltrated up to the outskirts of Srinagar and threw the capital into darkness by damaging the main hydro-electric station. By October 29, reinforcements were sent to Srinagar, and on the same day a satisfactory solution of the problem of getting up a popular Interim Government in Kashmir was indicated in New Delhi by Sheikh Abdullah in a talk with pressmen. A Srinagar message to the *Hindustan Times* stated that Maj.-Gen. Kiari of the Pakistan Army was, believed to be conducting the operations on behalf of the raiders.

On October 30, the *Daily Telegraph* of London published the following despatch from its Lahore correspondent :

Mr. Jinnah at a dramatic midnight conference with his advisers at Government House, Lahore, sent a telephonic message to General Gracey, Acting C.-in-C., Pakistan Army, at his headquarters at Rawalpindi. Mr. Jinnah commanded Gen. Gracey to reply to the Indian Government's move in flying troops to Kashmir by sending troops immediately up Murree Road to recapture Baramula, occupying Srinagar, hold its airfield and cut off Banihal pass.

The despatch added :

Gen. Gracey replied that the news had just reached him that Kashmir had joined the Indian Union and that to send troops there would be an act of war. He begged that the matter be referred first to Gen. Auchinleck. To this, Mr. Jinnah with some reluctance agreed.

Another London report suggested that Mr. Jinnah had ordered the regular troops of Pakistan to march into Kashmir but changed his mind on Field Marshal Auchinleck informing him that if his order was carried out British officers in the armies of Pakistan and India would resign.

Since the arrival of the Indian troops, the raiders have continuously been on the run. Sardar Patel and

Sardar Baldev Singh visited Kashmir on November 4. They also flew to Jammu and held discussions with the Maharaja. Pandit Nehru has also paid a visit to Srinagar and Baramula.

Referring to Kashmir, Gandhiji in the course of one of his post-prayer speeches, said that he could not escape the conclusion that Pakistan Government was directly or indirectly encouraging the raid. On November 5, a Press Note of the Kashmir Government asserted that proof was forthcoming that certain officers of the Pakistan army were among the raiders who had to their account "numerous acts of carnage of defenceless men, and abduction of women and barbarism of all sorts."

A portion of the land convoy of armoured cars and light artillery from the Indian Union entered the State on November 6 through the Pathankot route. More re-inforcements by land and air began to pour in. An all out effort to push back the raiders beyond Uri could now be made. On November 10, Pandit Nehru flew to Kashmir and addressing a mass meeting at Srinagar assured the people that "as in the past so in the future, we (India and Kashmir) shall stand together and face every enemy. This is the pledge I give here today to your leader the Sher (Lion) of Kashmir." On November 12, Pandit Nehru visited Baramula. Dr. K. L. Shridharani, *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* special correspondent who had accompanied Panditji, described Baramula in the following words :

When we passed through Pattan, we learned how ruthless and jungly the enemy had been. The entire town is burned and looted. There is not a soul stirring in that dead and deserted village. The chief idea of the enemy seems to be loot. They packed off brass fittings believing they are made of gold.

Baramula was also dead as we entered it. We were merely led through burned streets lined up with looted shops. Ninety per cent of those shops are Moslem shops, but greed is thicker than blood among the unruly Afridis.

As we passed the Jhelum bridge five to six youngsters spotted the Lion of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah and the Lion of India, Pandit Nehru. A large group of trembling women in tattered clothes came. A young beautiful Hindu girl came to Indira Gandhi and began to tell her tale. She said all the young Hindu and Sikh girls were sorted out and taken into a prison to be used by the invaders. A few Moslem girls were also taken. They were decked in beautiful looted saris by the invaders for the enjoyment of their eyes.

We visited St. Joseph's convent. The lovely hospital with its fine surgical appliances is just rubble. The chapel's windows are broken. The library was looted by hillmen who cannot read. In the arbored lanes are lying photographs and letters of Catholic sisters who have been evacuated. And over the entire ruins hangs the sacrilegious smell of the rape of five nuns and their murder. An English couple was also murdered there.

The Call for Rescue

The sequence of events, after the mass invasion started, can be well-pictured from the documents and statements released to the press. Indian Union's aid

came following the letters given below which passed between the Maharaja of Kashmir and Governor-General Mountbatten.

From the Maharaja : "My dear Lord Mountbatten,—I have to inform Your Excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my State and request immediate assistance of your Government.

"As Your Excellency is aware, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either the Dominion of India or to Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous to both Dominions. It has vital economic and cultural links with both of them. Besides, my State has a common boundary with the Soviet Republic and China. In their external relations the Dominions of India and Pakistan cannot ignore this fact.

"I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede or whether it is not in the best interest of both Dominions and of my State to stand independent—of course with friendly and cordial relations with both. I accordingly approached the Dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this arrangement. The Dominion of India desired further discussion with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact, the Pakistan Government under the standstill agreement are operating post and telegraph system inside the State.

"Though we have got a standstill agreement with the Pakistan Government, that Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my State.

"Afridis, soldiers in plain clothes and desperadoes with modern weapons, have been allowed to infiltrate into the State at first in Poonch area, then in Sialkot and finally in mass in the area adjoining Hazara district on the Ramkote side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting.

"The Mahora power house, which supplies the electric current to the whole of Srinagar, has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed.

"The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer capital of my Government, as a first step to overrunning the whole State.

"The mass infiltration of tribesmen drawn from distant areas of the N.-W. F. Province coming regularly in motor trucks using Manshra-Muzaffarabad Road and fully armed with up-to-date weapons, cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the Provincial Government of the N.-W. F. Province and the Government of Pakistan.

"In spite of repeated appeals made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders

or stop them from coming to my State. In fact, both the Pakistan Radio and Press have reported these occurrences. The Pakistan Radio even put out a story that a Provincial Government has been set up in Kashmir. The people of my State, both Muslims and non-Muslims, generally have taken no part at all.

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government.

"The other alternative is to leave my State and my people to freebooters. On this basis no civilised Government can exist or be maintained. This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country.

"I may also inform Your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an Interim Government and ask Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister.

"If my State has to be saved, immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar. Mr. Menon is fully aware of the gravity of the situation and he will explain to you, if further explanation is needed.

"In haste and with kindest regards. Yours sincerely,—Hari Singh."

From Mounbatten to Maharajah: "My dear Maharajah Sahib,—Your Highness's letter dated the 26th October has been delivered to me by Mr. V. P. Menon. In the special circumstances mentioned by Your Highness, my Government have decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. Consistently with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that, as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people.

"Meanwhile, in response to Your Highness's appeal for military aid, action has been taken today to send troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect the lives, property and honour of your people.

"My Government and I note with satisfaction that Your Highness has decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an Interim Government to work with your Prime Minister.

"With kind regards,—I remain, yours very sincerely,—Mounbatten of Burma."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast

Consequent upon the military aid sent to Kashmir by the Indian Union, the Pakistan authorities broke

into rabid abuse of the Indian Union's Government. Pandit Nehru's reply was characteristically restrained and statesmanlike.

The following is the full text of the Prime Minister's broadcast:

I want to speak to you tonight, about Kashmir, not about the beauty of that famous valley, but about the horrors which it has had to face recently. We have passed through very critical days and the burden of taking vital and far-reaching decisions has fallen upon us. We have taken those decisions and I want to tell you about them.

Our neighbouring Government, using language which is not the language of Governments or even of responsible people, has accused the Government of India of fraud in regard to the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union. I cannot emulate that language nor have I any desire to do so, for I speak for a responsible Government and a responsible people.

I agree, however, that there has been fraud and violence in Kashmir but the question is: "Who is responsible for it?" Already considerable parts of the Jammu and Kashmir State have been overrun by raiders from outside, well-armed and well-equipped, and they have sacked and looted the towns and villages and put many of the inhabitants to the sword. Frightfulness suddenly descended upon this lovely and peaceful country and the beautiful city of Srinagar was on the verge of destruction.

I want to say at once that every step that we have taken in regard to Kashmir has been taken after the fullest thought and consideration of the consequences and I am convinced that what we have done was the right thing. Not to have taken those steps would have been a betrayal of a trust and cowardly submission to the law of the sword with its accompaniment of arson, rapine and slaughter.

For some weeks past we had received reports of infiltration of raiding bands into the State territory of Jammu province and also of a concentration of armed men near the border of Kashmir with the North-West Frontier Province. We were naturally concerned about this not only because of our close ties with Kashmir and her people, but also because Kashmir is a frontier territory adjoining great nations and, therefore, we were bound to take interest in the developments there. But we were anxious not to interfere and we took no step whatever to intervene even though a part of Jammu province was overrun by these raiders.

It has been stated that there were raids from the Jammu side across the Pakistan border and that there was communal trouble in Jammu and Muslims were killed and driven away. In the past we have not hesitated to condemn evil, whoever might have committed it whether Hindu or Sikh or Muslim, and so if Hindus or Sikhs or any functionaries of the State misbehaved in Jammu province, certainly we condemn them and regret their deeds.

But I have before me a detailed list of 95 villages in the Jammu province which have been destroyed by

the raiders from Pakistan. Bhimbar, a considerable town, had also been sacked and destroyed. Other towns are besieged and a considerable part of Poonch and Mirpur areas is in possession of the raiders.

Does this indicate that aggression took place from the Kashmir side on to West Punjab or does it not show that there has been continuous organised aggression from West Punjab into Kashmir State? These raiders possess the latest type of modern arms. It is reported that they have used flame-throwers and a disabled tank has been discovered with them.

About this time we were asked by the Kashmir State to provide them with arms. We took no urgent steps about it and although sanction was given by our States and Defence Ministries, actually no arms were sent.

On the night of October 24, I learnt of another raid, this time from the Abbottabad-Mansara road, which enters Kashmir near Muzaffarabad. The raiders killed many persons there including the Dist. Magistrate and were proceeding along the Jhelum Valley road towards Srinagar. The State forces were spread out in small numbers all over the State and they could not stop this armed and well-organised raid. The civil population, Hindu and Muslim, fled before the raiders.

It was on the 24th night that for the first time a request was made to us on behalf of the Kashmir State for accession and military help. On the 25th morning, we considered this in the Defence Committee, but no decision was taken about sending troops in view of the obvious difficulties of the undertaking. On the 26th morning we again considered this matter. The situation was even more critical then. The raiders had sacked several towns and had destroyed the great power house at Mahora which supplies electricity to the whole of Kashmir. They were on the point of entering the Valley. The fate of Srinagar and the whole of Kashmir hung in the balance.

We received urgent messages for aid not only from the Maharaja's Government, but from representatives of the people, notably that great leader of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the President of the National Conference.

Both the Kashmir Government and the National Conference pressed us to accept the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union.

We decided to accept to this accession and to send troops by air, but we made a condition that the accession would have to be considered by the people of Kashmir later when peace and order were established. We were anxious not to finalise anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to the people of Kashmir to have their say. It was for them ultimately to decide.

And here let me make clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of that State. It was in accordance with this policy that we added a proviso to the instrument of accession of Kashmir.

We decided to send troops on the afternoon of

October 26. Srinagar was in peril and the situation was urgent and critical. Our staff worked hard that day and night and at day-break on the 27th our troops went by air. They were small in numbers to begin with, but immediately on arrival they rushed into action to stop the invader. Their gallant Commander, a brave officer of our army, was killed the next day.

Since then troops and equipment have been flown over daily and I should like to express my high appreciation and the appreciation of my Government for the fine work which our staff have done as well as the pilots and the air crews who have thrown themselves into this adventure with heart and soul. The Air Lines have co-operated with us fully and to them also I am grateful. Our youngmen have shown how they can rise to the occasion in moment of crisis to serve their country.

Srinagar was in peril and the invader was almost on its doorstep. There was no administration left there, no troops, no police. Light and power had failed and there were a vast number of refugees there, and yet Srinagar functioned without obvious panic and the shops were opened and people went about the streets. To what was this miracle due? Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues of the National Conference and their unarmed volunteers, Muslim and Hindu and Sikh, took charge of the situation, kept order and prevented panic.

It was a wonderful piece of work that they did at a moment when the nerves of most people might have failed them. They did so because of the strength of their organisation, but even more so because they were determined to protect their country from the ruthless invader who was destroying their country and trying to compel them by terrorism to join Pakistan. Whatever the future may hold, the people of the Valley of Kashmir have exhibited during these past few days remarkable courage, capacity for organisation and unity.

It would be well if this lesson was understood by the whole of India which has been poisoned by communal strife. Under the inspiration of a great leader, Sheikh Abdullah, the people of the Valley, Muslim and Hindu and Sikh were together for the defence of their common country against the invader. Our troops could have done little without this popular support and co-operation.

The Maharaja of Kashmir deserves to be congratulated on his decision to make Sheikh Abdullah the head of the administration at this critical juncture. That was a wise step which other Rulers might well follow, making their people trustees and defenders of freedom.

It must be remembered, therefore, that the struggle in Kashmir is a struggle of the people of Kashmir under popular leadership against the invader. Our troops are there to help in this struggle and as soon as Kashmir is free from the invader, our troops will have no further necessity to remain there and the fate of Kashmir will be left in the hands of the people of Kashmir.

We have passed through days of peril not only for Kashmir but for the whole of India. That peril is less now but it is by no means over and many dangers confront us. We have to be very vigilant and well-prepared for whatever may happen. The first step in this preparation is to put an end completely to every manner of communal strife in India and to stand up as a united nation to face every danger which might threaten our freedom. External danger can only be faced effectively when there is internal peace and order and an organised nation.

We talk about the invaders and raiders in Kashmir and yet these men are fully armed and well-trained and have competent leadership. All of these have come across and from Pakistan territory. We have a right to ask the Pakistan Government how and why these people could come across the Frontier Province or West Punjab, and how they have been armed so effectively. Is this not a violation of International Law and an unfriendly act towards a neighbour country? Is the Pakistan Government too weak to prevent armies marching across its territory to invade another country or is it willing that this should happen? There is no third alternative.

We have asked the Pakistan Government repeatedly to stop these raiders from coming and to withdraw those who have come. It should be easy for them to stop them for the roads into Kashmir are very few and have to pass over bridges. We on our part have no intention of using our troops in Kashmir when danger of invasion is passed.

We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given and the Maharaja has supported it. Not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it.

We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer.

Meanwhile, we have given our word to the people of Kashmir to protect them against the invader and we shall keep our pledge.—Jai Hind.

Sheikh Abdullah Takes Charge

Sheikh Abdullah, a Muslim of the Muslims, has fought the hardest and suffered the most of all Kashmiris for the freeing of his country's peoples. He leads by far the biggest political party in Kashmir and the majority of his followers are Muslims. His first statement on the Kashmir situation is given below:

"The course of action adopted by invaders is aimed at coercing us and we will resist it to the last man," said Sheikh Abdullah, Premier, Kashmir State, on the occasion of his assumption of office. He added: "I request Mr. Jinnah to use his influence and power to withdraw the invaders. I am ready to go over to Karachi to meet him, if he so desires."

Sheikh Abdullah added: "Power has not come to me but to the humblest of my countrymen and it will be used in such a way as to stop exploitation of man by man and injustice and nepotism."

He continued: "To all lovers of freedom in India and Pakistan I send my greetings. We want their good wishes and help to enable us to consolidate our freedom and drive out from our homeland the wanton aggressor who by his invasion has created this grave national emergency for us and precipitated the issue of accession by the Maharaja, so that timely help could come to the State from the Government of India."

"On behalf of all my colleagues and countrymen I offer my thanks to them for this help and congratulate them on the generous and democratic attitude they have shown which I wish to make known to all the world and particularly to the people and Government of Pakistan."

"The stipulation for final acceptance of the Instrument of Accession is that when they are really free they will be given an opportunity to register their choice in the matter of accession, or independence freely and without duress from anybody in or outside the State. Freedom before accession has been both our watchword and policy, and we will stand by it. What form this referendum will take and under what conditions it will be held, can be decided later."

Concluding Sheikh Abdullah requested Mr. Jinnah "to accept the democratic principle of the sovereignty of people of our State including as it does, 78 per cent Muslims whose free and unhampered choice must count in the matter of final accession."

Sheikh Abdullah addressed a rally of police force in Srinagar on Saturday. He reminded all officers and men of the force of their duty by their country in this emergency. He said those who have sympathy with raiders would be considered traitors and will suffer the fate of traitors.

He pointed out how the cowardly raiders, instead of coming face to face with the army, put on Kashmiri clothes and went into villages and by firing a few shots created panic to enable them to loot people. Sheikh Abdullah wanted the police to arrest all such people at once.

Concluding he said: "We have to build up the edifice of this country like brothers. We don't want to be slaves of either Pakistan or Hindustan but we want Kashmir to be free under His Highness so that every one of us will be a sharer in the administration of the country."

Pakistan's Reaction

The dreams of the easy conquest of Kashmir being rudely disturbed, by the prompt action by the airborne forces and fighter-bomber aircraft of the Indian Union and by the fearless front shown by Sheikh Abdullah's stalwart volunteer forces, the imitation Goebbels of Pakistan violently erupted into a typical mendacious speech.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, broadcasting from Lahore on 4.11.47, said: "Today the people of Kashmir are fighting not only for their freedom but also for their very existence. They have been caught in the meshes of a widespread plan for extermination of Muslims. This plan has succeeded in Alwar, in Bharatpur, in Patiala, in Faridkot and in Kapurthala. And all these are States that have acceded to the Indian Union."

"After the massacre of Muslims in the East Punjab, and the East Punjab States, the forces of annihilation turned on Jammu and Kashmir. Towards the end of September, the I.N.A. and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh shifted their headquarters from Amritsar to Jammu and thousands of so-called Sikh refugees came from the East and not the West Punjab. They came armed with modern weapons and were provided with more weapons by the State authorities. They set about their formal business in Jammu and Poonch repeating the horrible drama that they had enacted in the East Punjab.

"It is the oppressed, enslaved and entrapped people of Kashmir that are struggling for their freedom and now for their lives, and their sympathisers whom the Indian Government is helping to wipe out. The declared object of the Indian Government is to strengthen the Maharaja's hand. How blood-stained these hands are, is quite well-known to the leaders of India even though they have chosen to forget this fact now.

"To present the rebellion of an enslaved people to the world as an invasion from outside, simply because some outsiders have shown active sympathy with it, is dishonest re-writing of history. Much has been made of the modern arms that are alleged to have been used against the army. It is, however, forgotten that many of those who are fighting the invading troops of India, come from the 60,000 ex-army men of Poonch who are not incapable of capturing the arms of their enemy.

In the course of his broadcast Mr. Liaquat Ali said: "I wish to talk to you about Kashmir, because the affairs of Kashmir have reached a critical phase and have now assumed international importance and because I know that Kashmir is uppermost in your mind as it is in mine.

"In the exhilaration of self-styled gallantry and valour, some erstwhile sympathisers of the oppressed people of Kashmir seem to have forgotten the history of this beautiful land. Let us, therefore, briefly recall it for their benefit.

"This piece of god's earth, along with the human beings inhabiting its hills and valleys, was, under the infamous Amritsar Treaty, sold by the British to a Dogra chieftain for the paltry sum of 75 lakhs of rupees. The present Maharaja inherits the people of Kashmir from his forefathers as though they were so much cattle. It is this immoral and illegal ownership that the gallantry and valour of Indian troops is defending today by spilling the blood of the oppressed slaves who had been bartered away by the British.

"During the past hundred years of Dogra rule, this highly gifted and most attractive race of Kashmiris has been dragged down to the lowest depths of misery. In recent years they have made many attempts to fight for their freedom. Time and again they have been thwarted but time and again they have risen to defy tyranny.

In the beginning of October, news of the bestial deeds perpetrated on the innocent people of Kashmir began to trickle through. In a short time, the trickle became a torrent. During villages could be seen from the Murte hills. Thousands of terror-stricken refugees poured into Pakistan.

It was at this stage that the people of Kashmir, in sheer desperation, turned on their oppressors. Kashmiris and specially the inhabitants of Poonch have many relatives in Hazara and in the West Punjab. Consequently feeling in certain parts of Pakistan rose very high and some people from the N.-W. F. P. and the tribal areas, stirred by the atrocities in Kashmir rushed to the aid of their brethren.

The stress has deliberately been shifted to the so-called raiders as if the people of Kashmir themselves had suddenly slipped off their minds the memory of the century-old oppression and had overnight become enamoured of their tyrannical oppressors.

Let us therefore not be misled by the laboured picture, so elaborately drawn, of the "gallant" India army saving the beautiful land of Kashmir and its people from invading hordes. It is not invading hordes but the patriots of Kashmir that the India army is shooting and bombing. It is not Kashmir but a tottering despot that the India Government and their camp followers are trying to save.

In his broadcast the Prime Minister of India has been tilting at the windmills.

The Armies of Pakistan have not marched into Kashmir as the armies of India, in one guise or another, marched into Junagadh and Manavadar when these States acceded to Pakistan. The India Government regarded the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan as a threat to their security. The accession of Kashmir to India is a much greater threat to the security of Pakistan. We do not recognise this accession. The accession of Kashmir to India is a fraud, perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by its cowardly ruler with the aggressive help of the India Government. The release of Sheikh Abdullah who had been convicted of high treason and the continued imprisonment of Muslim Conference Leaders who had been convicted of mere technical offences is only a part of the conspiracy. When the history of this tragic episode comes to be written, it will reveal the treachery of many self-styled patriots and lovers of justice but the patriots of Kashmir will sooner or later prick this bubble, no matter how strong the forces arrayed against them. Our heart goes out to them, our brethren, in this mortal struggle. For the choice before them now is freedom or death. If the plans of their enemies suc-

ceed, they will be exterminated as Muslims in various other parts of India have been exterminated.

It is presumably after such extermination that the India Government propose a referendum should be held. What use is a referendum after the voters have been driven away from their homes, or silenced in death?

The world knows how we have consistently and repeatedly tried to reach a better understanding with the Kashmir Government. The Kashmir Government have ignored or rejected all these approaches. On the second October I suggested to the Prime Minister of Kashmir that all questions outstanding between the two States including that of peoples under the Standstill Agreement and mutual accusations of border raids should be discussed by representatives of the two Governments. The Prime Minister of Kashmir replied that at the moment he was too busy to discuss these matters. Nevertheless we sent a representative to Srinagar to discuss these matters with the State. The Prime Minister, however, refused to hold discussions with him and he had to return. On October 14, the Prime Minister of Kashmir in a telegram to me threatened that unless Pakistan agreed to an impartial inquiry he would be compelled to ask for outside assistance to withstand the unfriendly acts of the Pakistan people on his border. I at once accepted the proposal for an impartial inquiry and asked the Prime Minister of Kashmir to nominate a representative for this purpose. The Government of Kashmir have since made no further reference to this matter. On October 20, the Qaid-e-Azam, in reply to a telegram from the Kashmir Government called attention to the repeated attempts of Pakistan to improve its relations with Kashmir and asked for the Prime Minister of Kashmir to come to Karachi and talk things over. No reply was sent to this request. The Qaid-e-Azam also pointed out that the threat to call in outside help amounted almost to an ultimatum and showed that the real aim of the Kashmir Government's policy was to seek an opportunity to join the Indian Union by means of a *coup d'état*.

The refusal of Kashmir Government to send a representative to discuss things and to nominate a representative for an impartial enquiry and their failure to reply to the Qaid-e-Azam's invitation to the Prime Minister to come to Karachi, their deliberate causing of disturbances in their State by employing their troops to attack Muslims, the fact that by 9 a.m. on the morning of the day on which Kashmir's accession was accepted, Indian airborne troops had landed in Srinagar clearly show the existence of a plan for accession against the will of the people, possible only by occupation of the country by troops.

Even though all sorts of accusations were made against Pakistan by the Kashmir Government (and it was to redress these alleged wrongs that the Indian Government claims to have sent military aid to the Kashmir Government) yet at no stage did the Indian Dominion ask the Pakistan Government about these accusations and allegations or try to find a solution

of this problem by joint consultation. It was only after India had accepted Kashmir's accession and sent forces into Kashmir that the Pakistan Government was informed of the action.

After the unwarranted occupation of Kashmir by the India Government the Qaid-e-Azam proposed that an immediate conference should be held in Lahore. It was to be attended by the Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister. His invitation was accepted and the conference was to be held on October 29. At the last minute the conference was postponed as Pandit Nehru fell ill. It was arranged then that the conference should be held on the first of November and attended by the Governors-General and two Prime Ministers. This conference also did not take place because on the morning of November 1, again at the last minute we were informed that Pandit Nehru was not well enough to come to Lahore. In this way the idea of the conference receded into the background so far as the Indian Dominion is concerned. If the India Government really wanted to discuss this most vital and urgent matter surely the Deputy Prime Minister could have come in place of Pandit Nehru. On November 1, Lord Mountbatten came to Lahore alone to attend the meeting of the Joint Defence Council and took the opportunity to see the Qaid-e-Azam. At this meeting certain suggestions were made to Lord Mountbatten, but no further communication has been received by me or the Qaid-e-Azam from the India Government. Instead Pandit Nehru has chosen to hurl across the world reckless accusation against the Pakistan Government regardless of facts. His broadcast was arranged after Lord Mountbatten's return to Delhi and what the validity of his accusations is, I have already told you. That is where the latter stands today. The issues are for you and the world to judge."

Sardar Patel's Refusal

Sardar Patel immediately challenged Liaquat Ali Khan's statement, as given below:

"History has been dishonestly and mischievously distorted: freebooters and looters have been dubbed as liberators and heroes; the wanton and mass tragedies inflicted by the raiders on the innocent, helpless and peaceful inhabitants of villages in the happy valley have been treated as matters of no consequence and what is virtually professionally directed invasion from a friendly (1) territory has been represented as a rising of the people against the tyranny and oppression of a ruling race."

Thus said Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in a rejoinder to certain charges made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in a recent broadcast.

"The grim tragedy," Sardar Patel added, "which overtook the British members of a religious order at Baramulla and the details of which are too heart-rending to tell and the murder in cold blood of European families there are sufficient to reveal the

true character of the so-called missionaries of liberation and emancipation."

Sardar Patel says: "It would be useless on my part to attempt to deal at any length with the many nightmares and imaginary visions of a widespread plan of the extermination of Muslims in the States which the Prime Minister of Pakistan has conjured up in the broadcast made from his sick-bed.

"One might expect hallucinations in a state of frenzy, but the stage of delirium which the broadcast most certainly exhibits cannot but have filled his listeners and readers with amazement and apprehension.

"The ceaseless hysteric outbursts of the Prime Minister of N.-W. F. P. together with the known composition of these raiders and their equipment fully bear out the interest taken by a neighbouring State the leaders of which, more than anyone else, have constantly harped in the past on the independent character of the States after the lapse of Paramountcy and the entire freedom of choice in the matter of accession which vested in their rulers.

"As if Kashmir alone was not an adequate target for the enormous shafts of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he has encompassed within his indictment the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala which, be it noted, are States that have acceded to the Indian Union, a State with which again Pakistan has friendly relations.

"As usual, however, acts have either been ignored or been given a distortion to suit the picture which the Prime Minister deliberately intended to draw.

"The troubles in Alwar and Bharatpur occurred when the Prime Minister of Pakistan was a distinguished member of the Indian Cabinet and the relationship with the States was, as he ought to have known, conducted by the Crown representative.

"The initiative in those disturbances was taken by Meos* with whom the Jats and Rajputs have had occasional feuds. Houses of non-Muslims were burnt, their cattle were stolen, and their farms were set on fire.

"I have no doubt that but for the poison of hate and the communal virus which had been injected into the body politic by the League propaganda of two-nation theory, this feud like many others would have been settled in a satisfactory and amicable manner. Instead, interested parties from outside took a hand until a situation was reached when neither side could give to the other any mercy.

"Nevertheless Meos in thousands have returned to these States and those that wish to go, neither persuasion nor arguments would succeed in restraining for they know the destruction of non-Muslim homes and property which they have wrought.

"As regards the States of Patiala, Faridkot, and Kapurthala, I see no reason why the Pakistan Prime Minister should have, unless it was for his ulterior ends, isolated them from the general flare-up which

has overtaken the East and West Punjab and for which not one single community is to be blamed entirely.

"If the rulers of these States have not been able to prevent communal disturbances to a degree which would have prevented evacuation of Muslims, they share that discredit with other Governments, including the Pakistan Government, who so ignominiously failed to arrest the tide.

"The Pakistan Prime Minister talks of a widespread plan or the extermination of Muslims. Of course, it did not suit his purpose to mention that brutal and mass murders which have taken place in a State which was quite susceptible to their influence and which has sometime ago acceded to the Pakistan Federation, namely, the State of Bahawalpur, where non-Muslims have suffered untold losses in men, women and children and property. But obviously Pakistan holds that what is sauce for the Pakistan goose cannot be a sauce for the Indian gander.

While non-Muslims can be exterminated without remorse and ruthlessly from Pakistan and its neighbouring States, producing its inevitable reaction in the Indian Union, the blame must rest with the latter, for the inhabitants of the latter have refused meekly to submit to the fate of their co-religionists in the former. It is this perverted logic on which the whole conception and policy of the Government of Pakistan are based and it is this perverted logic which the Pakistan Prime Minister has left to his appreciative audience and the world to judge.

The Pakistan Prime Minister has also made the following statement:

"When we asked the Indian Government to protect the Muslims in these States, we were told that events were the States' internal affairs and India Government could not interfere."

Whenever this question was broached between the two Governments, the limitations imposed by constitutional relationship on interference in the internal administration of a State were mutually recognised. The last time when this was formally placed on record was when the representatives of two Governments met in Delhi on September 19, 1947. In fact, in the past the League leaders have themselves been loud in their protestations of the absolute independence and sovereignty of the States on the lapse of Paramountcy both in the internal and external spheres.

It does not now lie in the mouth of the Pakistan Prime Minister to twist the constitutional relationship between the Union and the acceding States in such a manner as to convey the impression that the Indian Union did not intervene while tragedies were overtaking the Muslim population in these States. If he is serious or sincere, let him first set his own house in order and take action against Bahawalpur State, which has acceded to Pakistan, and which is no less guilty of atrocities and cruelties than the States in the Indian Union referred to by him.

With the Pakistan Government, however, it is

* A Muslim tribe.

quite clear that such distortions, misrepresentations, concealments and grossly prejudiced and unbalanced versions are becoming the tricks of the trade. Before the last war and during it the whole population of the world has become familiar with the kind of propaganda which was associated with the name of the late Dr. Goebbels. That propaganda is now reborn, but I am sure that the world, to whose judgment the Prime Minister of Pakistan has left matters, will not be deceived.

Sheikh Abdullah's Reply to Liaquat Ali Khan

Sheikh Abdullah's exposure of the mendacious nature of Liaquat Ali Khan's broadcast, was as forthright as Sardar Patel's.

Sheikh Abdullah, head of the Emergency Administration in Kashmir, today invited observers from all countries, especially the Islamic countries, "to come and see for themselves what the invaders have done to destroy the homes of those very Muslims for whose deliverance they pretended they were coming in the name of Islam as 'friends from Pakistan'."

In an appeal to "all lovers of Kashmir all the world over and to the sons of Kashmir in whichever part of the world they may be," Sheikh Abdullah urges them to do their best to contribute towards the relief and rehabilitation of the people of Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah says: "During the last few years a war-torn world has been witness to the dark depths to which treachery can sink in pursuit of conquest through aggression. But what has happened to Kashmir adds altogether a new pattern in perfidy.

"Thousands of tribal Pathans, equipped with mechanised weapons of war, swooped down on us, not merely as armed bandits but as a centrally directed force with the avowed object of subjugating our land to the vassalage of Pakistan at the point of the gun.

"Unaware of such danger ahead of us, and without any warning from outside, we found that the invaders had almost pierced through the heart of our country. They were perilously threatening Srinagar, the capital, itself.

"Our people were literally stunned, not because they were afraid of losing their lives, but because they realized how serious a challenge this invasion was to their will to be independent and to decide their own destiny. This grave realisation ignited in the hearts of the proud freedom-lovers of Kashmir flaming patriotism which, I am happy to say, created in them a granite will to resist aggression.

"The old administration had virtually collapsed and the people themselves, under the leadership of their national organization, the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, took over the momentous task of regulating civic life, fighting the fifth column, and facing the enemy at the front.

"At this grimmeest hour of our trial arrived the rescue forces of the Indian Union and every Kash-

miri is grateful for their true friendliness in our most distressed hour.

"Today the worst is over, the enemy is on the run, but the danger still remains. But I am confident that no one of the most insolent invaders will be left on our sacred soil in the near future."

"This invasion has left deep wounds in our hearts. Our beautiful land lies despoiled with hundreds of villages and precious paddy amounting to thousands of maunds reduced to ashes. Prosperous Pattan is nothing more than a heap of smoking ruins, and beautiful Baramula has been freely looted by filthy hands.

"They are criminals before history who exalted these invaders as liberators of the people of Kashmir. They violated and abducted women. They massacred children. They looted everything and everyone.

"They even dishonoured the Holy Quran and converted mosques into brothels. Today every Kashmiri loathes the invading tribesmen and their arch-inspirers who have been responsible for such horrors in a land which is peopled with an overwhelming majority of Muslims.

"Their loot-laden retreating hands have left destitution and want behind. Winter with all its severity is fast coming.

"The needs of our people for rehabilitation are most urgent. Our resources are limited."

After appealing for contributions for the rehabilitation of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah assured that aid would be distributed on a non-sectarian basis. "The misery of the people, like their prosperity, is indivisible. We shall rebuild the heaven of Kashmir over again, and soon, with the goodwill and friendship of the friends of culture and civilization all over the world."

Neutral Reports

If independent opinion be needed to confirm the veracity of Sheikh Abdullah's statement, then the following reports that appeared later in the British-owned daily *Statesman* should settle the question. Incidentally, the *Statesman* has distinct pro-Pakistan leanings.

The day before the Kashmir invaders entered Baramula, Mr. J. E. Thomson, formerly a major in the Worcestershire Regiment and now manager of a timber company and saw mill, cycled to Srinagar to seek help in evacuating the women patients from the Mission hospital in the town. For several days the road had been crowded with refugees and the cry, "The tribesmen are coming" was on everyone's lips. He tried to return to the town with the first Sikh troops that were flown in from India. They were driven back and he was captured by tribesmen and confined with 60 other people in a ward of the hospital, where he learnt the story of the reign of terror during his absence.

Mr. Thomson, who is now in Calcutta, said in an interview that the first that the residents of Baramula

knew of the arrival of the tribesmen was the sound of shots fired from the hillsides into the town. Soon the streets were full of Pathans, carrying rifles and wearing bandoliers; all had bags in which to carry their loot. One party attacked the priests' quarters and looted them; but the leader prevailed on his men not to murder the occupants. Another party entered one of the wards; an Anglo-Indian woman patient was stabbed and the nurse attending her was shot.

The Mother Superior of the hospital, who was in another ward, hurried across with the Assistant Mother Superior, on hearing the firing. The tribesmen fired at them with a Sten gun, wounding the Mother Superior and killing her assistant.

Lt.-Col. Dykes, who was sitting outside another ward with his wife, was shot when he approached the invaders to plead with them to cease firing. His wife was killed and her baby thrown into a well. The husband of one of the lady doctors next hurried in and was robbed and killed.

Mr. Thomson said that the first wave of looting tribesmen were followed by more organized and disciplined troops and finally by leaders of the expedition. One man, attended by a large retinue and treated with great respect by the tribesmen described himself as a *pir* and offered to help in the evacuation of the women.

Mr. Thomson said that the tribesmen were well-equipped with lorries, petrol, ammunition and 2-inch and 3-inch mortars. Some lorries were armed with guns which might have been taken from armoured cars.

He was firmly convinced that the attack was carefully organized and described Garhi Habibullah on the Pakistan side of the frontier as the invaders' rallying point. "If they had not stayed in Baramulla to have a feast of celebration which went on for a couple of days they could not have failed to have taken Srinagar."

Mr. Thomson praised the manner in which Sheikh Abdullah took control of the situation when Srinagar was swept by a wild panic and people fought to get on buses and tongas to escape down the Jammu road. Order was restored and there was a remarkable atmosphere of confidence although the raiders were but a few miles away.

The following are extracts from a letter written by Father Shanks, Principal of the Baramulla Convent to Father Meyer, Principal of the Presentation Convent, Rawalpindi: "About 60 of us are cooped up in one ward in the hospital. It is impossible to get any transport from the military here and we have no communication with anywhere else.

"Meanwhile we have no clothes, no bedding, no food and are in danger of all kinds from bands of marauding tribesmen. Everything is ruined; the college, hospital, church and convent and the bungalow has been burnt down. We are in danger of bombing and machine-gunning from the air as there are military camps in both compounds and they have already machine-gunned us twice. We must be got out immediately, preferably by a British convoy and evacuated

either to Abbotabad or Pindi. If the British cannot do it, the Pakistan Government must be forced to do it.

"Six of us were killed on Monday and two others are lying seriously wounded . . . the others are unhurt but in a constant state of nerves bordering on panic and cannot hang on much longer . . . we shall need at least three lorries, well-guarded, as there are still tribesmen coming up the road."

Pandit Nehru's Reply

Pandit Nehru replied to Liaquat Ali Khan on November 6 in a statement couched in dignified language.

"The way things have been shaping themselves during the past two months, it is evident that India is faced with grave dangers from all sides," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting here this evening.

If the people of India, the Prime Minister warned, did not prepare themselves adequately and immediately to meet the situation, their freedom may prove to be short-lived.

Some time back, Pandit Nehru said, India had to tackle the problem of Junagadh, Mongrol and Babariawad and while she was employing her energies to solve it, the question of Kashmir arose. Kashmir was a much more serious issue and it had become quite clear that Junagadh was used merely to divert the attention of the Government of India and to hide the preparations which were being made for the invasion of Kashmir.

"The Government had reasons to believe," Pandit Nehru said, "that preparations for this attack on Kashmir were being made for the past many months. Kashmir was invaded by people from the tribal areas and other parts of Pakistan. The invading armies had modern weapons and were directed by officers of the Pakistan Army. We, however, succeeded in flying our troops for the defence of Kashmir and thus prevented the fall of Srinagar."

"Kashmir," Pandit Nehru said, "was strategically important. It was situated on the borders of two great countries, China and Russia, and the Indian Government did not like the idea of its collapsing before *goondas*. But that was not the only or even the main reason for our trying to defend Kashmir against foreign aggression. We have pledged to defend her because the call for help came from the patriotic people of that State and their great leader, Sheikh Abdullah."

The way the people of Kashmir had faced the situation under the guidance of the National Conference was a lesson for the people of India. The National Conference had, for 17 years, fought valiantly for their freedom. They had also successfully fought the "reactionary elements in the State like the Muslim Conference, the handmaid of the Muslim League." When their freedom struggle was about to bear fruit, Pandit Nehru said, the National Conference found their homeland and their independence

threatened by invaders from Pakistan and they had no option but to ask the Government of India to come to their rescue.

"India has taken upon herself the task of defending Kashmir and it will not rest till the entire area is cleared of each and every looter," he declared.

Paying tribute to the work done by the volunteers of the National Conference, Pandit Nehru said that without their help it would not have been possible for the Indian Army to do anything. The raiders were only a few miles from Srinagar and the people had heard stories of what they had done to the villages and towns that they had captured, yet they did not give way to panic and disorder. Their hearts were full of fears and apprehension but normal life went on as before. They took upon themselves the management of the city so that every soldier could be made available to fight the enemy. "The common people of Kashmir rose to the occasion. They gauged the seriousness of the situation and decided that after carrying on a struggle against the rule of the Maharaja they must not surrender to an invading army without giving a proper fight, and they have achieved success in their work."

The formation of an Azad Provisional Government of Kashmir was announced from Pakistan, but the people of Kashmir were not taken in by such propaganda. They could not mistake the invading armies for "fighters for their freedom."

Referring to Pakistan Government's explanation that it could not check tribesmen from crossing over to Kashmir boundary, the Prime Minister said that this could mean only two things. Either the Government of Pakistan was too weak to stop its own men or it was a willing party to what the tribesmen did.

The attitude of the Pakistan Government and the manner in which its members had expressed themselves on this issue made it clear that the raiders had their wholehearted support.

India had made it quite clear that all States must accede to a particular dominion at the will of their people, and that the question should not be decided by the rulers alone. Wherever there was a dispute over the issue of accession, India suggested that a plebiscite be held to get the verdict of the people.

It had proposed such a procedure for Junagadh and had not the slightest hesitation in doing so in the case of Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru then referred to the complaint that the Union Government's statements on the issue were tame as compared with those coming from the Government of the other Dominion which were couched in strong words. Use of abusive language, the Prime Minister said, did not denote strength. The Government of India could not stoop to using the expressions employed by the members of the Pakistan Government. Their declarations had always been sober and dignified, as was proper for a

responsible Government, and they had no intention of giving up that practice.

What was the duty of the people of India at this critical juncture, he asked. They must strive to strengthen the hands of their Government in order to enable her to cope effectively with dangers which threatened her. For this peace at home was absolutely essential.

At present the Indian armies were employed in maintaining law and order in cities like Delhi. This was not their real job, he said.

The Prime Minister advised them to build the military strength of India and to add to the country's production. "You must not be carried away by momentary passions. If we cannot get rid of our internal problems immediately we shall see ourselves coming to a sad end."

"Communal fighting has resulted in the transfer from one dominion to the other of several million persons and it has dislocated the entire life of the country. If communal warfare goes on any longer, it will make India absolutely bankrupt," he declared.

Hatred for members of other communities would carry them nowhere. It was wrong to decide whether a person was an enemy or a friend on the basis of the religion that he professed. Maybe it was being done in Pakistan, but "why must we degrade ourselves by comparing our actions with those of the people of Pakistan?"

It was a pity, he said, that the first page of the history of free India would be a record of killings and other such deeds.

Pandit Nehru criticised the demand for a Hindu State or "Rajasthan." It was basically wrong and was a complete negation of the principle for which they had fought and which were accepted by all civilised nations of the world.

Mr. Menon Speaks in London

The High Commissioner for India, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, told his first conference with representatives of the world Press in London today that inescapable conclusions on the situation in Kashmir were that the passage of the invaders into Kashmir had the sanction or connivance of the Pakistan Government, or that the latter had not the desire or the power to stop them.

These were also the most charitable conclusions, added Mr. Menon. The invaders could not have got into Kashmir except through Pakistan, and there were large formations of Pakistan troops in the various areas through which the raiders had gone.

The invaders were heavily armed with small arms, but the fact that they also had trench mortars, machine-guns and even flame-throwers, showed without the slightest doubt that there was a proper organisation behind them. It was wrong to call it a raid, it was an invasion.

Stressing that Kashmir's future must depend upon the will of the people of that State, Mr. Menon said the Government of India had persuaded

Maharajah Sir Hari Singh to abide with that will both in regard to the internal organisation of the country and its relations with neighbouring States.

Praising the Indian Army, he said they had been told that it took 28 years to make a General. In India they seemed to be made overnight. No British personnel had been used in Kashmir and they did not propose to use any.

Questioned as to where the flame-throwers came from, Mr. Menon replied: "They are not made in India. They may have come from army dumps. They came through Pakistan territory, but we are not prepared to say from which locality."

Asked if he could indicate whether any other Power outside India and Pakistan was interested in getting arms into Kashmir, Mr. Menon said "no." The question, he added, was not where the arms came from, but who brought them here.

Mr. Menon said, the Indian Government had full confidence that so far as its own territories were concerned, the Dominion would settle down as a democratic State. No situation had so far arisen for reference to the United Nations, but Pandit Nehru had said that if supervision of a plebiscite in Kashmir by the United Nations was desired, the Indian Government would welcome it. They had nothing to hide. All they wanted was to be "fair and square."

India was emerging from what by and large was a peaceful revolution, a tremendous transition from age-long foreign rule. The overwhelming part of the Dominion was peaceful and economic development, education and public health had not been retarded by recent events.

Junagadh

The Junagadh situation, already explosive, had taken a definite turn for the worse when over 800 "visitors" were reported to have arrived in that State from Pakistan. Majority of them were ex-servicemen. They had since been armed by the State and besides there had been a general release of criminals from the State prison.

Meanwhile, it was revealed in New Delhi, that the Government of India had not received any reply from the Pakistan Government to the Note they had sent seeking an immediate and unqualified referendum under impartial auspices in the State.

It is now learnt that till August 15, Government of India had little doubt of Junagadh acceding to the Indian Dominion. In fact, an official announcement which appeared in *Junagadh State Gazette* categorically repudiated the suggestion that the State might join the future Pakistan.

Soon after it became known that the State had acceded to Pakistan, it is understood, the Government of India informed Karachi on the impropriety of the accession as it clearly violated the principle of geographical contiguity which was recognised as the first criterion for the accession of any State to the res-

pective Dominions. There was no reply forthcoming from Pakistan and after nearly a month the Government of India made a second representation to Karachi pointing out that if the Nawab was not willing to agree and abide by the verdict of a referendum, the Government of India could not be expected to acquiesce in any arrangement he might enter into with Pakistan.

Certain other States such as Babariawad and Mongrol, which Junagadh claims as its vassals though it is contended that they are vassals no longer because their subordinate position in the past was the result of an agreement imposed by the Crown and with the lapse of paramountcy such agreements lapsed, acceded to the Indian Union.

Meanwhile, the provisional Government of Junagadh, formed by Shree Samaldas Gandhi in Bombay towards the end of September, entered Junagadh. On October 25, it was reported that they had captured 12 villages inside Junagadh State territory. The march of the Provisional Government continued practically unopposed. The Nawab of Junagadh, with all the members of his family, left the State and flew to Karachi.

Troops of the Indian Dominion entered the territories of Babariawad and Mongrol on November 1, and the Government of India took over the administration of these areas. The Government of India had made it clear in their *communiqués*, dated September 25 and October 5, that the military and police forces stationed by Junagadh in Babariawad and Mongrol should be withdrawn at once since these States had acceded to the Dominion of India. These forces had not been withdrawn. On the same day the resignations of the Dewan of Junagadh and the Commissioner of Police were reported from Rajkot and it was also stated that they were flying to Karachi.

Negotiations were started between the Junagadh authorities and the Provisional Government of Junagadh. On November 10, it was reported that the negotiations had been concluded and that the Junagadh Ruler had agreed to join the Indian Union. Major Harvey Jones was understood to have brought a letter from the Nawab and the Dewan to the India Government's Regional Commissioner at Rajkot intimating that the situation in Junagadh was serious and that the Government of India should take over. The Regional Commissioner referred the matter to Delhi and on getting Delhi's permission to take over control of Junagadh, sent his Deputy with units of Indian Army to Junagadh. Major Harvey Jones also accompanied the Deputy Regional Commissioner.

The entry of the Indian troops was hailed by the people of the State. Major Harvey Jones, the Naib Dewan, held consultations with Sj. Samaldas Gandhi, head of the Provisional Government and conveyed the unanimous decision of the Executive Council of Junagadh State that in order to avoid a serious situation that was developing in the State, which threatened law and order, the Indian Dominion should take over the administration of Junagadh.

Tripura

The following report was published by the *Hindusthan Standard* on November 6:

Comilla, November 4.—Three public meetings were held at Comilla during the last week by some Muslim Leaguers demanding the accession of Tripura State to Pakistan. They also demanded redress of grievances of the tenants of Chakla-Roshanabad zemindary, an appendage to the State. The zemindary falls within the East Bengal province.

Resolutions were passed in the meetings urging the State authorities to accede to Pakistan and remove the grievances of the tenants within fifteen days, failing which 'Direct Action' movement will be launched. Speakers exhorted the people to get ready for 'no rent' campaign and the boycott of the Tripura State.

Meetings were held and leaflets distributed in Feni Sub-division also for the same purpose. The Tripura State authorities were asked to join Pakistan. The movement is as yet confined to Chakla-Roshanabad zemindary.

The late Maharaja joined the Indian Constituent Assembly during the period of the Interim Government and since then there has been no agitation or expression of discontent against the Maharaja's decision. The State subjects consisting of Bengali Hindus, tribal Hindus and Moslems are peaceful and loyal.

Hill tribes—Tripurs, Manipuries and ten other clans speaking different dialects and still retaining predominantly traces of primitive culture and civilisation in their dresses, art, music and dance constitute a major part of the population and the Moslems are about 25 per cent in the State. The population of the State is about six lakhs and area 3,116 miles. The present Maharaja Kirit Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur is a minor. The State is governed by a Council of Regency, with Maharani Kanchanprava Debi, mother of the ruler and a daughter of the Ruler of Panna State as Regent.

The late Maharaja announced the introduction of responsible Government in the State and owing to his sudden and premature death his declaration could not be carried into effect.

The situation in Tripura was considered very critical in view of the preparations that were being made for attacking the State from neighbouring East Bengal districts. The Maharani of Tripura visited Shillong and impressed upon the Premier of Assam the immediate need of having a road connection with the State with the Indian Union through Karimganj in Assam. At present all ingress and egress to and from Tripura State lie through Pakistan territory. The Assam Premier assured that the work for the construction of a road would commence by the middle of November.

Sardar Patel, being apprised of the seriousness of Tripura situation, invited the Maharani to Delhi in order to have a consultation with her. It was fully realised on all quarters that under cover of the grievances of the tenants of Chakla zemindary which lies parallel to the boundary line of the Tripura State, which touches Noakhali, Tipperah and Sylhet districts, the demand for accession of the Tripura State to Pakistan has been put forward. Mammoth mass meetings were organised and they were addressed by very promi-

nent leaders of the Muslim League including members of the East Bengal Legislature. A Committee of Action was formed and in addition to it an organisation named Eastern Pakistan Frontier Proja Union was also formed to conduct the movement for forcing the accession of Tripura to Pakistan. The whole movement was being organised by a section of prominent members of the Muslim League while the parent organisation maintained studied silence. On enquiry from the official Muslim League circles, the *Hindusthan Standard* understood that they had nothing to do with the movement although they held the view that having regard to contiguity and economic connection, the State should join Pakistan and that the issue could only be solved by the people of the State. It may, however, be mentioned here that the decision of the late Maharaja to join the Indian Constituent Assembly was ratified by the Tripura Sangha in an open session attended by about 20,000 hillmen of various classes, and by the Anjuman Islamia, Moslem Proja Majlis and all other political organisations. It is also significant that none of the leaders of this movement except one, belong to the State. Within the State Muslims are opposed to any lawless movement directed against the State.

The Government of India acted very quickly as soon as a concentration of "Muslim sojourners" in Chakla-Roshanabad, threatening to launch inroads into the State, was reported. Movements of these "Muslim sojourners" seemed to be the precursor of a regular invasion. There were also signs of economic blockade. On November 11, Indian troops were ordered to be sent to Tripura.

As soon as troops began to arrive in Tripura, the East Bengal authorities, who had so long maintained complete silence about this month-old agitation and preparation, which had been very widely publicised in the League press, came out with statements trying to minimise the entire affair. Mr. Nazimuddin, Premier of East Bengal, told the A. P. I. that "some irresponsible persons had said something in a meeting and on the report of that they had sent troops." The overt and covert complicity of several League leaders in this whole affair was well-known and the Premier, before troops reached Tripura, had wholly ignored them.

The Maharani, in a statement to the press on November 13, assured the State subjects that the defences of the State would be strengthened in every way. She said that she had been permitted to assure the subjects of Tripura State that the Indian Union would help them if they stood in need of it as the State had acceded to the Indian Dominion before August 15. She also revealed that a direct air service between Gauhati and Calcutta via Agartala was being arranged. A radio station had been established at the State capital so that messages could be sent expeditiously and without interference.

Hyderabad

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in a statement issued from Madras on November 6, exposed the Nizam's

minister game of playing for time through protracted negotiations and securing arms in the meantime. He said :

It is not so much the number of Hindus that have migrated from Hyderabad that is of concern to us, as is the infiltration of insidious influences, the result of which is to arm the Muslims in the frontier areas between Hyderabad and surrounding districts of Kurnool, Guntur and Kistna.

There is ample evidence to show that much money has flowed across the boundary. One cannot say to what end all this coaxing and cajoling are being directed. In this way in Punjab also, in the earlier stages, warnings were not heeded and at later stages they became too late. The Madras Government cannot lie supine when there is incipient fire in these areas, which may, any day, threaten to burst into a conflagration. There is a strong rumour in the country that a steamer called at the port of Vizagapatam, but forthwith departed, whither people cannot say. This must be traced. If arms are being imported from abroad, they must be scrutinized and their entry into State must be dealt with as law permits, or as occasion demands.

The Nizam's Government has been deliberately gaining time and the Central Government has been generously granting it. It looks as though they are waiting to see what will be the up-shot of Kashmir. I have always had a presentiment that the Nizam's Government was kept fully posted with the nature of the developments awaiting Kashmir and that Hyderabad is playing for time only to see how the Kashmir drama would end.

If Hyderabad is going to learn a lesson from Kashmir, well and good. Otherwise, we may have a bad time of it in South India. The time has gone for mincing matters or maintaining undue silence over affairs which rightly call for investigation and prompt treatment. All along we have been moved by a sense of delicacy, fairness and even generosity in dealing with the Muslim question, but we have not had a response on similar lines from the other side. Throughout the past one and a half years, the Muslim section has prospered by their own wickedness and our virtue, their own lawlessness and our law-abiding character. By 'our,' I mean Hindus, and by 'Muslims,' I mean Pakistanis.

I trust that the Home Minister of Madras will act betimes and verify the rumours that reach him instead of disposing them of as mere gossip or looking upon them as affecting any particular areas. A disease that affects one organ affects the whole organism. Civil strife that may issue in the border districts of Nizam affects the peace and tranquillity of the rest of the Madras province, its economic position including its food and clothing, its transport and the whole of its civil government. I appeal to the Premier, the Home Minister and the whole Ministry of Madras—each member of whom is just now engrossed in his own department and with his own legislation—to take a wider view of the political situation in the country and recognise that what is but a mist of cloud today may burst into a storm any moment.

Next day the Madras Government issued a Press Note which said that very strict instructions were given to local authorities in the districts adjoining the Hyderabad State to guard against the smuggling of arms and infiltration of undesirable elements into the Madras districts. An assurance that the Central Provinces Government was keeping a close watch on the

situation in Hyderabad was given by the Premier of C. P. to a deputation of Congress leaders. The Tungabhadra bridge was so long guarded by the Nizam's police. Indian armed police have now been sent to guard it and the Nizam's police have withdrawn peacefully.

From the beginning of November, the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin Party of Hyderabad had started a Direct Action movement directed to coerce Hindu opinion by violence including arson and murder. A large number of persons were killed in Hyderabad and flames in the city were visible from the Hyderabad Railway Station. S. J. Jashwant Rao Joshi, President, Hindu Sabha, was seriously injured and succumbed to his injuries. The Nizam's police fired upon the members of the State Congress and other organisations who carried out their movement against the Nizam's tyranny.

On November 12, addressing a mass meeting at Rajkot, Sardar Patel reviewed Government of India's policy regarding the Indian States and referring to Hyderabad said :

The future of Kashmir like that of Hyderabad rests with the people. Despite the attempts of Pakistan to avoid this commitment in the case of Hyderabad and despite their attempts to avoid facing facts in Junagadh the will of the people will have its way. If Hyderabad does not see the writing on the wall it goes the way Junagadh has gone.

On November 14, eight villages belonging to the Nizam's State, but situated in the Kistna district, Madras Presidency, declared independence and expressed their desire to join the Indian Union. The State officials either left the villages or identified themselves with the villagers. The special feature in the people's struggle against the tyranny of the Nizam was that the ruling power was supported by a whole community in the name of Ittehad-ul-Muslemin.

In addition to the Muslims in the State, well-organised and fully armed, the Nizam has another great support in the diehard Britons residing in India. The *Statesman*, a British-owned daily, published at Calcutta and New Delhi, has latterly added subtle and insidious propaganda to its decade-old campaign in support of the Muslim League and Pakistan. Recently, it has published articles and letters on Hyderabad, supported by an editorial article which begins with the following words, "Hyderabad is not Junagadh. It is bigger, sturdier, better armed, better governed, economically more self-sufficient—and (important fact) has not joined Pakistan. We are satisfied that it has no intention of doing so. Further, it enjoys, unlike Junagadh, international prestige, having long been viewed throughout the Islamic world with respect as the premier Indian State, a semi-independent ancient monarchy, impressive survival of Moghul power, focus of modern Muslim culture." In Hyderabad, nearly 88 per cent of the population are Hindus but the Nizam's firman is the law and the medium of instruction is Urdu. To all intents and purposes, it is a theocratic State. Here the Muslim Ruler's will is law, and the entire Government is in Muslim hands, and

as the *Statesman* admits, "it is an impressive survival of Moghul power, focus of modern Muslim culture." It should have been stated, likewise, that the overwhelming majority of the subjects under its heels are Hindus who have no civil or cultural liberties in the State. Advancing arguments in support of the Nizam's "gain-time-and-prepare" tactics, the *Statesman* pleads for the grant of at least a year's time to Hyderabad to drag on the "negotiations" and having idolised a Muslim theocratic State in the opening paragraph of the article, the *Statesman* concludes, "Hindu-Muslim affairs are so maladjusted that to expect the intricate problem of this large unit's future to be capable of final settlement now, on lines mutually considered fair, might be excessive. The alternative would be to contrive, with forbearance and with hard bargaining, an elastic transitional arrangement ensuring continuance of normal trade and transport, decision on Hyderabad's permanent relations to the Indian Union being deliberately postponed for a period say a year, when times may be hoped to have improved, communal suspicions to have lessened, and faith in the Union's capacity to become a secular State to have consolidated."

The poisonous article by Godfrey Barass, which was featured along with this editorial is reproduced below :

The Press in general throughout India, and certain of that Dominion's leaders, have chosen to adopt a schoolmasterly attitude towards Hyderabad. At no time has there been justification for this ; nor is there justification now, when conditions with the Dominion of India are still chaotic, when the Dominion Government has shown itself insufficiently capable of controlling violence, and when its troops are engaged beyond its borders in what may prove ill-advised adventure.

Particularly today, when discussions are proceeding about Hyderabad's future relations with India, pinpricks and accusations are untimely. This was clearly recognized by India's Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, when on October 11, with regard to a "reported" statement from London (later shown to be misreported) he referred to Hyderabad's "wise and seasoned counsellors . . . engaged in delicate negotiations," and to "conversations carried on in a most friendly and peaceful atmosphere." Yet on November 13, with those delicate negotiations still in progress, he chose Junagadh as a suitable platform from which to make provocative utterances, later scarce-headlined in the Press as a "Warning to Hyderabad."

What occurred between October 11 and November 13 to induce a Deputy Prime Minister to be less squeamish about prejudicing delicate negotiations ? As one reads the resignation speech of the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, moving pictures of Kashmir and Junagadh again flash across the mental screen. Having frankly stated the inability of the Dominion of India Government to protect its Muslim minority merely by its police and army, and having declared that these "would not afford their protection unless they knew that their co-religionists in Pakistan were getting a fair deal," he came out with the flat pronouncement that the India Government "would not recognise or tolerate the so-called independence of Hyderabad."

To some of us who, as journalists or in other capacity, were able to watch for a number of years, on the spot, the stage being set for World War II, these utterances, at present hurled at Hyderabad *arouse unpleasant Hitlerian echoes*. They were not then methods conducive to maintenance of peace and goodwill, and still are not.

Not including the rich territory of Berar (which, following the repudiation by the British of certain treaties, should revert to the Nizam, but seemingly will not) Hyderabad is a landlocked country about the size of Italy, and has a mixed population, predominantly Hindu, of some 16 millions. Dr. Hamidullah's article published by the *Statesman* on November 14/15 shed reasonable light on the position of Hindus in Hyderabad. There is no evidence that the police and military forces of the State are unwilling or unable, as clearly they have been in the Dominion of India, to control acts of violence—whether against Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, or Parsis or others—regardless of the religion of those who commit them.

The past has woven into the historical fabric of the communities of Hyderabad a fascinating pattern. The State is a repository of a real patriotism, wherein today is found a unity that goes far to transcend the bitterness of communal feud. Were this patriotism heedlessly cast aside, India would be a loser. Loyalty to the Sovereign in Hyderabad, as in India, has a deeper meaning than in those countries where it has become merely a sentiment of respect to the political head of the State and acknowledgement of his supremacy of power.

Were such facts more widely recognized, that might check the fallacious reports of those who have forgotten or do not know that in the past Hyderabad has had practically no communal problem, and has little now except that fomented from outside and magnified in the Dominion of India Press into major incidents. Economic problems there are, which did not exist before August 15. But given a reasonable measure of goodwill beyond the State's borders they need be problems no longer. Switzerland, for example, is but little handicapped economically by being landlocked, and in addition to maintaining cordial relations with its powerful neighbours, has contrived to remain neutral throughout two great wars. Like Switzerland, Hyderabad threatens none, but must also depend on the goodwill of its neighbour for maintaining communications with the outside world and developing its internal economy.

Contrary to common reports Hyderabad does not seriously restrict civil liberties. The ceremonial hoisting of the Dominion of India flag in public places might foment communal trouble and is therefore forbidden—even as is the ceremonial hoisting of the nations' flags, but anyone who chooses may fly the Dominion of India flag on private buildings. Nor does Hyderabad stand in the way of political activities, such as demands for joining the Dominion of India, provided these are conducted lawfully.

What Hyderabad's relationship might have been with an all-India Union is a matter for speculation. But it is a fact that, after protracted negotiations conducted by three successive Viceroy's during years of alternating waves of pessimism and optimism about India's future, two Dominions have now been created—on the basis of communal division. Except for a comparatively small voluntary exodus and influx, both resulting

mainly from fear at what has occurred at a distance in the Dominions of India and Pakistan, and both of which have now been checked, Hyderabad's own minority and majority levels remain little changed; and at present the status of Hyderabad remains factually unaltered except for the departure of the British.

It is not easy to foretell the results of the talks between the Hyderabad delegation and the Government of the Dominion of India; but all—and notably the Press in that Dominion—can refrain from prejudicing the outcome by rash and inflammatory statements. H. E. H. the Nizam has expressed the wish that each of the two new Dominions may achieve greatness and glory in their tasks of national reconstruction, and that there may soon be established some form of Standing Conference whose meetings may help them, and such States as may decide to remain autonomous, to co-operate in all matters concerning their common welfare as members of what may grow to be a United Commonwealth.

These words of wisdom, if digested soberly and considered in that spirit of generosity which the leaders of the Dominion of India can afford, may augur well for the future of Hyderabad, and of India as a whole. (*Italics ours—Ed. M. R.*)

We have seldom come across an article with so much perversion and suppression of truth. It is evidently propaganda meant for foreign consumption. The *Statesman* is following the same path as was trodden by the British-owned press in China between 1930-37, when submission to Japan was strongly advocated by all British interests.

The Hyderabad "Anachronism"

A member of the editorial staff of the *Nagpur Times* has described conditions in the State of Hyderabad that are no credit to the majority of its people. His contribution appeared in the paper's November 2 issue. And as we read it, we felt the same lack of leadership that characterized the handling of other "Pakistani" matters. The writer says that the Nizam's Government is an instrument of communal politics; the 15 per cent of the population who happen to be Muslims have been nursed in the traditions that they are the "ruling class," and that the majority must agree to do their will. There is nothing new in this verdict. The Asafjahi dynasty which helped in breaking the Mughal Empire have not been moved during the last two hundred years by any inspiration other than the communalism that has found its outstanding manifestation in the Muslim League. Not to go further back than the days of Lord Ripon, we find in Scawen Blunt's *India Under Ripon*, a picture of the dominant thought and practice of the State. Apart from its native set-up, the narrowness in the State was nurtured by Muslims from "British India" who had been smarting under the loss of opportunities for rule, for profits and preferences that their class had enjoyed under the rulers belonging to their religious persuasion. Through Blunt's book flit figures that are the lineal predecessors of the Rizvis of today; the Bilgramis of those days are indistinguishable from the Chattaris of today. With traditions like

these to remember, the events in Hyderabad cause us no surprise.

Failure to Build a "United Front"

But what has surprised us is the failure of the majority of 85 per cent to build up a "united front." The *Nagpur Times* article describes with nauseating reiteration the jealousies that stand in the way of such a common effort. Three language groups constitute the majority in the State—Telugus about 70 lakhs; Marhattas about 30 lakhs; the Kannadigas (Canarese-speaking) about 20 lakhs. The differences created by these three languages complex have disabled the majority from any concerted action. Words like "lack of social and political cohesion," like "isolated group of sectarian interests," better express the causes of the debacle that has overtaken the majority community in Hyderabad. Confronting them stand the *Ittehad-ul-Muslem*, a frankly communalist well-knit organization, drawing inspiration from officialdom, from the conduct of "the feudal ruler and the ruling clique of Nawabs and money magnates" who are afraid of their future in a democratic India. The "intellectuals" are rootless in the thought and life of their people. So are the Communists attached to the "three groups" in the State Congress on "the same confusing lines as in our provinces." The impression left on the mind by this particular article is one of hopeless disorganization in the ranks of the progressives. The States Peoples Conference organization on the platform of which Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayaya so often thunders has not been much of a help. We should like to know the reason or reasons, why.

India's Defence Problem

The *Liberator* is an organ of Sikh opinion, published from New Delhi. Its writings are characterized by a bitterness that is not unnatural in the circumstances that they have been experiencing during the last nine months since the "Direct Action" of the Muslim League in March last when, incidentally, a British Governor was in charge of the Punjab administration. The events since August 15 in West Punjab have not helped to calm their feelings. But even these sufferings and sacrifices have not blinded them to the need for vigilance on the part of the Indian Union with which they have identified themselves. In an article entitled "The Partition and New India's Defence Problem," appearing in its October 20 number, the writer laid down the principles and policies that should be adopted and followed by the governing authorities of the Union. Naturally enough the writer feels more concerned with the defence of the western border as sketched by the Radcliffe Award. But it is equally true where the Indian Union's eastern marches in Assam, along the borders of the Murshidabad and the new Navadwip districts of West Bengal are concerned. The agitation that is being organized by Muslims in Noakhali wherein are there certain landed properties of the Maharaja of Tripura should

be regarded as a warning against a repetition of the Kashmir-Jammu experience. The New Delhi Government has shown some alertness of late but we do not know whether the West Bengal and Assam Governments have at all realized the significance of this particular agitation. We hope and trust that they will not be caught napping as the New Delhi Government had been in the matter of the West Punjab pogroms, and in the Kashmir affair.

A Shock Absorber?

The last three months have shown that the leaders of the Congress, who constitute the Government of the Indian Union, were labouring under the impression that the division of the country would calm down the forces that the Muslim League had stirred into frenzy and that the acceptance of their "Pakistan" demand would satisfy their conceits and ambitions. The general public do not know the details of the negotiations that were held between the two rival parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—with Lord Mountbatten as intermediary. His Excellency is still the "independent" Chairman of the Joint Defence Council, set up to solve certain controversies between the two States. We do not know why His Excellency should still agree to serve as shock-absorber between the two States, and allow his Ministers in the Indian Union to avoid coming face to face with the hard realists who constitute the Government of "Pakistan." We are afraid that this arrangement, made with the best of intentions, has been fostering a sort of irresponsibility in the members of Government of the Indian Union.

The Logic of "Two-Nations" Theory

Meanwhile, frothy sentimentalism should cease to affect the conduct of the leaders of the Union. War between India and Pakistan is on the lips of many of the men who influence, directly and indirectly, the conduct of the two States. A Bengalee proverb has it that what is much talked of materializes sooner or later. And with the tactics of the "Pakistanis" revealed in Kashmir, in Junagadh, in Hyderabad and in the neighbourhood of the State of Tripura, there is no longer any excuse for complacency. The June 3 (1947) decision has set up two States in the territories of India, independent of one another with divergent interests to serve and capable of following conflicting policies. Even Gandhiji cannot change the logic of the June 3 arrangement. Any wishful thinking to the contrary can only arrange to heap up more sorrows and sufferings for the common men and women of the Indian sub-continent.

The situation today leaves no choice to us in the Indian Union. We have been put on the defensive in Kashmir in the north, in Junagadh in the west, in Hyderabad at the centre, and may be in Tripura in the east. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Government have to declare whether or not they accept this interpretation of events in India. We should no longer be put off with tirades against the Nazi tactics of the Muslim League. The situation that faces us today is too serious to be

treated as a mere ideological controversy and conflict. The public mind is growing impatient of the policy of dilatoriness that has been so far in the ascendant in the Government at New Delhi. The radios from Karachi, the broadcasts by Ministers of the Central Government of "Pakistan," do not indicate any indecisive speculations or ideological inhibitions in that quarter. The public in the Union of India cannot help contrasting these different attitudes and moods. It would be dangerous to strain their loyalty to the Congress much further. The Nehru Cabinet might have thought that with Muslim League intransigence removed from the Central Government by the agreement of June 3, they would have freedom to concentrate on constructive Nationalism, on building up a better social and economic order in India. But today there is no further scope for indulging in those rosy day-dreams about the peaceful way. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's cohorts have pricked the bubble of this complacency. The defence of our realm has become the foremost duty of our rulers. "Pakistan" has driven this sense into us, perhaps, without realizing the danger of its policy. We may yet live to thank it for thus rousing us from our day-dreams.

And, it is possible to indicate with a certain amount of precision the lines of the policy that can safeguard the integrity of our Union. There is nothing esoteric in the matter. Our dependent political existence might have relieved us of the trouble of devoting thoughts to military matters. It may be that the decision of June 3 (1947) hustled us into a position for which we were not prepared in the military sense. But by August 15, our leaders should have been fully conscious of the duties and responsibilities of rulership of a free State. They could not have been unaware of the "Pakistani" leaders' mental reactions to the division of the Punjab and of Bengal. Even conceding that they were not prepared for West Punjab pogroms and the Kashmir disturbances, organized by Pakistan's war-mongers, there is no excuse any further for such a vacillating mood to persist. The *Liberator* article, to which we have referred, indicates the thoughts of the public, growing restive with "Pakistani" jingoism, and calling for action. There is an unmistakable and growing demand for compulsory military training. The people are in the mood and they would enthusiastically accept this discipline. A fully equipped reserve force should be raised in which preference should be given to ex-servicemen and ex-members of the Azad Hind Fauz. The people living in the borders of the Indian Union's territories, east and west, must be specially organized, their mind and body should be specially attuned to their duties as the frontier guards of India.

Inner Contradictions in Muslim Community

The article in the *Liberator* has sought to bring out the logic of the "Two-Nations" theory which makes out those Muslims, who happen to be in the Indian Union now but who prior to the partition swore by the ideology of the Muslim League, as being as many

"fifth columnists." In the hard school of real politics this phrase need not necessarily be taken for abuse. The inner contradictions in the mind of the Muslim community that are mirrored in the poems and writings of successive generations, from Altaf Hoseyn "Hali" to Mohammad Iqbal, the failure of the law-givers of Islam, represented in the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, to free their community from the detailed delusion of the "Two-Nations" theory, are pointers that we ignore only at our peril. The lessons, imbibed by the majority of them, during the last ten years and more, were not any freak development. It was the culminating effect of the loss of political power. During the previous centuries the Muslims had enjoyed the monopoly of the profits and preferments ensuing from their theocratic rule. This loss created a sense of frustration among them. Historians have told us that the Wahabi movement in India, that persisted for about forty years from 1825 to 1875, was an attempt to assert the "separate" entity of their community that could not make common cause with their neighbours in India. This lesson of history should be fully appreciated by everybody. Sir William Hunter's book, *The Muslims of India*, published in 1871, which has become the charter of their separatism, has recorded the fact that "the Hindustani fanatics, mostly Muhammadans from the Indian provinces" were constant in their support of Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareilly, the most successful propagator of the Wahabi cult in India.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. In India, we cannot expect any relaxation of this rule in our favour. And therefore we must realise facts as they are by separating them fully from fiction or from the products of wishful thinking.

The Arab League

While Mohammad Ali Jinnah's brain child has been frantically appealing to the Islamic countries for help in its manufactured emergencies, it is up to the Indian publicist to be awake to the implications of this attempt to revive a Pan-Islamic sentiment that Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey tried to exploit in support of his irresponsibility. The rise of political nationalism in Arabia, in Egypt broke the back of that attempt. But the inchoate appeal of Pan-Islamism remains, the rise of the Arab League notwithstanding. An article in the *Middle East Journal* throws light on the forces represented in this organisation. The following quotation is relevant to our interpretation of this development:

"However, the Arab League, while it is not reactionary, xenophobic, or extreme, is inevitably Pan-Arab. There is no good reason why an Arab nationalist should be interested in the freedom and unification of part of the Arab world and not of the whole; or draw the frontiers of Arab world at Libya. And thus inevitably the League, both by its own constitution and by the forces which move it, must interest itself in the liberation of the entire Arab world. There may be differences among Arab nationalists about the order of importance of certain Arab questions, but there is no disagreement

about fundamental aims, which cannot stop short of the entire Arab world from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, and which embraces all levels of Arab society—the social, economic, and intellectual no less than the political.

But in saying that Arab nationalism as embodied in the Arab League is Pan-Arabism, it should not be understood that there is any comparison with or resemblance to such movements as Pan-Germanism or Pan-Slavism. There is a radical difference between Arab and European political ideology. In Europe nationalism has been built on two concepts: that of the State inherited from the traditions of Roman law and society; and that of a homogeneous racial group. Arab nationalism is based on neither. On the one hand, Arab society was not based on the Greco-Roman political tradition, and has never had a concept of a strong sovereign State. On the other, Arab society has never been exclusively racial, but has consisted of racially and religiously heterogeneous groups bound together by a common Arabic culture and world of thought.

Bengalees in Assam

Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, did well in referring to the outburst of anti-Bengalee activities in Assam proper, in course of his speech opening the November session of the Assam Assembly. His Excellency tried to hold the balance even; he hinted at the conceit of the Bengalee and the latest exhibition of resentment of the Assamese. The latter has drawn upon it increasing disapproval from the Indian public which is growing more and more conscious of the sinister possibilities of "provincialism." The *Forum* (weekly) of Bombay in its issue of November 2 has under the caption of "Applied Independence" something to say with regard to this sorry phenomenon, caustic in its truth. Our contemporary has taken note how "day after day the two Assamese dailies are dishing out anti-Bengalee fodder to keep the passion of their clientele burning;" he has spotted out the mischief-makers behind. "Reportedly some Marwaris and other non-Bengalee interests have a share in pulling the wires." In Cachar across the hills that separate the Brahmaputra Valley from this predominantly Bengalee area, "an embryonic agitation is afoot to bang the door . . . against Sylhetis and Bengalees, reportedly inspired and financed by this section . . .;" the Government employees hailing from Sylhet who had opted for service in the Indian Union had to "face flat refusal" from the Bardoloi Ministry; on appeal to Sardar Patel "a grudging accommodation" was made. But it is not being honestly implemented by the Assam Administration.

"Valley-Jealousy" has been a factor in the public life of Assam, the jealousy between the people of the Surma Valley comprising the districts of Sylhet and Cachar and the people of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam proper. There are records in history which said that men bearing Bengalee names, hailing from Bengalee-speaking areas, had made their homes in Assam contributing to Assam's greatness and to the enrichment of her culture. Certain of their families are indistinguishable today from the Assamese families proper. The Assamese script is borrowed from and is

practically identical with Bengali. Yet today, "some Assamese, amazingly undeterred or heartened by patronisingly mild governmental rebukes, are out to storm Bengalee shops, stone Bengalee persons, jeer at Bengalee ladies, remove Bengalee sign-boards, demand of Bengalees to part with their titles of recognition and to forget the very language," to describe conditions in the words of the *Forum*. The reasons for this aggressiveness might have been dismissed as spring fever, as expressions of "inferiority complex," the feeling that "Bengalee culture" is a thing to be kept at arm's length, that the values of life that the Assamese language represented have a special place in the India of today. This mingling of conflicting ideas and ambitions is not peculiar to Assam; in every area in India these fears and ambitions are causing headache to administrators and leaders of public opinion. In our neighbourhood in Assam, these have been poisoning relations not only between the Bengalee-speaking people and the Assamese-speaking but between the latter and the "Tribals" in the hills and plains. The population figures do not sustain the claim of the Assamese that their language should be allowed to dominate the scene. Assam's Advocate-General, Mr. Fakruddin Ahmad has become unpopular for saying that "the Assamese are a minority in Assam." This province, as constituted today as a result of the Sylhet Referendum, has a population of 76 lakhs; of these the Assamese-speaking are 22 lakhs; the Bengalee-speaking are 26 lakhs, the rest are "Tribals," speaking about 30 dialects.

That Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi and his present Ministry are parties in accentuating the jealousy is no longer a secret. Before the Sylhet Referendum the Bengalees were represented in the Congress Ministry in strength though not commensurate with their number, as the Muslim Bengalees under the spell of Muslim League ideology had been non-co-operating with the progressive forces in the province. Mr. Basanta Kumar Das held the portfolio of Law and Order, a key position, and therefore his Assamese colleagues could not with decency give full play to their anti-Bengalee feelings. Now they feel free and think that they can ride rough-shod over their rivals.

Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar

The departure from the field of his mundane activities of this Marhatta publicist, public man and literary man leaves a void in Maharashtra's life. The present generation of politically-minded people in India do not know what part Narasimharao played in building up the traditions of political life associated with the name of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak. Early in his youth he came in contact with this maker of new India, and through good report and evil, through public exaltation and unpopularity, he held fast to the truth as the Master had enabled him to realize it. Temperamentally he belonged to the school founded by Mahadev Govind Ranade, of which the most effulgent figure was Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the founder of the Servants of India Society of Poona

(1905). Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar developed the same qualities, and in interpreting his party's politics, he never betrayed himself into partisanship. The rank and file were uneasy with him, but the Master knew the disciple. Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar was left as the custodian of its integrity, as heir to the leadership of the school of Tilak politics. And he proved more than adequate to the trust. He differed from the Gandhian practice, though he never failed when under Gandhiji's lead any movement was started for the assertion of national dignity, for the capture of political power from alien hands. In later life, he found himself more in sympathy with the Hindu Mahasabha over an annual session of which (Ajmere) he presided. A spirit of sweet reasonableness informed all he said and did. We mourn today a watchful public man and a journalist of note associated with the *Kesari* and *Marhatta* of Poona. Narasimharao has raised his own memorial in and through Marhatta literature.

Sudhir Kumar Lahiri

We mourn the death of a colleague who preferred to avoid the limelight and to work for all good causes in silent unobtrusiveness. By dint of his own exertions he made up for the lack of University education, and passed through many experiences acquiring therefrom wide interests in all departments of human activity. Entering the service of the Calcutta Municipality, he was brought to public life by Dr. Nilratan Sarkar, requesting Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray to take an interest in the aspiring young man. The latter put him into touch with Gopal Krishna Gokhale, then a member of the Indian Legislative Council. Calcutta was then the capital of India, and Sudhir Kumar found his vocation and by his earnestness impressed all the public men who used to foregather in our city. With Gokhale's recommendation he went to Lucknow as *de facto* editor of the *Advocate* of Babu Ganga Prasad Verma, the most outstanding of English-language weeklies of the day in the province. From there he went to Lahore as joint editor of the *Punjabee*, the daily started by Lala Lajpat Rai. The Martial Law terrorism started by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh massacres claimed Sudhir Kumar's paper as a victim, and he left Lahore to become adviser to Seth Ghanasyam Das Birla on the recommendation of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Here he became connected with activities concerned with breaking up the monopoly of European jute merchants over this trade. But when he found that an Indian monopoly would replace European monopoly without any improvement to the lot of the cultivators of jute, Sudhir Kumar threw his lot with the poorer millions of his people. He came into intimate relation with Jamini Mohun Mitter who on behalf of the Bengal Government had been striving to organize the sale of jute on a co-operative basis. And to the last day of his life he devoted himself to energizing the Co-operative Movement in Bengal and was editor of its English and Bengalee-language journals.

THE FOOD PROBLEM

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

In the midst of rapid and startling constitutional changes and the upheavals that have flowed from them, some of our equally vital and pressing problems get over-shadowed though the problems themselves continue to oppress us. One such is that of food, whose heavy shadow grows longer and blacker, with whole areas in our country facing bleak, empty, grainless existence day by day, week by week. The statements on food by our Provincial and Central Governments in a more normal atmosphere, would have made the people sit up and wonder whether the new Governments have been just a passing dream and we are still in the days of the antiquated administration and the statements made by our old erst-while Knights of the old regime.

The food problem, many naively believed for a long time, to be merely a symptom of war. It is, however, dawning even on our ill-instructed masses that it is a more basic and complicated affair than a mere war exigency. Careful study into our food economy has revealed to us the alarming fact that India is sadly deficient in the production of food. Within the Indian Peninsula itself, Sind, one of the surplus areas, has already announced its inability to ship any further supplies. The Punjab, another surplus area, is in too disturbed a condition to be depended upon. The total production of food in the entire Indian Peninsula is far below, as we have already seen, what would be necessary for providing a balanced diet for the population. The following table will give an idea of the existing position :

Foodstuffs	Ounces per day per adult	
	Requirements for a balanced diet	Available at present
Cereals	18	17.5
Whole Milk	8	2.5
		Buttermilk 3.0
Vegetables	6	3.0
Pulses	3	0.5
Meat, Fish, Eggs	2 to 3	0.5
Sugar	2	1.8
Fruits	2	2.0
Fats and Oils		

India's annual demand for cereals is about 64 million tons while the average production is round about 56 million tons only. With a rapidly rising population on an average 5 millions annually, the problem assumes increasingly serious proportions and we are unable to provide even the miserably low diet which we do now. 1500-2000 calories per day (whereas the irreducible minimum is 2400 calories a day), without heavy imports of food-stuffs, bought abroad

at almost fancy prices. Even before the war, India was a net importer of food to the extent of 120 thousand tons of cereals, some parts being deficit and importing as much as 220 thousand tons cereals, particularly the South, South-East and South-West. Obviously some 10 lakh tons surplus was available within the country itself, the rest flowing in from outside. But in a country where the major people live in chronic starvation or semi-starvation, the reality of the problem as a whole in its national setting has to be realised.

The wartime pressure tilted this dangerously balanced scale, for the total availability actually never worked out to more than one pound of foodgrain per head per day. In other words, there never was at any time enough food to go round even were such an attempt made. The war demands which actually resulted in export of foodgrains after the occupation of Burma leading up to the food crisis of 1943, eventually forced the then Government of India to formulate specific food policies, which meant compulsory food procurement and food rationing. One important item in the recommendations of the then Food Policy Committee was the building up of food reserves without which the ration system would become unworkable. For without this any fall in domestic production or procurement, or in the imports would inevitably mean continued crisis. But the country did not attempt building up these reserves so absolutely essential for the security of our country. Not only have we failed to increase our production, what is equally serious, the Government has failed in procuring even the available quantity. So instead we take the line of least resistance, we purchase from abroad. Even at the present rate of rationing which is only 12 ounces of all grains per adult, the total required is 8 million tons per annum. Of this in 1946 we imported 230 thousand tons and for 1947 we put the imports at something over 4 million tons, which we know is an utter impossibility. In fact, we shall get nowhere near such a figure in the present state of world scarcity. We, therefore, continue to live in a perpetual state of hand to mouth existence and in the meantime wait breathlessly for the periodical allocation of foodgrains by surplus countries. Our Minister for Food made the staggering revelation, India has had to invest to the pathetic tune of over a 100 crore of rupees only for the purchase of foodgrains abroad, with an additional item of 25 crores to keep the prices of these-imported grains in level with the prices obtaining in India. He also admitted that a poor country like India could not go on paying such heavy sums on imported foodstuffs, particularly as India was herself a predominantly agricultural country. In addition to the already exist-

ing food shortage, is added a fresh deficit due to the destruction of wheat by rust. The total deficit in wheat is put at 2 million tons, which is a terrific figure. Side by side is the discouraging prospect of desperate attempts made to secure further allocation of quotas from the International Food Council for the next six months.

It is necessary for us to realise that food has now passed into the realm of high power politics even as commodities like oil, tin or rubber. The last war brought home the fact that the army marched to victory as much on food as on trucks and tanks. Food has therefore become one of the highest stakes in the international game. The food-supplying areas have become as much targets under "Spheres of Control" as bases for war strategy.

In fact, we are being almost forced to think of the world problem more and more in terms of calories than in mere ideologies. For the basic factors that face humanity everywhere are hunger and destruction and the compelling cry is for food and reconstruction. The problem the powers should have applied their minds to is how to contribute to world recovery in order to secure stability and prosperity through measures that would fit in with all our common interests. Instead the powers are caught in an unseen scramble for gaining influence by backing groups and parties. With the result, there is a temptation to follow the way of least resistance—inflation. Under inflation prices rise higher than wages, while higher profits attract investment. Thus production can increase for a while but consumption is bound to be restricted. Eventually, however, when the results begin to tell, there is a flight from the currency and a collapse. The key to permanent reconstruction lies in finding the incentive to increased production for that is of paramount importance.

One has to start by realising the basic fact that there has been a general decline in essential world food crops, something as follows:

	<i>In millions of tons</i>	
	Pre-war average	1946-47
Rice	7.8	2.7
Cereals	29	25
Fats and oils	6	8
Sugar	11	8

Machinery for solving this terrifying problem was proposed in the shape of a world Food Board after the Copenhagen International Conference on Food and Agriculture. The function of the Food Board was to be an agency that would buy in the open market where prices were low, and dispose of its food to countries that needed it at rates they could afford. By the time the Preparatory Commission on Food and Agricultural Organisation met to consider the plans for this international machinery and related proposals, the U. S. had stepped back. England had in any case always been a cautious party. The U. S. had retreated from the original proposal on the ground that it would give the Board an incentive to dabble

in international commodity markets which in the American creed was the sole prerogative of the private vested interests, a convention so zealously cherished by America. Under these bleak auspices, the Preparatory Commission could suggest a world Food Council with advisory powers only and participation on a purely voluntary basis. It was obvious that the replacing of an executive body by an advisory one and making co-operation voluntary, were designed to play politics with food. Actually this has tended to become a "benevolent" Uncle Sam's Show with Britain following close on its heels, for Russia rarely attended. The U. S. has been described in these international food gatherings as a Gulliver stalking amidst the Lilliputians. For, it alone has ample quantities of food, money, the means to transport and above all, world leadership to command.

The strained conditions resulting from war and other calamities have depleted all too rapidly the usual saved-up stocks, in all countries. Complete dislocation in the normal lines of communication and transport, destruction of food-producing areas, a complete upset in the already heavily undermined economy, all these have left some countries prostrate and pathetically dependent on outside help, India being one such out of several. In fact, out of the total world population only 877 millions get 2400 calories and above, that is, the minimum and above, as against 1208 millions who live on a below subsistence diet, which in statistical tabulation is marked as "death by starvation level." India ranks the lowest in this list. The population for the lowest consumption of calories, 1500 to 2000 is almost the largest, around 600 million while that for 3000 calories and above is only 282 million. In reality these figures convey little. For one thing calories intake alone cannot measure either hunger or a healthy diet or human contentment. A balanced diet insuring sufficient protective vitamins and minerals alone is the test of adequacy in food supply. Mr. Henryson, an expert on agricultural economy, reporting on world food situation, says of balanced diets that "the amount of such foods consumed in India and China is too small to be recorded." The over-all picture reveals that around 200 million people have improved their already adequate diet while 2 billion inhabitants are just as hungry, in some cases hungrier than before the war. Definitely people in India and China are much worse off, where in certain parts people get even less than 500 calories, with the result about 32 per cent are suffering from famine and are forced to live on leaves, stems of plants or some types of grass. In striking contrast, a few countries like the U. S., Argentine, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, are actually eating much more than before the war. For instance, the figures for fats and animal products in Northern and Western Europe has dropped from 35 per cent of total caloric intake before the war to 26 per cent today, whereas in the U.S., Canada, etc., it has risen from 43 per cent to 46 per cent. It is interesting to read two reports that recently appeared in the press. First,

by the F. A. O. (Food and Agricultural Organisation of the U. N.) which reads as follows :

"A major food crisis still confronts the world. Over wide areas famine conditions have prevailed for many months. Many are living on a diet of 1500 calories or less, and the situation will deteriorate sharply, since in several countries domestic food supplies will become exhausted."

Such consumption levels, especially over a long period, are insufficient to maintain a population year after year, to say nothing of rehabilitating lost body weight and capacity of work. Side by side is another statement in the Wall Street Journal that runs thus :

"This year we in America can look forward to a more varied and abundant diet than ever. Supplies of most food are ample...During the current food year, our consumption per head will be well above pre-war level."

Actually it will be about 15 per cent higher. Then follows a sharp cryptic sentence that just stings you in the eye :

"The spectre of a wheat surplus in 1947 worries Washington !"

The same Wall Street Journal had prophesied earlier :

"Uncle Sam faces billion dollar losses as growers step up output despite falling prices...Agricultural officials see production limits as the only safeguard."

Such tit-bits which shoot across our weary eyes bewilder the man in the street who naively but naturally asks, in this age of rationale and science, cannot this corpulent ghost which haunts the American capital be straddled across the ocean and made to disgorge some of its over-abundance in those lean famine-stricken countries, and thus ease the American officials of their headache and the starving people of their hunger ?

Oh no ! Commodity exchanges cannot be reduced to such simplifications, he is promptly reminded. That is why the world Food Board Scheme which would have devised some kind of an ever-normal world granary by pooling all available resources from which the needy nations could draw upon without being under obligation to any particular country and without political factors intervening, was torpedoed like the UNRRA, to propitiate the insatiability of capitalist greed ; for an international agency seemed to hold out a threat to the American fetish of private enterprise. Now international relief has been put on a bilateral basis, with those handful of nations with surpluses alone in a position to afford aid on their own to those down and out ; and it is left entirely to them to decide as to who they shall aid and on what terms. The Food Council is thereby reduced to a special Committee with an advisory capacity on relief-needs which merely reports to member Governments who then at their sweet will and pleasure allot food to the begging countries. Wheat exports from United States and Canada are below even last season's figures. In fact, there has been a steady decline in the

quantities shipped, from 11 million tons in the latter part of 1945 from North America, to 7 million in the corresponding period of 1946, this when there has been no corresponding improvement in the food situation in any of the deficit areas. If anything, further deterioration.

The U. S. position in the food world is decisive for reasons which have already been stated. The U. S. crop Report is that the 1947 wheat will be the greatest in U. S. history, and food prices 50 per cent higher than last year !

Ironically enough the U. S. has not only to dispose of surplus food but the government is also forced to take it off the hands of the growers for which it has to shell out huge amounts in order to bolster up prices, which must otherwise tumble in the event of vast quantities coming on the market. The estimates for governmental subsidies only for wheat will run to 500 million dollars next year, not to speak of other items, such as barley, corn, peanuts, eggs, potatoes, etc. On shoring up the prices of potatoes alone the government spent last year something like 800 million dollars. But instead of considering the American farm-surplus in terms of international relief, the former is being treated like a domestic item and the latter, high politics. Restrictive policies based on political considerations governing relief have already become a feature, which means increased expenditure for the support of farm price and an additional burden on the tax-payer. In effect the American government will continue to buy the surplus from the growers in any event, only instead of shipping it readily and expeditiously to hungry people, the grain will pile up in Warehouse and begin to rot pending the political settlements and understandings which go on behind closed doors, in other words await the outcome of power politics. The U. S. A. offers loans to countries that cannot pay for their food, but on purely bi-lateral basis.

Apart from this international political racketeering that goes on, on the high power plane, there is equal racketeering that goes on on this earthly plane within our own frontiers. It is a well-known fact that actually food scarcity in India need not be as desperate as is now made. It is an open secret that food-growers hide a part of the grain that should be handed over to the government for the general pool, especially the better quality stuff, with the tacit aid or connivance of people that sometimes include those directly responsible for preventing this very evil, such as members of food councils, legislatures, etc. This ill-gotten grain is then allowed to find its way into the black market. It is also known that sometimes superior quality of seeds supplied by government for the production of "more and better food" to growers, is also sold into the black market. With the result, both from an immediate as well as long-range point of view, the larger public is subjected to continued under-nourishment, especially such as the larger student community which is compelled to live in hostels, hotels, restaurants and the like, not to speak of the lower income groups who

unable to pay the black market prices for good quality stuff have to try and sustain themselves on the poor stuff available at controlled rates. This is undermining the entire nation at an alarming rate. The effect of this on especially the young, is disastrous.

In times of scarcity all food producers tend to hoard, partly out of a general sense of insecurity, partly to get the best bargain price. In some countries, the growers prefer to feed to their live-stock rather than sell. The result is city famine, although this does not become apparent. For every government rushes the available food from the rural to the urban areas. For the urban areas are articulate while the rural ones are dumb. Whatever happens in the former gets a press and publicity. What goes on in the latter gets buried in the brown earth. This government policy however only serves to further accentuate scarcity.

In inflationary countries, the grain problem is ever harder to solve, for when prices keep soaring, the desire of the farmers to hold back in order to get better prices, necessarily grows. Procurement works successfully, as for instance in England, because it is heavily subsidised. Where this has not been done, there has been a widening and strengthening of the black market, vitiating any scheme for food control, weakening of governmental authority and general demoralisation. This means, no minimum standard of living can be maintained and at the same time there is shortage of indigenous supplies.

The responsibility for this crime has to be borne equally by inefficient administrators, especially the village officers, and even more so by the leaders and representatives of the people elected to safeguard the larger interests. This gross betrayal of their duty only

reveals once more the superficiality of our sense of national and civic responsibilities. Unless greater vigilance is exercised, India will continue to carry on at "Starvation Level" as the experts term it, and the government will continue to buy food stocks abroad at fabulous prices, drawing on the country's meagre treasury, especially when every penny is needed to undertake the long neglected nation-building activities, and foreign currency is so precious wanted to import machinery for setting up our basic heavy industries.

Our entire rationing seems to revolve on a most unstable foundation and unless some drastic action is taken to ensure greater stability, the entire structure is in danger of collapsing. It is morally and materially undermining for a nation to have to build her food front on imports. It merely serves to emphasise our own weaknesses, for it is most disheartening for a country like India with her enormous resources to indefinitely plead for mercy at others' doors. Obviously the home front is still being neglected. If the growers fail to co-operate with the government, it shows want of confidence. The government has failed somehow to strike the proper chord and therefore its procurement scheme fails to work successfully. Either government must find a way of securing that co-operation from the growers or an alternative method for persuading the growers to bring the grain they hold back to ultimately unload on the black market, into the normal market. The root cause of the people's failure to increase food production even in the face of so grave a crisis as has been facing us and the growers' shying away from procurement even when it means starvation for hundreds of thousands, calls for serious thought

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.),
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II

A significant change in the Royal style and title is effected by sub-section (2) of section (7) bringing it into conformity with the new status of India by the omission of the words "Emperor of India",—an omission symbolic of the end of British Imperialism in India. In terms of the Statute of Westminster a change in the royal title cannot be effected by the unilateral action of the British Parliament but requires the concurrence of other members of the British Commonwealth, which, it is hoped, would be forthcoming readily.

The next two sections of the Act, viz., sections (8) and (9) are very important ones as providing for a smooth change-over from the point of transfer of power to the coming into force of the new constitutions for the two new Dominions that are now in the making. On the 15th

of August the old constitutional structure based on the India Act of 1935 comes to an end and it would take time to bring the new constitutions into working order. The problem was how to fill up the gap. The solution has been found by adapting the Act of 1935, which, with the necessary adaptations for each Dominion was to serve as the basic constitution, for the transition period, of both the Dominions. Adaptations have been necessitated firstly because the 1935 Act was designed for a united India, while now it has to serve the purposes of a divided India and secondly because the original Act contained many limitations on the powers of the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, and also armed the Governor-General and Provincial Governors with special powers which would be completely out of place in the new set-up. Provisions of

Besides these over two hundred changes have been effected. The whole face of the Act has been changed beyond recognition. No doubt the powers with which the Governor-General has been armed under this section are of a sweeping and all-embracing character having retrospective effect as from June 3, 1947. The only redeeming features are,—

"I frankly say I can see no real means of resolving such a deadlock. If you have a difference of viewpoint on the part of the two Governors, it is quite clear that the deadlock or difference can only be resolved by some action on the part of these Governors and by nothing that we could put into the Bill."

Mr. Atlee's reply was also in the same strain. He observed :

"It is clear that it can only be worked effectively by agreement between the two Governors-General."

The Attorney General's explanation as to why the Bill did not attempt to make any provision for the resolution of such differences is that the Bill could not attempt to do so consistent with giving complete sovereignty to each of the Dominions. But we think that some machinery for the resolution of such disputes is essential if there is to be a smooth change-over and this can be provided for by relegating all such questions to an arbitration tribunal like the one already functioning in regard to disputes arising out of the division of assets and liabilities between the two Dominions. Inasmuch as such a tribunal as also the sanction for the enforcement of its decisions would presumably rest on the consent of both parties the arrangement would not in any way derogate from the sovereignty of the Dominions. It should be noted here that the Governor-General of either Dominion as also the Provincial Governors are no longer to be bound by the Instrument of Instructions issued to them before the passing of the Independence Act. Sub-section (4) of section (18) of the Act provides that such instruments are to lapse as from the appointed day and any provision of the Act of 1935 relating to such instruments is also to cease to continue in force. This is just in keeping with the changed position of the Governor-General or Governors who cease henceforth to be the agents of His Majesty's Government in the U. K. but are to be constitutional executive heads drawing their inspiration from the people they govern.

The so-called Secretary of State's services have hitherto occupied a somewhat privileged position in the Indian polity that would be out of place in the new set-up. Section (10) of the Act while putting an end to this privileged position of services at the same time assures protection of existing rights and privileges of those members of the services who would continue in the new regime and compensation to those who would retire prematurely due to the change in regime. Under sub-section (1) of section (10), the provisions of the Act of 1935 relating to appointments to the civil services of and civil posts under the Crown by the Secretary of State as also the provisions relating to reservation of posts are to cease to have effect. Sub-section (2) provides that members of the services either appointed by the Secretary of State or Secretary of State in Council who continue to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any province or part thereof or persons appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a judge of the Federal Court or any High Court who continue after that day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and provinces as the case may be, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters, or as respects the tenure of his office, or rights similar thereto as *changed circumstances may permit* as the person was entitled to before the appointed day. The clause as "*changed circumstances may permit*" is introduced to allow the Dominion Governments to effect

changes, say like a general revision of scales of pay that may be necessitated from time to time by exigencies of time. Although the wording of the clause as regards the protection of existing rights and privileges covers only the members of the Secretary of State's Services and superior judges it was announced by both the Prime Minister and the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Henderson, on the floor of the House of Commons during the passage of the bill that the leaders of the Indian parties agreed to guarantee existing terms and conditions of service to all persons in Government service, whether Central or Provincial. Inasmuch as the British Government had a special degree of responsibility for the members of the Secretary of State's Services the protection of their rights and conditions of service have been placed on a statutory basis, while with regard to others the matter would rest on a sort of gentleman's agreement. Mr. Attlee made it clear that the guarantee would cover pensionary and Provident Fund liabilities, but would exclude any question of discrimination between Indian and non-Indian, though it was not meant to exclude the right of any Government to revise the salaries of their servants from time to time. It was also stated that this would be one of the questions that would be included in the treaty that would eventually be concluded between the British Government and the Dominion Governments covering matters arising out of transfer of power. What led the Indian leaders to offer this inducement to the European members of the Superior Services to continue in service after the transfer of power is perhaps the anxiety to avoid something like a land-slide and to maintain a continuity and it has been purchased with a price. This is no doubt a very important consideration but in the light of events so far one feels misgivings in one's mind as to the wisdom of the course taken. The conduct of the British officers who have continued in service after the appointed day has not been at least above suspicion particularly in relation to the communal disturbances. Whether the suspicion is well-founded or not, it is doubtful if these officers reared in altogether different surroundings and with different traditions are capable at all of adjusting themselves to the new regime.

Sections (11) to (13) deal with the armed and naval forces of India during the transition. It was decided by the Partition Council that until the division of forces is complete and the Dominion Governments are in a position to administer them all the existing armed forces in India would remain under the administration and control of the present Commander-in-Chief who in turn would be under the control of the Joint Defence Council. Section 11(1) provides for this division of the armed forces between the two Dominions by orders to be made by the Governor-General under section (9) of the Act. Mr. Attlee assured on the floor of the House of Commons that immediately after the transfer of power the British armed forces would begin to be withdrawn from India but the process of withdrawal would necessarily be limited by available shipping accommodation. In the intervening period there were to be two Commanders-in-Chief to command the British forces in the two Dominions over whom there would be a supreme Commander-in-Chief who would have operational control and administrative responsibilities

for the British forces. As far as these forces were concerned he would be directly responsible to the Chiefs of Staff in London instead of the Dominion authorities. British personnel attached to the Indian Army establishments even were not to be subject to the law governing the Indian forces to which they were attached. The Third Schedule lays down the modifications of the Army Act in its application to the British troops during their stay in India. The underlying principle of such modifications is the removal of all powers of interference by the Governor-General and other civilian authorities in India with the internal affairs of the British Army while preserving their powers and duties to the extent that they do not amount to such interference. It was further clarified in course of debate on the Bill that British troops would not be used for maintaining internal order or to take sides as between the two Dominions. Yet the existence of British troops on Indian soil must be viewed as an anomaly in an independent India and in direct conflict with the principle of political independence.

Section (14) deals with the position of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State as the Minister of Crown in charge of Indian affairs was the symbol of British domination over India. In the new set-up the Secretary of State can have therefore no place. Section (14) practically provides for the liquidation of the office together with those of his satellites, the Advisers, and the conduct of relations with India would be transferred to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth relations. During the transition period, however, there would be a considerable volume of work of the nature of outstanding liabilities arising out of past transactions in relation to both the Dominions of India and Pakistan which requires a special machinery to cope with. Section (14), sub-section (1) provides for the institution of a special minister for this purpose and a Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations has been appointed in pursuance of this section. Sub-section (2) sets out the functions which he will be called upon specially to perform, such as "functions as respects the management of, and the making of payments in respect of, Government debt." Under section 315 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Secretary of State alone was empowered to contract and the Government of India was precluded from contracting sterling loans. That limitation on the power of the latter is, however, to disappear. Section (15) provides that all legal proceedings pending on the appointed day, by and against the Secretary of State shall cease, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned and all such proceedings shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner. We have discussed above only the more important provisions of the Act, but the Act itself does not give us a complete picture of the process of transfer of power. It will have to be followed up and supplemented eventually by a treaty or treaties to be concluded between H. M. Government in U. K. and the Governments of the two Dominions covering all outstanding matters arising out of the transfer of power in India. Negotiations for these treaties are expected to begin as soon as the two Dominions are free from their manifold problems besetting them at the moment and they get into stride. Prime Minister

Attlee declared in the House of Commons at the Second Reading of the Bill on July 10 last :

"Apart from the matters arising out of the transfer of power, there are other very important matters on which we hope to have negotiations with the Indian and Pakistan Governments. We desire to establish by free negotiations, close cordial and effective arrangements with both the Dominions in all fields affecting our common interests and particularly in regard to defence matters and in the economic field."

The Indian Independence Bill came into force on the 15th of August last and the system that it inaugurated is hardly two months old. It is too short a period and we are too near the event to make a correct assessment of its effects or to view it in the true perspective. One is likely to overdraw the picture either as to its good or evil effects according to one's own predisposition towards the measure. We shall not therefore attempt a detailed review of its effects. One or two broad facts of the situation may, however, be noted. In the first place its title is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. The Act confers Dominion status, on the two political entities carved out of what was 'India'. Although Dominion status, as it is at the present day, carries with it the substance of independence, at least juristically and technically speaking it is something different from independence. It marks, of course, a mile-post on the way to complete independence inasmuch as it leaves the two Dominions free to choose between Dominion status and independence as the basis of the constitutions they are engaged in making for themselves.

Secondly, the fact of the British quittance of India and transfer of power is to be found woven into the whole texture of the legislation. That is no doubt a great thing. As Sardar Patel told a Press Conference some time back :

"This is a bill, the object of which is to transfer power as quickly as possible. It is not that on all points everybody can be satisfied. There may be some lacuna, some gaps, some difficulties and some doubts but all constitutions are like that. . . On the whole one thing is certain, that is that on August 15, India is completely free. And that is the greatest achievement of India and, one may say, it is one of the greatest acts done in history by any power."

It is an achievement both for India and Britain that political emancipation of over three hundred million people was effected without bloodshed, at any rate at the final stage. As Mr. Attlee remarked :

"The Bill brings to an end one chapter in the long connection between Britain and India."

At the same time he believed that it would open another chapter which Sir Stafford hoped would usher in an era of co-operation between the two countries. Sir Stafford said that he believed that complete co-operation on the part of India would never be achieved until they i.e., Britain and India could deal with each other on the basis of absolute equality. He thought, "It was that equality which that bill would establish for the first time creating the basis of a greater and more significant friendship between our two countries." Sir Stafford further added :

"We have started to build the bridge between two great world civilisations, which have much to learn from each other and should have much to contribute to one another. The success which we can show the world in the years that lie ahead in this co-operation may well have a profound effect on world history."

If these hopes of Sir Stafford are realised that alone would be an ample justification for the enactment of the legislation.

Against this achievement we have to set, however, the incalculable loss inflicted on the country by the partition effected by the Act. Whether partition was the best and perhaps the only course in the circumstances, history alone can give the correct answer in future. But the fact remains that the partition has rendered the country poorer and weaker economically, militarily, morally and spiritually and we are reaping perhaps the first fruits of the partition in the shameful events of the Punjab, Delhi and other places. The seeds of disruption that were cleverly sown by the agents of British imperialism years ago have grown into a mighty poison tree which has borne fruit in the

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partition and fratricidal warfare all around. Let us only hope that now that the British have quit we shall be able to view things in their proper perspective, sanity and sobriety will return to us and the very absurdity and the wholly unnatural character of the thing will lead us to undo the evil machinations of British imperialism. Even the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee himself expressed the hope at the third reading of the Bill in the House of Commons that the partition would only be a temporary phase which would eventually result in a federation in which the parts would have full scope and at the same time unity. Perhaps the Congress leaders who have been valiant fighters in the cause of both freedom and unity all their lives, when they agreed to sacrifice unity for the sake of freedom had also this hope in their mind that freedom would eventually bring back also unity. We shall all live in the fond hope that the day when the two States created by the Act would voluntarily come together and reunite in a bond of perpetual friendship will not be too long to come.

THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AND BREAK-DOWN OF THE BENGAL ADMINISTRATION

The Political and Administrative Context

BY RAI BAHADUR BEJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI

VII

We may now turn to discuss briefly the achievements of Bengal's Legislature and its administrative machinery. It is enough if one examines in brief its handling of finance, its effect on the administration, its facing up to economic problems, its post-war reconstruction work, its solution for unemployment and its activities for fighting insanitation and disease.

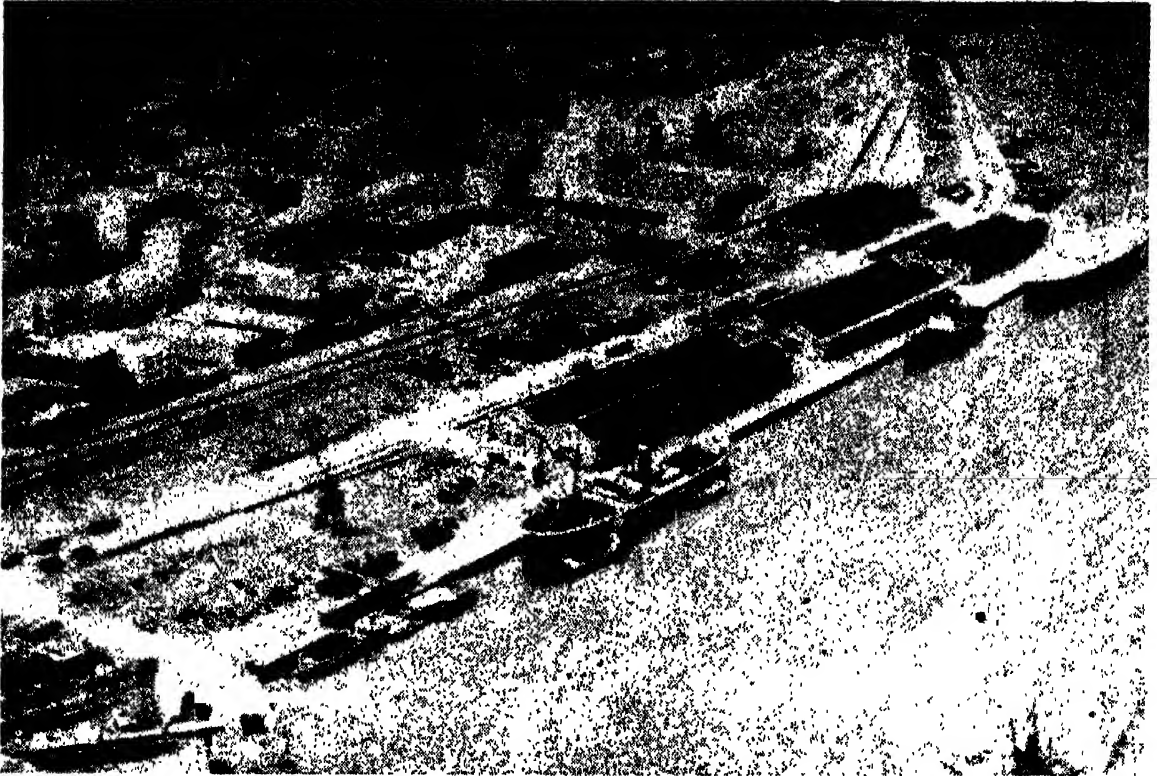
The first test of efficient administration is the control of finance and the solvency of the Public Exchequer. It may be noted initially that up till 1906 there was a single unit of Government for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The top administrative set-up consisted of one Lieutenant-Governor with one Private Secretary of the Junior grade of the Indian Civil Service, and the Secretariat consisted of one Chief Secretary and three Secretaries. Today there are three Governors in the three Provinces viz., Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, over the area what was only the one Province of Bengal, without any addition of any area except that of a small district called Sambalpur. Each one of the Governorships has a complete hierarchy of Secretariat and personal staff. In place of the one British Lieutenant-Governor taken from the Indian Civil Service, there is one British Governor recruited from the public life of the British Empire, in the other two provinces there are two taken from the British members of the Indian Civil Service (in

1947 an Indian member of the Indian Civil Service has been appointed). One must confine oneself, however, only to the province of the present-day Bengal. The financial position stands thus:

	Income Expenditure		Result	Remarks
	(In 10 millions)	(In 10 millions)		
1905-6	5.15	5.35	-20	Bengal, Bihar, Orissa as one Unit
1917-18	9.19	6.80	2.39	
1946-47	31.77	44.98	-13.21	
	(excluding develop-ment)	(excluding develop-ment)		

It will be noted that receipts from taxation had gone up and up from five crores to forty-seven crores while expenditure mounted higher still from five crore thirty-five lakhs to forty-five crores. On the other hand, the Bengal Famine Commission and the Flood Commission Report give a lurid picture of the economic collapse of the people. From having near about a balanced budget, the annual deficit had reached near about thirteen crores. The Finance Member, Hon'ble Mohammad Ali of Bengal, in presenting the budget for 1947-48 to the Legislature, stated:

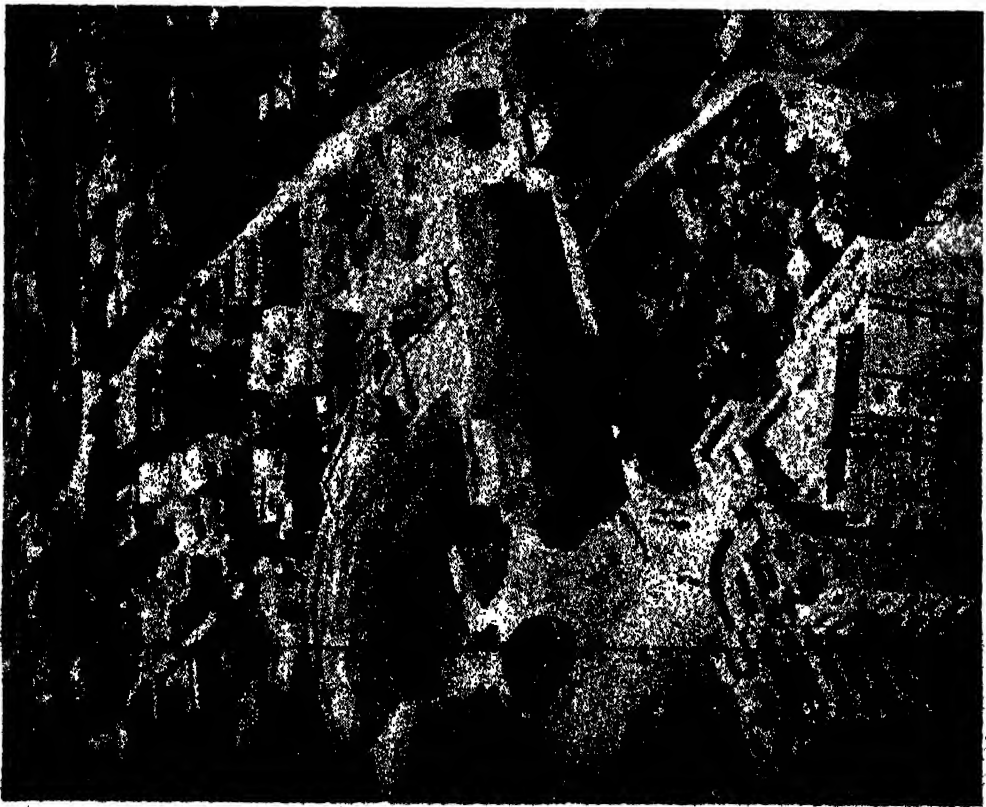
MODERN PALESTINE



Haifa : A Jewish settlement



An Arab settlement



An aerial view of Jerusalem



A view of soil erosion along the banks of the Jordan River

"It is not wise shutting our eyes to the fact that the financial position of the province is extremely disquieting. No exchequer can contemplate with equanimity the idea of having to support a revenue deficit of the order of twelve crores from year to year for an indefinite period of time."

In the note published in the press,* the Leader of the Opposition submitted to the Vice-President of the Interim Government a protest against the granting of a subvention without close scrutiny of the finances of the Government of Bengal:

"Corruption in recent years has increased manifold, largely as a result of Government's avowed policy of giving contracts, whether in construction or trading, to Muslims whenever possible. No standards are required to be fulfilled by the Muslims. Ministers themselves take active part in the distribution of contracts and other business or in commercial opportunities such as the allocation of spindles to new textile mills or machinery for manufacture of sugar. The control exercised by Government over the various types of consumer goods, as also over industrial raw materials, has greatly widened the scope of distribution of patronage and of corrupt practices."

The Government continued to issue 'schemes' for post-war development. So far except the Damodar-Rhondihar Canal Scheme, constructed in 1934-36, no scheme worth mentioning has been completed and even the Rhondihar scheme irrigates a fraction of the area of one district. Its further expansion was sterilised by the interplay of subtle forces among political parties. Other schemes mostly were schoolboy sketches or unworkable utopias. Public works were budgeted, and the expenditure duly appeared in proper columns but the actual people on the spot hardly realised the fact of the execution of the work. The "Minorities Pact" referred to before operated. There was nothing on record to show that any European legislator had cared to test on the spot any large-scale expenditure. No Hindu legislator and responsible Hindu officer could dare to criticise, for such criticism was already tarred as "prejudicial judgement."

But the net result of the splendid management had been summed up by the Finance Minister as quoted above. It could hardly be urged that there was lack of officers. In the Secretariat itself in place of one Chief Secretary and three secretaries in 1905, managing as one unit of administration Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, there are now not one but two Chief Secretaries (for a time there were three) with eight secretaries, and with "additional" the total came to thirteen in the Province of Bengal. In the lower rung, i.e., Sub-Deputy Collectors on the grades of Rs. 100 to Rs. 250 per month had been re-graded on time scale to Rs. 450 as maximum, and the number went up to 498 in 1945 from 105 in 1905 in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Each crisis for the Muslim League Government led to further expansion of cadre, and even to the creation of new classes of officers (Lawyer Magistrate, Jute Development Officer, etc.). Votes for the Government had to be secured, and

neither legislators nor partymen would agree to deliver "votes" without at least having a relative provided. Even the "opposition", imbued with the practical sense of "making hay when the sun shines," modified their tone according to plan. There was for example, the "boat" scandal, where about a crore of public money was allocated to build boats. The boats, it is alleged, kept intact on land but melted away with the touch of water and some even refused to be counted when a checker was ultimately sent. The boat-building contract was held by the big-wigs of the Muslim League, some of whom were related to the then Ministers. A committee at long last was appointed and probably in due time would have reported that there was nothing in the contract specifying that boats, when built, must float, but the partition has probably saved them the trouble.

VIII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The effect of the administration on the economic conditions was as should be expected. In 1942-43 Bengal had a famine unprecedented in the annals of this province. The Famine Commission, presided over by one of the most experienced and level-headed retired members of the I.C.S. untainted by communal virus, namely, Sir John Woodhead, recorded:

"A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to the circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed, there was a moral and a social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown."—Report of Sir John Woodhead Famine Enquiry Committee, p. 107.

The number which in itself was a gross underestimate did not include subsequent deaths due to privations suffered.

"The Bengal famine of 1943 stands out as a great calamity even in an age all too familiar with human suffering and death on a tragic scale."—Sir John Woodhead's Commission, page 1 of the Report.

It might be asked if such catastrophes are chronic in Bengal. No.

"During the 19th century and the twentieth up to 1943 Bengal was almost entirely free from famine."—The Commission's Report, page 1.

There was a Muslim League Ministry, there was a British Governor with a British member of the I.C.S. as Secretary, a British member of the I.C.S. was the Chief Secretary, a British member of the I.C.S. was the senior member, Board of Revenue, i.e., the highest Revenue authority, there were five British members of the I.C.S. as Commissioners of Division, a British member of the I.C.S. as Director of Food, when this calamity took place. Some say that the prospective Japanese attack (actually only some stray bombs fell thrice in parts of Bengal) upset the machinery of the administration. But it is on record that with almost

* A. B. Patrika, April 20, 1947.

daily bombing by a close and far more ruthless and relentless enemy (the Nazis) the people of London actually improved in health and not one died. Sir John Woodhead's Commission concludes :

"Between the Government in office and the various political parties, between the Governor and his Ministry, between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine."—Page 103 of the Report.

It is well-known that almost all the officials mentioned in this article had had many letters of the alphabet added to their names "for devoted and signal service to India." But the "Order of Merit" should have been awarded to the authors of this admirable *divide et impera* plan starting with that Mr. Archibald who brought about the Muslim deputation in 1906-7, and including Lord Minto, the author of Communal Electorate, Lord Curzon, the Empire builder, Lord Morley, the "liberal" statesman who embodied it in the scheme, Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford, Sir John Simon, Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who all played their part in the evolution of this excellent machine used for the retardation of all progress in India, and above all, certainly it should have been given to Winston Churchill, Sir Samuel Hoare and all the authors of the Minority Pact, and to the distinguished group of "fact finding" and "Award-proposing" members of the distinguished Indian Civil Service.

IX

LAW AND ORDER

Law and order is supposed to be, in the main, the minimum of state requirements. But latterly, over and above the "normal" crimes, crimes in Railways, with trains held up and with the derailment of trains for murder and plunder, in certain sections in Eastern Bengal, were reported in newspapers, as being frequent occurrences. The ratio of property recovered to property stolen became smaller and smaller, the percentages of convictions for more heinous classes of crimes also began getting smaller. Finally, the Direct Action day declared by Quad-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah and preached with the utmost virulence of language—for which no action was taken—led to the tragic events which have since then been known as the "Great Calcutta Killing." The matter was under enquiry by a Commission presided over by Sir Frederick Spens of the Federal Court prior to partition, but was abandoned afterwards.

Even the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, British owned which is by no means pro-Indian and still less pro-Hindu, wrote on August 23, 1946, thus :

"As previously remarked the unparalleled tragedy in Calcutta, the frightful scenes of brutality and destruction during the great killing have inevitably besmirched the name of the Muslim League before India and the world."—*Statesman*, August 23, 1946.

The Direct Action was for "Independence" and was therefore proclaimed naturally against "British Imperialism" but strange to say not one Britisher was hurt. Mr. Casey, the late Governor of Bengal, has correctly remarked :

"The Muslim League keeps up a certain tempo of anti-British feeling in the Press and on the platform. But there is no great sting in its fulminations against us."—*An Australian in India*, page 111.

The sting is in reality all for the Nationalist Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others. The world knows what is the impelling force behind all the stage-shouts of Quad-e-Azam Jinnah and his Muslim League and whose tune they play in reality. So played also Sir Edward Carson, as De Valera and all patriotic Irishmen know. The Jinnah spirit spread over districts from Calcutta. From the statistics supplied to the Legislature by the Government the following figures are given just as a measure of the suffering of the Hindus. They are for the districts of Tipperah and Noakhali :

	Tipperah	Noakhali
Houses burnt	1718	881
Houses looted	2170	2266
Huts burnt	6520	not given
Deaths in riots	40	178
Deaths by police firing	12	
Deaths by police, military forces action	11	42
Women abducted	5	not given
Forcible conversion	9895	figure not known but ran to thousands

The victims were all members of the "minority community" which does not accept the figure as being anywhere near correct. But they have at least the merit of admission. In reply to the question as to whether the Government deputed any responsible officers to enquire into details of destruction, abduction, etc., and if so whether their reports would be laid before the Legislature it was stated :

"Mr. Simpson, I.C.S. and Mr. R. Gupta, I.C.S., were deputed but it is not considered desirable that copies of their reports should be made available."—*A. B. Patrika*, May 2, 1947.

The world must draw its own conclusions. But the one conclusion on which it is presumed that there will be no difference is that there is complete break-down "in Law and Order." If people were left in complete anarchy possibly some defence as best as possible would have been organised. But while there was not enough strength in the agency of order to prevent victimisation, the law functioned readily to completely control and prevent the possession of arms by the law-abiding citizens while the lawless had the freedom to secure illicit arms to use them. How they were procured and who procured them for the lawless elements, the guardians of law and order cannot or will not find out.

CORRUPTION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The communal representation in services, the control of details of administration by the League Ministers, the complete disregard of the rules of business which makes it possible for any member in the services to directly approach the ministers, the wide-spread system of canvassing carried on by legislators many of whom, as remarked by Maulvi Fazlul Huq, late Chief Minister, in the conference of teachers, "had not been to school," had resulted in appointments on malafide qualifications on the basis of communalism and nepotism, have had as was only to be expected disastrous effects on the morale of the public services.

So widespread was corruption that the late Governor, Right Hon'ble Mr. Casey, was compelled to draw public attention to it in a broadcast delivered on 10th January, 1944 :

"It is common knowledge that there is a good deal of corruption in Bengal and with a great many of decent people in Bengal I very greatly deplore it."

The Government of Bengal appointed an Administration Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Archibald Rowlands, K.C.B., with Mr. N. Baliol Scott as associate member and Mr. J. L. Llewellyn of the Indian Civil Service as Secretary. In their report submitted in 1945 the Committee observed :

"We have been told that there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the framework of the Permanent Administration. The services apprehend that amenability to Ministerial pressure and a 'correct attitude' towards questions in which the party for the time being in office is particularly interested, are more likely to lead to promotion than administrative efficiency."—Para 219.

"The Public Service in Bengal enjoyed a high reputation for integrity but that in recent years the position has greatly deteriorated," etc.—Para 223.

"So widespread has corruption become and so defeatist is the attitude taken towards it that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the Public Services and the public morals. Anything less is a denial of justice to the poor people of the province, who comprise the bulk of its population and who in the end have to pay for the bribes which go to enrich the unscrupulous and the dishonest."—Para 227.

It may be noted that the "defeatist attitude" is the inevitable result when the public seldom finds anyone who is interested in removing his grievances. Neither a moral attitude, nor love of country, nor anxiety to make a stand on principles inspired anyone in authority.

This brief summary, confined only to the statements of authorities, will indicate the rapid financial decline, more than rapid economic decline, the dismemberment of the vestige of law and order and the breakdown of administrative machinery in Bengal

consequent to the communal administration. The dismal figures of death and destitution, of insecurity and corruption tell their own tale. This is the system that a group of diehard imperialists of England, who are entrenched in the commercial life of Bengal and in the services, zealously worked for, through the Communal Award, the communal electorate and communal representation in services, by stirring up jealousies and feuds and by setting up reactionary individuals.

XI

There is no record in the history of India that communal groups of Hindus or Muslims or Depressed classes in mass had ever been set against each other at any time in the past. In the battle-field of Plassey in 1757 two generals fought gallantly for Nawab Serajuddoula, they were Mohanlal and Mir Madan, one a Hindu and the other a Muslim. On traversing the field of Plassey and its neighbourhood, the tourist is still shown the place where Mir Madan's horse left his dead body in the village of Fandpore—a shrine worshipped even today by Hindus and Muslims. The place where Mohanlal, the Hindu General, fought the last battle is still pointed out.

Throughout the period from 1765 when the right to collect revenue (the D-wani) was transferred to the East India Company right up to 1858—up till when the East India Company held sway—periodical reports were submitted to Parliament. Not in one report is there any mention of mass murder, and rape or of mass arson and looting, either between caste Hindus (and caste was still more rigid then) and the so-called "scheduled" castes, or between Hindus and Muslims. Throughout the great Sepoy Mutiny, when the British "Raj" for the time being was trembling in the balance, is there any record in even British-written history of mass conflicts between Hindus and Muslims? None. The earliest record of such antagonism in Bengal is the history written by Mr. Stewart in 1813 where there is a reference to the enmity between "polytheistic idolatrous Hindus" and "monotheistic and God-worshipping Muslims"—terms which not only indicate the vulgarity and the low spiritual level but also the complete lack of comprehension of the religious ideology in the classes from which Britain recruited some of her Governors-General, Governors and Indian Civil Servants.

In the British-written history of *Bengal Under Lieutenant-Governors*, written by Mr. C. E. Buckland, I.C.S., who was a Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which covered the period from 1853 to the first few years of the 20th century, there is no reference to Hindu-Muslim mass conflicts. As a matter of fact, these two volumes which were published in 1901 there is not even a mention of the Hindu-Muslim question as being a problem.

The Government started printing and publishing annual administration reports of each branch of administration—Judicial, Police, Education, General Administration—from the early forties. There is no mention of Hindu-Muslim mass conflict in those re-

ports till 1906, the ill-fated year of Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal. Yet as stated before Bengal contains more than one-third of the total Muslim population of the whole of India. In the 18th century, when British rule was non-existent till the latter half, when British rule was barely on its saddle, then throughout the 19th century and right up to the first five years of the 20th century, there is no mention in all the numerous documents and books, written by British officials, British historians, and by British administrators, of Hindu-Muslim conflict or even of the Hindu-Muslim problem in Bengal. The only trouble mentioned in Bengal's history is that of Titu Miyan in 1830 who rose in revolt, plundered both Hindu and Muslim families in a restricted locality where he and his colleagues proclaimed "the extinction of the English rule and the re-establishment of the Mahomedan power. A body of native infantry with some horse artillery...hastened out from Calcutta. The insurgents met the troops with the mangled remains of a European who had been killed on the previous day, suspended in front of the line. A stubborn engagement decided the fate. Titu Mian fell in action." Some surviving adherents were tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.* During the whole of the 19th century, when British rule was being consolidated, there were occasional upheavals—upheavals against the resumption of Revenue grants, upheavals against the "watch and ward" being taken away from local people (Chuai rebellion), the Indigo disturbances against European Planter Masters which led to the appointment of the Indigo Commission in 1861, the disputes between landlords and tenants on the question of adjustment of cash rent with the rise in prices leading to Agrarian Disputes Act of 1867, and disputes about tenancy rights leading to the appointment of Rent Law Commission in 1881. In all these the contesting elements with the same economic interests aligned themselves irrespective of caste, creed, or communal categories. The numerous published and unpublished Government reports make that abundantly clear.

XII

In the meantime, however, other events were occurring. The advantages of a system of commercial-administrative exploitation of a colonial people were becoming clearer to a group of British people. On the other hand, the victims in India were feeling the effect. This led to the widespread insurrection which was deliberately misnamed the "Sepoy Mutiny" of 1857, which led to ruthless atrocities on either side. The Mutiny, as was natural, was suppressed by the superior organised forces of the Government. In that mutiny Hindus and Muslims had joined forces without stint and declared Bahadur Shah—the descendant of the Emperors of Delhi—as Emperor. The dangers of Hindu-Muslim unity to British rule was brought home to a section of the ruling group. A new

psychology took hold of the British rulers. That psychology had two aspects. The one showed up the unity of the people of India as a danger to the existence of British rule in India and the consequent urgent necessity of creating schisms while the other, in which the spirit of vengeance and reprisal dominated, reacted by denying to Indians as a class all chances of growth and strength.

The effect of the unity of Hindus and Muslims in India as a danger to British rule was thus expressed, in veiled language, by Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I.:

"Nothing could be more opposed to the policy and universal practice of our Government in India than the old maxim of divide and rule; the maintenance of peace among all classes has always been recognised as the most essential duties of our 'belligerent civilisation,' but this should not blind us to the fact that the existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better class of Mahomedans are a source of strength and not of weakness."—*India: Its Administration and Progress*, page 338.

Some others were more explicit. Dr. Syed Hossein in his *Revisiting India* records:

"Lord Elphinstone said in 1859, *Divide et Impera* is the old Roman motto and it should be ours."

Lord Elgin left on record for his successors the advice:

"Keep the Hindus and the Muslims divided."
—*Patrika*, Puja Number, 1946, page 39.

This psychology was intensified by the widespread Muslim Wahabi movement and the murders of Viceroy Lord Mayo and of Mr. Justice Norris by Wahabi Muslim assassins followed by the trial, for conspiracy, of the Muslim Wahabi leaders in 1864. The necessity for the division of the nation into "communities," and for the development of fissiparous tendencies, for the continuance of the British rule, was the one lesson and the need to avoid the chances of Muslim fanaticism and eliminate that dread was another lesson of the Sepoy Mutiny and of the Wahabi movement. Both, it was thought, could be usefully harnessed for the same object. It was along that line of reasoning that Sir William Hunter wrote the book *Mussalmans of Bengal* in 1871, which is full of wrong conclusions and self-contradictory premises. For example, at one place he mentions that the Muslims lack opportunities for education, and at another place quotes the report of the Government Committee of 1871 that Muslim students in the special educational institutions provided by Government were found spending their time with unmentionable women. He concluded that concessions must, none the less, be made for Muslims.

While the better elements of England were speaking through Lord Canning and Queen Victoria's proclamation, other elements, more powerful though vile, had been working, through the Services and the non-official English commercial community, to undo all efforts to improve the position of Ind

* Sir W. Hunter's *Mussalmans of Bengal*, pages 46-47.

Lord Canning's letter to Queen Victoria describes the position of the other group thus :

"One of the greatest difficulties which lie ahead—and Lord Canning grieves to say so to Your Majesty—is the violent rancour of a very large proportion of the English community against every native of every class. Nor does it occur to those who talk and write most upon the matter that for the Sovereign of England to hold and govern India without employing and, to a great degree, trusting natives, both in civil and military service, is simply impossible. It is no exaggeration to say that a vast number of the European community would hear with pleasure and approval that every Hindu and Muslim had been proscribed and that none would be admitted to serve the Government except in a menial office. That which they desire to see is a broad line of separation and of declared distrust, drawn between us Englishmen and every subject of Your Majesty who is not a Christian and who has a dark skin. There are some who entirely refuse to believe in the fidelity or goodwill of any native towards any European although many instances of the kindness and generosity of both Hindus and Mahomedans have come up on record during these troubles."—*Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III, page 251.

It is this group which had persistently stood for and succeeded in sterilising largely all efforts to speed up the progress of India and thwart the efforts of those, Indians as well as Englishmen, who were working for that object. It was this group which drew up the blue-print of hatred and war between communities and communal interests and worked it out with scientific precision, linking it up and developing it as the exigencies of the situation demanded. The lines of reaction became more and more aggressive with the tempo of the growth of nationalism in India, particularly in Bengal. In 1892, when there was just a gesture of advance for self-government, Lord Kimberley, as the spokesman on the Indian Councils Bill of 1892 in the House of Lords, developed a sudden anxiety for the 'minorities' of India. This spring of humanitarianism seems to lie deeply inherent in the Imperialist groups of the British nation. It gushes forth at psychological moments when another nation tries to attain liberty. It gushed forth when Lenin attempted to free Russia from the misrule of the Romanoff Czars and led Great Britain into organising and sending the White Russian army to suppress the Bolsheviks. The White Russian army was smashed but the memory haunts the Kremlin and overshadows every conference in which Russia takes part. Similarly, it worked in the secret support of Franco against the Spanish Republicans. In Ireland it resulted in the separation of Ulster, as a reminder of the historic role of English landlordism in that long-suffering but brave land. Similarly it worked in devious and crooked ways in Poland, "Sudeten land" and other areas of Central Europe, as it did recently in Greece. But it was in India, in Bengal, with a helpless and trusting people as its victims, that its operations were bold, outrageous and unrelenting.

"General Dyer's thirty thousand pounds were largely the result of a sub-conscious argument—this

will be a slap in the face for that fellow Montagu, a Jew Secretary of State for India. We will show him what we think of his reforms."—Edward Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal*, page 113.

It was more or less the psychology of General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and of the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of which Jallianwalabagh was only the expression of a part. The interest in the Minority taken by Lord Kimberley in 1892, developed later into a love for that community by Lord Minto. "Minto had a liking for Muslims," writes John Buchanan, his famous biographer, and so he worked for and finally obtained sanction for a separate communal electorate. The ground was paved by Lord Curzon.

"Did not Lord Curzon as a Viceroy flout Hindu opinion by the partition of Bengal in the hope of winning favour with the Muslims? And worst of all did not the introduction of communal electorates by the Government of England aggravate and intensify Hindu-Muslim rivalry? Indians have no doubt in their minds that the British policy has always been 'Divide and Rule'—the historic policy of conquerors throughout ages.—V. H. Rutherford, *Modern India*, page 48.

Even the Conservative Lord Salisbury in the Lords debate stated :

"To an Englishman such an arrangement (communal electorate) was the grossest absurdity. It was not self-government at all. There was no means of working self-government on those lines. India does not want the communal award. At least, the Hindus do not want it. They hate it. They form 75 per cent of the country. The Muslims want it and the honest truth of the matter is that the Government are anxious to conciliate Muslim opinion. I hold no brief for either Hindus or Muslims. But even if I preferred the Muslims to Hindus, I must say that there is no future for such a gerry-mandering policy. To draw up a scheme on the grounds that it would please the Muslims rather than Hindus is to found it on a complete constitutional fallacy."

XIII

They could not frame a policy on these grounds, nothing which would last, even if they were not ashamed to do so. However it was not the principle that was determining policy but it was policy that was dictating procedure. The Minority of Lord Kimberley of 1892 grew into the favoured community of Lord Minto in 1908, which, when supported and pursued by the Communal Award of 1934, was finally "born" as a "Nation" in 1940.

The technique is well-known to the die-hard group. It is Lecky who has left it on record :

"Twenty-three practising Barristers voted for the union of Ireland with England in the House of Commons in 1800. In 1803, six of them were on the Bench ; while eight others had received high honours under the Crown. Thirty-two Barristers voted for the Union (166 against) at the Bar debate in 1799. In 1803 not more than five of them were unrewarded."

Mr. Gardiner in his notes on the life of Sir Edward Carson records :

"Twenty-three years of resolute government was Salisbury's grim prescription after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, not freedom but a gaol. He sent his nephew to direct the campaign and the sword of vengeance was put in the hand of the young Dublin Barrister. Ireland has always been a generous land, to those lawyers who have been willing to serve the Castle."—*Pillars of Society*, page 121.

Mr. Gardiner records that Mr. Carson (later Sir Edward) profited by his loyalty to the Castle, swept through the country as the Crown Prosecutor, imprisoned a score or more of Irish members for daring to address their constituencies and was promptly rewarded for his services by being appointed Solicitor-General. The same group in India and England had less difficulty in boring Quad-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As a lawyer he had already prospered. In fact, he had made his pile and retired to England, to practise in the Privy Council, and was actually practising there when the "Minority Pact" between the Anglo-Muslim combine that took place at the end of the Round Table Conference in 1932 resurrected him. He had been in the front rank of Congress politicians once but living in his Malabar Hill marble palace he found the non-co-operation movement making too great a demand on him, in asking him to leave all and follow the nation. Gandhi, Nehru, Abul Kalam Asad and others had accepted the challenge, but Jinnah's heart quailed before the magnitude of the task. From the Malabar Hill marble palace he went to London to practise in the Privy Council. The group that had provided the sterilising counter-moves to every attempt to the progress of India discovered him there. His frustrations took shape. He had missed the leadership of the Indian nation, therefore he must found a nation and become its leader. The escape mechanism was thus put in his hand.

XIV

"Ireland was a poor country in fact but a rich country to sell," said an Irish Judge who had himself profited by the process. So is India. The buyer is rich in resources. "A Barrister," said Carlyle, "is a loaded blunderbuss; if you hire it, you blow out the other man's brains; if he hires it, he blows out yours." Here was Quad-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah who knew Indian politics from A to Z, a lawyer, a clever lawyer at that, suffering from the frustrations of missed leadership. The group—that had been England's evil genius in India—found a kindred spirit very handy.

"It is doubtless difficult for fair-minded persons, acquainted with the enlightened nature of democracy in England, to believe that the British laid aside many scruples in the Empire and exploited and prevented religious, social and political division, in order to keep a firm hold on the colony. But it is no simple task to dominate four hundred million people with a small administrative apparatus and an army and navy. It was a difficult task in view of the rising tide of Indian self-

assertion. The British, therefore, took Indian support where they found it. They took it from puppet Maharajahs—they took it during the war from Communists who secured concrete help from the British administration because, loyal to Moscow instructions, they were the only pro-war party. They utilised Hindu-Muslim differences and Hindu untouchability hostility to bolster their position. They rule because they can divide."—Louis Fischer, *The Great Challenge*, page 168.

"Jinnah told me that 75 per cent of all Moslems in India were formerly Hindus converted to Islam—Nehru put the figure at 95 per cent. In any case, the bulk of the Hindus and the Muslims are of the same racial origin. A Hindu Bengalee is indistinguishable from a Muslim Bengalee in appearance and language. Ethnographically India is much more homogeneous than the Soviet Union or Switzerland and probably than the United States."

"The Viceroy Sir Archibald Wavell, many key British officials I consulted, Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Asad the Muslim President of the Congress, in fact, every person I talked within India—affirmed that there was little or no friction between Hindus and Muslims in the villages and India is 90 per cent village. The Hindu-Muslim problem is a man-made city problem, a problem of the job-poor city."—Louis Fischer, *The Great Challenge*, page 150.

The source that inspired the publication of the Pakistan scheme in Cambridge, the source that scattered anonymous pamphlets known as "Red Pamphlets," in tens of thousands broadcast through Bengal, exciting Muslims to attack the Hindus, in the stormy days of political excitement, could easily, under a clever Muslim spokesman or one of subsidised scheduled-caste speakers, bolster up a movement with its full equipment of twisted history, of group-psychology stimulants, and the technique of Western diplomacy and propaganda. It was found easy to bluff Englishmen at home and to bluff undeveloped sections in India and excite them and thereby to bluff the world. The worst effect was in Bengal. It has already been shown what the constitution, so sedulously camouflaged as democracy, had done in impoverishing the Public Exchequer, in the breakdown of law and order in the Famine of 1942-43, in the corruption of public administration and public morals. The long and scientifically laid down blue-print of civil war was thus worked out in detail with malicious intent. The last 40 years of Indo-British misrule of Bengal forms the darkest chapter of its history. The vindictive rancour with which the Hindus generally and the caste-Hindus in particular were being persecuted is possibly without a parallel in history. Its presentation in full is called for in the interests of the Englishmen at home, of India and of the world.

Bengal stands spiritually shaken today. Its progress has been thwarted. Its economic has been broken up. Its culture has been vulgarised. Its intellect has been suppressed and its emotions smothered. All these have been brought about because the Bengal Hindus generally and the Caste Hindus in particular had striven and fought hard for freedom.

RURAL LIFE IN ENGLAND

By T. K. MOOKERJI

That stranger who would form a correct opinion of English character, must not confine his observations to the metropolis. He must go into the country; he must visit castles, villas, farm-houses, cottages; he must sojourn in villages and hamlets; he must wander through parks and gardens; along hedges and green lanes; he must loiter about country churches; attend fairs, and other rural festivals; and meet the people in all their conditions, and all their habits and humours.

In some countries the large cities absorb the wealth and fashion of the nation; they are the only mixed abodes of elegant and intelligent society, and the country is inhabited almost entirely by boorish peasantry. In England, on the contrary, the metropolis is a mere gathering place, or general rendezvous of the polite classes, where they devote a small portion of the year to a particular hurry of gaiety, and having indulged this kind of carnival, return again to the apparently more congenial habits of rural life. The various orders of society are therefore diffused over the whole surface of the kingdom, and the most retired neighbourhood affords specimens of the different ranks.

The English, in fact, are strongly gifted with the rural feeling. They possess a quick sensibility to the beauties of nature and art, and a very keen relish for the pleasures and enjoyments of the country. This passion seems inherent in them in general. Even the inhabitants of cities, born and brought up among brick-walls and bustling streets, enter with great facility into rural habits, and evince a tact for rural occupation. The merchant has his snug retreat in the vicinity of the metropolis, where he often displays as much pride and zeal in the cultivation of his flower-garden, and the maturing of his fruits, as he does in the conduct of his business and the success of a commercial enterprise. Even those less fortunate individuals, who are doomed to pass their lives in the midst of din and traffic, contrive to have something that shall remind them of the green aspect of nature. In the city the drawing-room window resembles frequently a bank of flowers; every spot capable of vegetation has its grass-plot and flower-bed; and every square its mimic park, laid out with picturesque taste, and gleaming with refreshing verdure.

Those who see the Englishman only in town are apt to form an unfavourable opinion of his social character. He is either absorbed in business, or distracted by the thousand engagements that dissipate time, thought, and feeling in this huge metropolis. He has, therefore, too commonly a look of hurry and abstraction. Wherever he happens to be, he is on the point of going somewhere else; at the moment he is talking on one subject, his mind is wandering to another; and while paying a friendly visit he is calculating how he shall economise time so as to pay other visits in the morning. An immense Metropolis, like London, is calculated to make men active and

smart. In their casual and transient meeting they can but deal most briefly in commonplaces. They present but the cold superficies of general character—its rich and genial qualities have no time to be warmed into a flow.

It is in the country that the Englishman gives vivid scope to his natural feelings. He breaks loose gladly from the cold formalities of the town; throws off his habits of shy reserve, and becomes joyous and free-hearted. He manages to collect round him all the conveniences and elegances of polite life, and to banish its restraints. His country-seats abound with every requisite, either for studious retirement, tasteful gratification, or rural exercise. Books, paintings, music, horses, dogs, and sporting implements of all kinds, are at hand. He puts no constraint either upon his guests or himself, but in the true spirit of hospitality provides all the means of good enjoyment, and leaves everyone to partake according to his inclination.

* * * *

The taste of the English in the cultivation of land, and in what is called landscape gardening, is unrivalled. They have studied Nature intently, and discovered an exquisite sense of beautiful forms and most harmonious combinations. Those charms, which in other countries she lavishes in wild solitudes, are here assembled round the haunts of domestic life. They seem to have caught her coy and furtive graces, and spread them, like witchery, about their rural abodes.

Nothing can be more imposing than the magnificence of English park scenery. Vast lawns that extend like sheets of vivid green, with here and there clumps of gigantic trees, heading up rich piles of foliage; the solemn pomp of groves and woodland glades, with the deer trooping in silent herds across them; the hare bounding away to the covert; or the pheasant, suddenly bursting upon the wing; the brook, taught to wind in natural meanderings, or expand into a glassy-lake; the sequestered pool, reflecting the quivering trees, with the yellow leaf sleeping on its bosom, and the trout roaming fearlessly about its limpid waters, while some rustic temple or statue, grown green and dark with age, gives an air of classic sanctity to the seclusion.

* * * *

These are but a few of the features of a park scenery; but what most delights me, is the creative talent with which the English decorate the abodes of middle life. The rudest habitation, the most unpromising and scanty portion of land, in the hands of an Englishman of taste, becomes undoubtedly a little paradise. With a nicely discriminating eye he seizes at once upon its capabilities, and pictures in his mind the future landscape. The sterile spot grows into loveliness under his hand; and yet the operations of art which produce the effect are scarce to be perceived. The cherishing and training of some trees; the cautious pruning of others; the distribution of flowers and tender and graceful foliage; the introduction of a

green shop of velvet turf, the partial opening to a peep of blue distance, or silver gleam of water; all these are managed with a delicate tact, like the magic touchings with which a painter finishes up a favourite picture.

The residence of people of fortune and refinement in the country has diffused a degree of taste and elegance in rural economy, that descends to the lowest class. The very labourer, with his thatched cottage and narrow slip of ground, attends to their embellishment. The trim hedge, the grass-plot before the door, the little flower-bed bordered with snug box, the woodbine trained up against the wall, and hanging in its blossom about the lattices, the pot of flowers in the window, the holly, providentially planted about the house, to cheat winter of its dreariness, and to throw in a semblance of green summer to cheer the fireside; all these bespeak the influence of taste, flowing down from high sources, and pervading the lowest levels of public mind. If I ever love, as poets sing, delights to visit a cottage, it must be the cottage of an English peasant.

The fondness of rural life among the higher classes of the English has had a great and salutary effect upon the national character. Instead of the softness and effeminacy which characterise the men of rank in most countries they exhibit a union of elegance and strength, a robustness of frame and freshness of complexion, which I am inclined to attribute to their living so much in the open air, and pursuing so eagerly the invigorating recreations of the country. These hardy exercises produce also a healthful tone of mind and spirits, and a manliness and simplicity of manners, which even the follies and dissipations of the town can't easily pervert, and can never entirely destroy. In the country, too, the different orders of society seem to approach more freely, to be more disposed to blend and operate favourably upon each other. The distinctions between them do not appear to be so marked and impassable as in the cities.

In rural occupation there is nothing mean and debasing. It leads a man forth among scenes of natural grandeur and beauty; it leaves him to the workings of his own mind, operated upon by the purest and most elevating of external influences. Such a man may be simple or rough, but he can't be vulgar. The man of refinement, therefore finds nothing revolting in an intercourse with the lower orders in rural life, as he does when he casually mingles with the lower orders of the cities. He lays aside his distance and reserve, and is glad to waive the distinctions of rank, and to enter into the honest heart-felt enjoyments of common life. Indeed the very amusements of the country bring men more and more together; and the sound of the hound and horn blend all feelings of harmony. I earnestly believe that this is one great reason why the nobility and gentry are more popular among the inferior orders in England than they are in any other country; and why the latter have endured so many excessive pressures and extremities, without repining more generally at the unequal distribution of fortune and privilege.

To this mingling of cultivated and rustic society may also be attributed the rural feeling that runs through British literature; the frequent use of illustrations from rural life; those incomparable descriptions of nature that abound in the British poets and philosophers, that have continued to carry down from *The Flower and the Leaf* of Chaucer, fragrance of the dewy landscape. The pastoral writers of other countries appear as if they had paid Nature an occasional visit, and become acquainted with her general charms; but the British poets and philosophers have lived and revelled with her—they have wooed her in her most secret haunts—they have watched her minutest caprices. A spray couldn't tremble in the breeze—a leaf could not rustle to the ground—a diamond drop could not patter in the stream—a fragrance couldn't exhale from the humble violet, nor even a daisy unfold its crimson tints to the morning, but it has been noticed by these impassioned and delicate observers of natural thoughts and sentiments, and wrought up into some beautiful morality.

The effect of this devotion of elegant minds to rural occupations has been wonderful on the face of the country. A great part of the island is rather level, and would be monotonous, were it not for the charms of culture and art: but it is studded and gemmed, as it were, with castles and palaces, and embroidered with parks and gardens. It doesn't abound in grand and sublime prospects, but rather in little home scenes of rural repose and sheltered quiet. Every antique farmhouse and moss-grown cottage is an excellent picture, as the roads are continually winding, and the view is shut in by a continual succession of small landscape of captivating loveliness.

The great charm, however, of English scenery is the moral feeling that seems to pervade it. It is associated in the mind with ideas of order, of quiet, of sober, well-established principles, or hoary usage and revered custom. Everything seems to be the growth of ages of regular and peaceful existence. The old church of remote architecture, with its low, massive portal, its tower, its windows rich with tracery and painted glass, in scrupulous preservation; its stately monuments of warriors and worthies of the olden time, ancestors of the present soil; its tombstones, recording successive generations of sturdy yeomanry, whose progeny still plough the same fields, and kneel at the same altar—the parsonage, a quaint irregular pile, partly antiquated, but repaired and altered in the tastes of various ages and occupants—the footpath leading from the churchyard, across pleasant fields, and long shady hedge-rows according to an immemorial right of way—the neighbouring village, with its venerable cottages, its public green sheltered by trees, under which the forefathers of the present race have sported—the antique family mansion, standing apart in some little rural domain, but looking down with a protecting air of surrounding scene; all these common features of English landscape evince a calm and settled security, and hereditary transmission of homebred virtues and local attachments, that speak deeply and touchingly for the moral character of the nation.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS BECOME INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC ON JULY 4, 1946

July 4, 1946, ushers in a new era for the Philippines, for on this day in keeping with the United States pledge, the Islands become a sovereign republic. The date was set more than ten years ago in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, and World War Two has not been allowed to delay independence.



The late President Roosevelt signing the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934 granting the Philippines independence

From the beginning five decades ago, the United States extended control over the islands after the Spanish-American War in 1898, independence was set as the goal by both the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States. Beginning with the Organic Act passed by the U. S. Congress in 1902, which provided for a general election and a bicameral legislature, Congress further extended the Filipinos' governmental powers under the Jones Act in 1916, and in 1935 under the Tydings-McDuffie Act passed a year earlier, the Philippine Commonwealth was set up in preparation for complete independence in 1946.

The Philippine Islands cover an area in the western Pacific a little smaller than the British Isles—4,000 square miles. Although they comprise more than 7,000 islands, only 2,773 have names and only 462 have an area of one square mile or more. The northernmost island is 65 miles from Formosa and the southernmost 30 miles from Borneo. By occupying these islands the Japanese attempted to set up a defensive wall protecting the whole east coast of Asia.

The Philippines are mountainous and in the larger islands the ranges, volcanic in origin, are continuous and reach a height of 10,000 feet. Large rivers are few, small streams many.

The 1939 census gave the population of the Philippines as 16 million, with Filipinos numbering 15,800,000. Of the foreign population the Chinese led with 117,000. There

are 43 ethnographic groups, speaking 87 languages and dialects.

Education in the Philippines is free, secular and co-educational. In 1941 there were 12,000 public schools and 439 private schools and colleges. The population is 48 per cent literate on the basis of Tagalog, which is the national language, and English.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

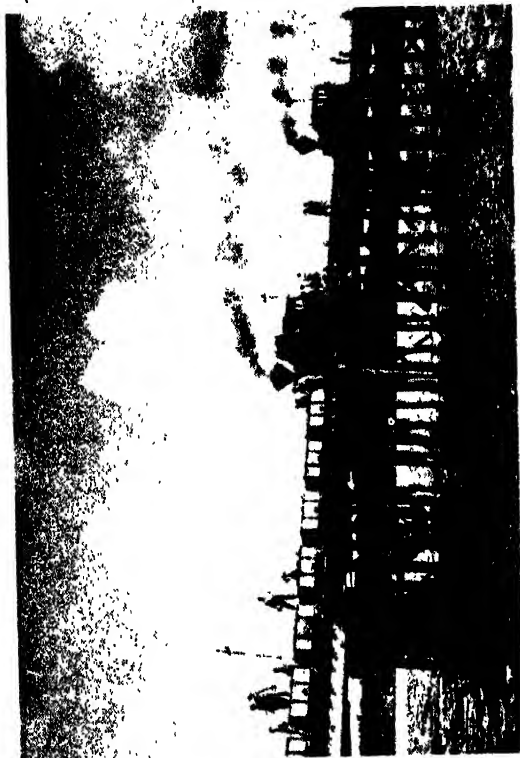
The Philippines are primarily agricultural, though little more than 12 per cent of their area, half of which is wooded, is cultivated. Eighty per cent of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The Islands before the war ranked fifth in the world's sugar production, have one of the world's great stands of timber and enjoy virtually a world monopoly of hemp.

More than three years of Japanese occupation, pillaging and destruction have changed economic conditions in the Islands. The acreage of rice had to be drastically reduced owing to the loss of 40 per cent of the *carabaos*, the sturdy water buffalo, without which rice cultivation is almost impossible. The great export industries—sugar, copra, abaca and tobacco—which were the Philippines' most important pre-war sources of revenue, were badly damaged.

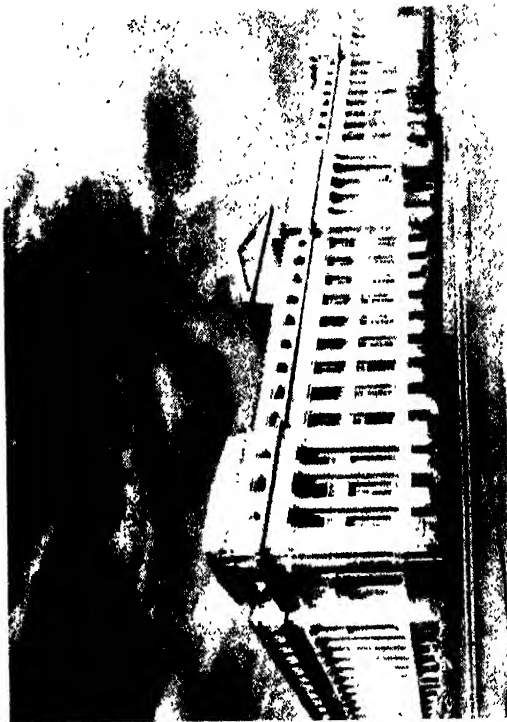


The Pasig River, which winds through the heart of Manila, carries much small shipping

In April, 1946, two major steps were taken by the United States to bolster the Philippines in their acquisition of independence on July 4. They are the enactment of



Iron ore being hauled out to the pier, Luzon, Philippine Islands



The legislative building at Manila



The Escolta, main business street of Manila, capital of Philippines



This is an aerial view of the old walled city in Manila

the Philippines Rehabilitation Act and the Bell Trade Act. These bills take cognizance of the double task of guiding the Philippine economy towards the self-sufficiency of a sovereign people—formidable enough under normal conditions—and rehabilitation.



A tiny coconut farm in Luzen

The Philippine Rehabilitation Act provides for compensation of 450 million dollars in war damages. Of this 330 million dollars is allocated to private property, beginning with the reconstruction of the building materials industry and elementary production facilities. The rest of the appropriation provides for the restitution of public property, such as government buildings, schools, hospitals and roads.

In addition, 30 million dollars worth of war surplus property are to be turned over to the Philippine administration. Subsidiary programs are to be undertaken with funds allocated by the U. S. President from unexpected

appropriations. Under this heading airplanes, and ships for fishing and transport will be made available.

TARIFF BENEFITS PROVIDED

The restoration of the former productive facilities alone would not fully solve the economic problems of the Philippines as an independent state. The economic progress of the Islands was based to a large extent on the duty-free exchange of goods with the United States, which resulted in wages and living standards well above the Orient average.



Drying Manila hemp at Jolo

To avoid the disruptive effects of a sudden withdrawal of tariff benefits, the Bell Trade Relations Act provides for duty-free imports of Philippine goods for eight years subject to quotas (for example, 760,000 tons of sugar, six million pounds of cordage, 200 million cigars, 6,500,000 lb. of tobacco). Tariffs would be introduced from 1954, with a levy of five per cent of the regular duty, to be increased by yearly steps of five per cent until the full duty is levied— which will not be till 1974.

As a further step in the program to aid Philippine rehabilitation, the United States is sending an agricultural mission to the Islands to advise on actions to meet the emergency problems and on the long-range steps to be taken to raise production and consumption levels, build purchasing power and higher living standards and make order out of chaos in the nation's economy. The mission will also indicate in what manner the United States can collaborate to expedite the rehabilitation program.—*USIS*



IN THE DESERTS OF AFRICA

By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

AFRICA can no longer be claimed as a game for adventurous European Powers. The Pan-African Congress may not have been fully representative in the sense its title would suggest, but its voice has always been the voice of Africa's teeming millions, the expression of the collective thought of the African Youth who are the initiators of the future. The *Negro World* has stimulated a movement among the Negroes of Africa to make Negro consciousness stand out defiantly against White domination.



African women making cosmetics

Although very little is known in India about the magnificence of African deserts, yet artists and travellers have provided interesting accounts to readers. I went to Africa at a time when the German submarine menace during World War I was at its worst off the Indian Ocean and the use of ships accordingly was curtailed for transport of troops and war materials from India into the hinterlands of Africa.

The troop-ship in which I sailed for Africa landed me on the big East African harbour Dar-es-salaam. Climbing past the forests and villages of Kenya and the Sudan, which are linked with the epic Middle Age and bearing indelible marks of the ever-changing phenomena of varied historical influences, the Sahara and the Lybian Deserts have been a source of inspiration to many poets, historians and warriors alike. A cross-country drive along the left bank of the Nile unfolds a thrilling, ennobling spectacle of vast masses of brick and stone with inner chambers and subterranean entrances. Silhouetted against the dark blue sky in the distant background you see the Great Pyramid built by Cheops, the Egyptian king for his tomb and there he was buried. It is supposed to have been originally enclosed in a marble casing and has a height of 480 feet and its base 764 feet square. Lying majestically between the Sudan and the Barbary States and extending up to the Atlantic coast you come across large, barren, uninhabited tracts of the country which are noted for lions, snakes, and elephants. It is stated that in the Lybian and Nubias Deserts and in the jungles surrounding them lions and elephants are found

in abundance. Outmatching the grandeur of large towns and cities, the Lybian and Nubian Deserts, after dusk, present an idyllic sight in which one appears to live in a dreamland with lights now glimmering, now brightening in the dense shrubbery of the woods.

In most of the deserts of Africa you will find the tall yellow-brown people with lightly tufted hair, lobeless ears, narrow eyelids, dry skin that tends to become wrinkled with old age, and the singular ability to defend their women-folk and children from enemy raids; in addition to their own racial peculiarity some of these natives have both Arab and Mongol characteristics. The people of the deserts are nomads living without livestock, agriculture or permanent dwellings, moving as the seasons change in a never-ending search for food and water. These negroes are said to be the most primitive people of the world. For centuries they have been victims of powerful White domination. These white people moved into their area and later butchered thousands of them during the raids in their hunt for slaves, ivory and gold. Livingstone pictured this tragedy in most pathetic terms. "Blood, blood, everywhere," he wailed. Africa was bleeding to death. Nearly two million souls a year were carried elsewhere as slaves in Livingstone's days. This increasing slave traffic of the Royal Niger Company, the East African Company and the



A king cobra, East Africa

Chartered Company made it inevitable to add over one million square miles with more than twenty-five million inhabitants to the British Empire. Today the inhabitants of Africa are protected by social and political mandates. Their leaders like Khama, Burghardt Du Bois, Prof.

IN THE DESERTS OF AFRICA

Davidson Don Tengo Jabava have tried to bring in drastic changes in the lives of the African people. An intense race-consciousness has been aroused in the minds of the

African and the American negroes. Divided by thousands of miles of land (and in the case of the American negro by three thousand miles of water) they are yet one in their cry of liberty and self-determination.

The surviving wild tribes of Africa are divided into many groups who speak the same dialect, and live in collective families in their desert hunting grounds. Each tribe consists of several big families often polygamous, who travel together within a large, well-defined area which they consider to be their absolute property. They camp in small, temporary grass huts which serve as their only shelter from the sun and wind. The oldest and the wisest hunter of the group acts as a benevolent chief. Although the members of a tribe are not governed by formal laws, their group life has a definite pattern and organisation. Their customs are based on the necessity for doing certain things in certain ways in order to survive in a harsh



The native hunters of East African desert



A desert chief, Central Africa



A group of hunters with desert dogs environment. If a man kills an animal, he must share its meat with the whole group, but if he finds some ostrich eggs or wild melons, he may keep them for himself and his family. Although every African learns at an early age to be self-sufficient, there is some specialization with each tribe. Men are the hunters, butchers, tailors and farmers of the tribe. Women are the food gatherers and cooks. Children have no special task to perform, but by helping their parents and watching them work they learn how to do things that will be expected of them when they grow up.

When food and water are plentiful, African children lead pleasant, easy lives with few rules and regulations to hamper them. Like all children, they invent games to play and burn up their excess energy in violent acrobatics. Like all children, they also have a deep interest in the

things their elders do and are eager to learn from them. Adolescent boys follow grown-up persons, who often try to teach them tricks of stalking and hunting. Little girls help to prepare family meals and go into the veldt with the women to learn how food is found and collected. Children have little formal instruction, but they have plenty of opportunity to learn the things they must know to become self-reliant. When night comes, they sit around

It is rich in natural resources and raw materials, especially in her forest wealth in the equatorial forests in the East and the West, with ebony, acacia, mahogany, bamboo etc. With the development of irrigation and with an industrious and civilised population, Africa can become a great producer of foodstuffs and raw materials especially cotton, rubber, maize, etc. Though much of the northern Africa is arid and desert and a large area in the Central Africa marshy and covered with tropical jungles, the vast stretches of fertile savanna, lying between the two and well-suited to agriculture and stock-raising, are really a region of great promise.



Dancing in sun-light is not distressing to the people of Central Africa

a fire with their elders, listening to an old man's stories. They begin to understand that the tribe is a united group to which they belong and without which they cannot live.

Through the many centuries of their dependence on wild games, the natives in wastelands of Africa have acquired an amazing ability to follow a spoor across the trackless desert and to move quickly and invisibly across open specks. Their weapons are primitive, but they use them well. Most Africans favour poisoned arrows, which are effective against the great variety of desert games ranging from fleet jockals to big, lumbering gemsbok. But the poisoned arrow has a disadvantage. It works slowly and sometimes lets a wounded beast escape into the hunting territory of another tribe where the hunters dare not follow. African hunters are tireless. Occasionally a hunter simply trots along after his prey until the animal collapses from exhaustion, whereupon he overtakes it and clubs it to death. But in some deserts the African hunter prefers to let the dogs bring an animal to bay in the open desert, then close in to kill it with a spear.

The most striking feature about Africa is that it offers a variety of climate, scenery and natural vegetation.

A considerable number of Africans are intermixed with the Arabs; they have Arab blood and profess Islam. This is especially so in the northern and eastern Africa where the Muslims form the bulk of the population. In the Central and Western Africa the vast majority of the people are nomads. They comprise many tribes like the Maoris, Shilukas, Dinkas etc. and are very backward and lazy, though in recent years many of them have taken to settled agriculture with the facilities afforded by the Protectorates.

Africa is a very big continent by itself with a population of about sixty-



Members of African Communities League

four million Negroes which is sparse when compared to India. The defence and easy development of so vast and backward a country would be rather difficult for the Africans for some time to come with its present population, economic resources, technical skill and military prowess. But negro-politicians have devoted much thought on the economic and cultural aspects of the African tribes, like the establishment of a uniform educational system and type of learning, and unity among various tribes of Africa with the object of safeguarding

their common interests and achievement of independence. Marcus Garvey, the creator of the Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League with the *Negro World* as its organ, hurled the following sentences at an audience of twenty-five thousand Negroes :

"What is good for the whiteman is equally good for the negro, namely, freedom, liberty, and equality. We have no apology, no compromise to offer. If the Englishman claims England, the Frenchman France, the Italians Italy as their native habitat, then the negroes claim Africa and will shed blood for their claim. We shall draw up a bill of rights for all negro races, with a constitution to govern their destinies."

Then he clinched his argument with the following sentence :

"The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and that will be the negroes' opportunity to draw sword for Africa's redemption."

It is wise to avoid prophecy, but judging merely by



The Writer

facts one can see that the future history of Africa will not be smooth and peaceful.

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POTATO FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES

In American meal planning the potato occupies the position that rice does in India. The average American family does not feel as if the meal has been complete unless potatoes are part of it. The American housewife uses the same ingenuity in cooking potatoes as the Indian mother does in the preparation of rice. They may arrive

Maine, the most northern of the United States on the east coast, is famous for its rocky shores, its pine trees,



This is the method of cutting and planting seed potatoes as practised on the Levesque farm

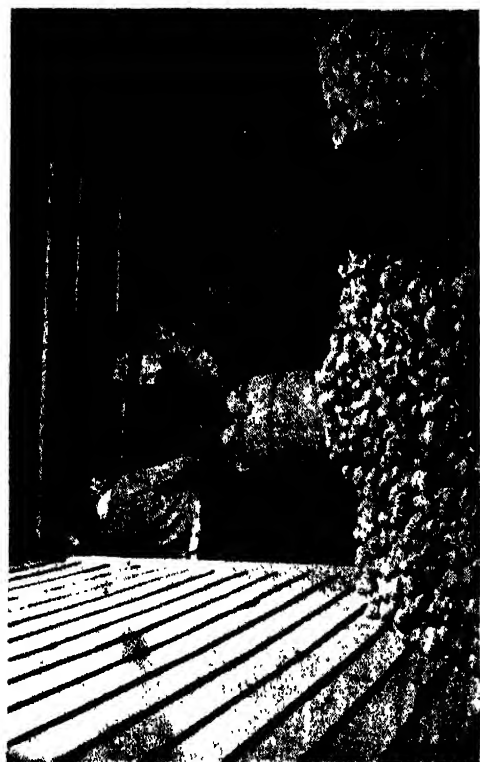
at the table fried, mashed, baked, boiled, creamed, in salad or in any other of countless forms, but the important thing is that they do arrive. Considering this habitual consumption of the potatoes it is not surprising that it is one of America's largest vegetable crops.

Potato farms are scattered throughout the United States but the two states best known for their potato crops are Idaho and Maine. Most of Idaho's surface is arid though extensive irrigation produced 32,800,000 bushels of spuds from 124,000 acres of land in 1940.



Harvesting seed potatoes, Maine

lakes and blue-berry covered hills. The first settlers in Maine made a fine living from the rich resources of fish and lumber they found, but gradually the forests were thinned, and as the population increased farmers replaced the woodman.



Storing potatoes at the Woodman Company warehouse in Caribou, Maine



A tractor-drawn potato-digger in a field of the Woodman Potato Company near Caribou, Maine



Arrostock potatoes are the best in the world



The farmer takes potatoes that do not come up to specification to the starch factory

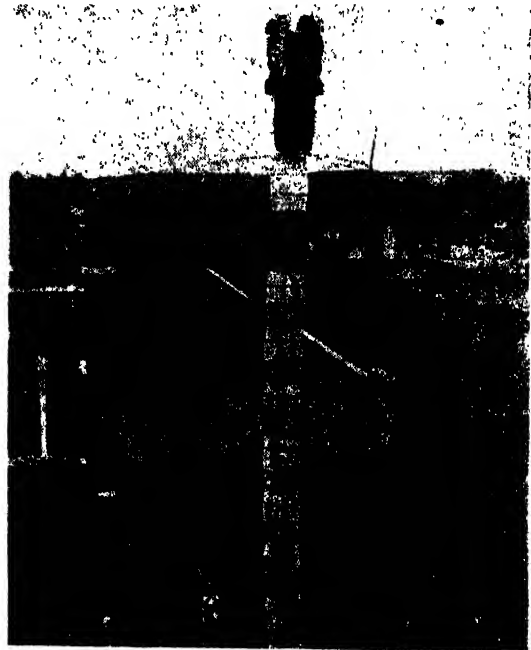
In the northern part of the state is a flat fertile plain covering 165,000 acres, Aroostock County, the source of most Maine potatoes. Its soil and climate are especially suited to the raising of potatoes and they were cultivated widely by the first farmers to settle in the area. Starch factories, which process potatoes below market standards, were built in the middle of the last century but the county did not reach national importance as a potato center until 1894, when the Aroostock railroad was completed. Maine now raises 12 per cent of the United States potato crop, ranks first among the states in number of bushels produced, sixth in number of acres under cultivation. More than half the cash value of Maine's total farm production is invested in her spuds.

The size of Aroostock's potato farms varies considerably, some of the smaller units covering only 30 to 40 acres while the big mechanized enterprises may be 600 to 1000 acres. Most of the farm work is done by French Canadians; just north of Aroostock lies the French Canadian province of Quebec, and many Canadian farmers have crossed the border bringing with them their culture and customs.

Every one in Aroostock is interested in potatoes; schools in the area do not open until the harvest season is over so that the children can help in the fields. Harvesting must be done before the cold weather, for potatoes are perishable and must be kept at an even temperature. Family groups occasionally hire themselves out during the picking season, and father, mother and children travel from farm to farm. The large farm crops are more often harvested by crews of hired pickers who go from one field to the next or, in the case of the largest farms, are hired for the season.

Farms with the greatest amount of mechanical equipment have produced the highest yields per acre, and the smaller independent potato farmers were at the mercy of the crop for a long time—in bad years it was almost impossible for them to break even. To offset the dangers of one crop planting, the Farm Security Administration has introduced beef cattle as a supplementary source of income. The FSA has made considerable progress, moreover, in the fight against bacterial wilt, and other potato diseases, and

the system of isolated seed foundation units has helped to give Maine the highest per-acre potato production of any state.



The "Potato" pole standing in the main street of Presque Isle advertises the Barrel Rolling Contest

Potatoes grown from Maine to Idaho, potatoes baked, boiled, roasted, fried; hash brown potatoes, potato chips. When England was hungry she used potato flour to bake her bread. Now that America, too, is conserving food for her own use and to help feed other peoples abroad, Americans are urged to exploit the potato crop. urged to store potatoes in extra rooms and attics, wherever there is an empty, cool space, to release other food for shipment all over the world.—USIS.

—O—

ROBERT BROWNING (1812-1889)

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

In a large gloomy house in a fashionable quarter of London, an invalid had lain for years on a couch. Here was an ethereal beauty; she was pale, with large brilliant eyes. Her quick flashing smile revealed her eagerness to taste the life that lay beyond the threshold of her sick-room. But her father sternly insisted that she must remain confined within that great dismal house. The lovely fragile creature on her couch wrote poetry, some of which was published; and so the name of Elizabeth Barrett became known to those people who were eager to acclaim new voices in literature.

In one of her poems, Elizabeth gave a word of praise to a book she had read. This was the work of another poet, Robert Browning; and he was so charmed with the compliment that he ventured to write to her. So there began one of the greatest romances in literature, for the two poets met and fell passionately in love. Their troubles began when Elizabeth's father objected to any suggestion of their marriage.

The stern Mr. Barrett did not like Robert Browning. Besides, he wanted Elizabeth to be always at home with him. It was not as if Elizabeth were a young girl, unable

to make up her own mind about the affair; and the domineering attitude of her father made her all the more determined that her love would not be shattered.

Secretly, Robert Browning and Elizabeth laid their plans. On a September morning, when Mr. Barrett was out, they slipped away to a nearby church and were married. By the time Elizabeth's father realized that she had disappeared from her usual place upon the couch, the young couple were well on their way to Paris. Travelling through France, they arrived in Italy, where they made their home.



Robert Browning

By this time, Browning had written a considerable number of important poems. Even as a boy of twelve, he had been busily writing verses, and had decided that he would devote his life to poetry. His first published work, *Pauline*, was produced at the age of twenty—a long poem, that is warm with the ardent fires of youth. It reveals many of the characteristics of his later works, and in it we can see the striving of the human soul for perfection which was to animate so much of his poetry in the years to come. A number of other works followed, including the famous *Sordello* and *Pippa Passes*, as well as a few dramas in verse.

There was, indeed, a time when Browning thought that his main development would be as a writer of verse dramas for the stage; but lack of theatrical success showed him where his true path lay; and he developed his dramatic sense in the verse monologues by which he is best known. In these poems, he tells a story through the life of some person, imaginary or historical, whose character has fascinated him: in *Picture of Guinevere*, for example, he makes an unknown painter of sixteenth-century Florence use the language of life in a way that is pregnant with meaning and has its own strange sense of actuality. The number of such lyrical monodramas that he wrote is

extraordinary, and each one is a cleanly-cut gem utterly different from the others in that box of glowing jewels.

The middle portion of Browning's life, the years of supreme happiness which he spent with his wife in Italy, was the time when he wrote most of his finest poetry. They had a beautiful house in Florence, where they revelled in the Italian sunshine and they made pilgrimages to other towns where they could enjoy the beauties of painting and sculpture.

Browning was one of the most cosmopolitan of English poets, for he placed the scene of many of his poems outside his native shores. But his love for his own land comes out strikingly every now and then, as in his lines:

*Oh, to be in England
Now that April's there,
And whoever wakes in England
Sees, some morning unaware,
That the lowest boughs and the brushwood sheaf
Round the elm-tree bole are in tiny life,
While the chaffinch sings on the orchard bough
In England—now!*

As for Elizabeth, her health had greatly improved, and she had written poems that have placed her among the very greatest English women poets—if, indeed, she is not the greatest of all, as Browning himself thought. Her death, after fifteen years of almost unbroken happiness, was a shattering blow to him, and for two years he was in despair.

The lonely and saddened man turned to his work for solace; and still under the influence of his wife's great love he wrote his longest and most important work, *The Ring and the Book*. How this came to be written is a romance in itself, and the story of its origin adds to our enjoyment of a narrative that is full of colour and suspense and dramatic action. Browning returned to England and settled down to work in London. It is significant that his later work suffered from the lack of Elizabeth's inspiration and critical advice, and many of his last poems have passages that are obscure and difficult, although all of them are built upon the strong foundation of Browning's virile philosophy of life. He was an optimist who regarded pessimism as a deadly sin. He believed that life should be lived strenuously, and that the casting out of evil was a necessary process of the soul's development. On the last page of his last book, *Asolando*, published on the day of his death, he speaks in his own robust way of:

One who never turned his back but marched breast
forward,

Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong
would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

That is the authentic Browning note—a clarion call to labour!

That call has today a greater potency and value than ever; for in the years immediately before us, a new and better world is waiting to be built by the labour of men who, in the poet's words, will march breast forward.

ACHARYA JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE

In Memorium

By ASUTOSH BAGCHI

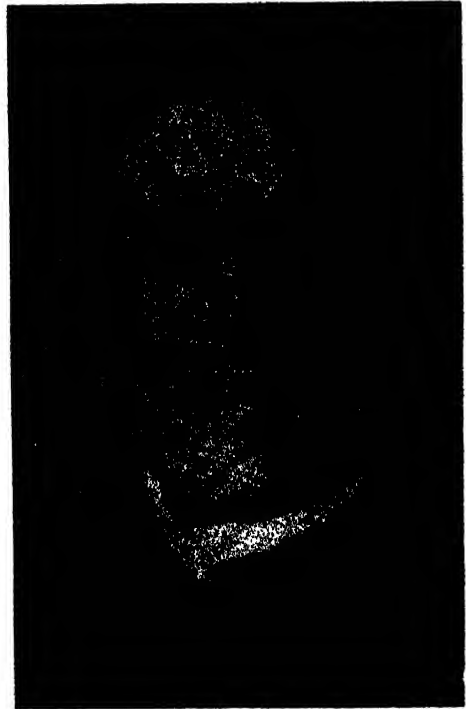
On the 30th November nine and eighty years ago was born a child in an eastern riverine district of Bengal, now known as Eastern Pakistan. On the immediate eve of his birth a mighty insurrection convulsed Northern India from end to end for tearing off the foreign fetters from her feet. This has been recorded by interested English chroniclers as a mere mutiny of Sepoys in their Indian Army. This child, it seems, was born with a spirit of revolt in his blood. In his manhood, quite unlike his forbears, he left the stereotyped course of life of ease and comfort and started on an untrodden and wearisome path in quest of Truth in a region neglected by his countrymen for centuries. Fortunately, in the ripeness of time gods favoured him with laurels of world renown. He was no other than Sir J. C. Bose whom his countrymen reverently called Acharya Jagadishchandra.

That he was the pioneer in the field of scientific research in India in the modern age and was one of the foremost men of science of his days, and was the precursor of wireless telegraphy, prior to its later development and perfection by Marconi, are well-known facts. It is known to many what overwhelming difficulties this sturdy young scientist being born as a member of a subject nation had to struggle with and overcome to open up opportunities of scientific research for Indian scholars in the laboratories of the Calcutta Presidency College and what almost insurmountable hurdles he had to cross to firmly establish his indisputable claims as the forerunner of Plant Physiology. Perhaps it is known only to a limited few that a millionaire proprietor of a telegraph company personally approached the scientist with a patent form in his hand and pointed out to him (Sir J. C.) that there was money in it, and he (the millionaire) might be allowed to take out a patent for him; he would finance it and would take half share in the profit. He also besought him not to disclose the whole thing in his lecture to be delivered a short while after on his newly invented wireless apparatus. Idealist Jagadishchandra—a dreamer of great dreams—quietly turned down the tempting offer.

Acharya Jagadishchandra founded and handsomely endowed the Bose Research Institute at Calcutta with his life's savings and finally dedicated it to the nation on 30th November, 1917 so that Indian scholars could carry on their exploration of the mysteries of the Universe. He deprived himself of many creature comforts and his noble spouse voluntarily shared in this self-imposed privation. Together they lived a very plain life. In this way he scraped together every pie from his small income as a professor in the Calcutta Presidency College (of which he was the Emeritus Professor to the last day of his life) and could lay by thirteen lacs of rupees to endow his Institute. The Institute is no mere conglomeration of brick and mortar; it is a temple—a beautiful creation of the imaginative mind of the artist who lurked behind the scientist.

What a keen aesthete and lover of the beautiful the scientist was is known only to those who have visited the Bose Research Institute at Calcutta and the 'Mayapuri' at

Darjeeling and have cared to view with the eyes of a connoisseur the beautifully laid-out garden and lawn, the structures around them after the styles of Sanchi, Ellora and Ajanta, the paintings adorning their walls and the artistically designed furniture and other decorations inside them.



Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose

But the memories uppermost in our mind today are those of the patriot Jagadishchandra who was nationalist to the core, who passionately loved his country and did all that he could in his own unobtrusive manner for her regeneration and liberation. He was intensely Indian in everything, in his habits and habiliments. Unlike most of his fellow-Indians he was never known to have attired himself in the manner of a European while sojourning abroad or giving discourses before scientific bodies and distinguished learned associations in Europe and America. He liked cultivation of masculine qualities by his fellow-countrymen. His adoration of the heroes of the *Mahabharata* who incarnated such virtues made him invite the famous artist Nandalal Bose to paint for him some episodes from the great epic. Those paintings are still to be seen on the walls of Sir J. C.'s sitting room. One will also find there the famous picture of "Mother India" from the brush of the Master Abanindranath Tagore. In his earlier days he made long and frequent pilgrimages to places of historical, religious and cultural interest throughout the length and breadth of this vast sub-continent. He had taken photographs of temples, shrines and frescoes long before many educated and even cultured men of those

days had any knowledge of their existence. The lifelong friendship and deep attachment between Bose and Tagore, two immortal sons of mother India, are a common knowledge to the people of Bengal. The two kindred spirits mingled many of their thoughts and activities for the uplift of the nation. Sister Nivedita who spent her rare intellectual and spiritual energies in the service of India was an ardent admirer of Acharya Jagadis and she spent many of her days almost as a member of the family of Acharya Jagadis at his residence at Calcutta and Darjeeling.

What gnawed at his soul was the humiliation of political subjection and all the indignities inherent in it. The following passage from one of his writings best expresses his feeling in the matter :

"Man expresses his joy and sorrow in the language he learns on his mother's lap. About thirty years ago a few of my scientific and other essays were written in the mother tongue. Then I started investigations into electric waves and life and in that connection have got entangled in very many controversies. The tribunals in these cases are in foreign lands. Protests and counter-protests are acceptable there through the media of European languages.

"What else can be more humiliating in national life than this ?"

-:O:-

In this connection it may be suggested that the authorities of the Bose Research Institute will be only doing a sacred duty by bringing out the Bengali writings of the Acharya in a collected volume which deserves careful study by the Bengali-speaking people.

To our misfortune and sorrow it is now several years that Jagadischandra has left us. Had he been living today how greatly he would have rejoiced at the liberation of his and our motherland after nearly two centuries of foreign servitude.

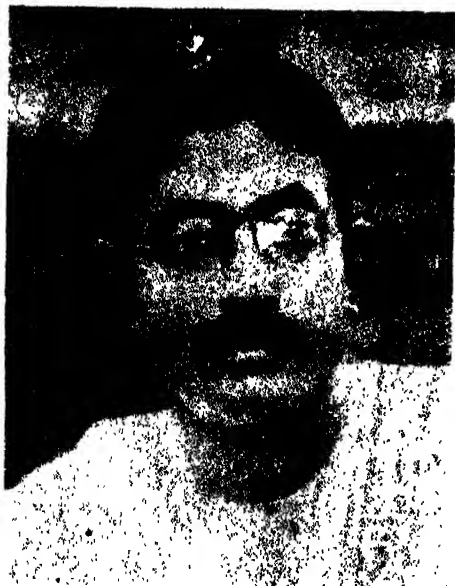
* "মানুষ মাতৃকোড়ে যে ভাষা শিক্ষা করে সে ভাষাতেই সে আপনাত্মক সুখদুঃখ জ্ঞাপন করে। প্রায় ত্রিশ বৎসর পূর্বে আমার বৈজ্ঞানিক ও অন্যান্য কয়েকটি প্রবন্ধ মাতৃভাষাতেই লিখিত হইয়াছিল। তাহার পর বিযুক্ত-তরংগ ও জীবন সম্বন্ধে অনু-সন্ধান আরম্ভ করিয়াছিলাম এবং সেই উপলক্ষে বিবিধ সামল-মোকদ্দমায় জড়িত হইয়াছি। এ বিষয়ের আদালত বিদেশে। সেখানে বাদ-প্রতিবাদ কেবল ইউরোপীয় ভাষাতেই গৃহীত হইয়া থাকে।

"জাতীয় জীবনের পক্ষে ইহা অপেক্ষা অপমান আর কি হইতে পারে ?"

THE LATE AMBUJ NATH BANERJI

By A. G.

A career full of scholarly and social activities in many fields and promise of high achievements has been cut



Ambuj Nath Banerji

short by the death on the 29th October, 1947, at the age of 49, of S. Ambuj Nath Banerji, eldest son of S.

Sikhar Nath Banerji and Srijukta Anurupa Debi. Ambuj Nath had a uniformly brilliant academic career and besides being a First Class M.A. of the Patna University, stood first in the First Class in the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University in Ancient Indian History and Culture. His researches on ancient Indian economies won for him the Premchand Roychand Studentship. He thereafter joined the Calcutta High Court and built up a good practice as an Advocate. To a profound knowledge of ancient India's history, numismatics, archaeology and the Fine Arts, he added the accomplishments of a linguist and was equally at home in Sanskrit, Pali, French and German. His *European Military Adventurers in India* appeared in instalments in *Vichitra*, a Bengali monthly magazine. He had collected materials for a volume on Asoka, while his notes on ancient Indian numismatics are so valuable that they should be published in book form for the benefit of scholars. He was Vice-President of the Banipith, President of the Management Committee of the Anurupa Balika Vidyalaya, worked wholeheartedly for the I.N.A.C. during the Calcutta disturbances, helped in the evacuation of refugees after the Noaklali riots, took an active part in the movement for separation of West Bengal. His charity was equally unostentatious. His unassuming and amiable disposition endeared him to all who came in contact with him. To his mother, Srijukta Anurupa Debi, he was not merely a devoted son, but a friend and an invaluable assistant in her literary work.

CURRY POWDER

By HIRANMAY GHOSHAL

ONE grey wintry morning when the entire sky above Warsaw seemed to be paring away in showers of snow, Samir Ray who had been convalescing from a nasty attack of grippé, lay snugly tucked up under a thick eiderdown, experiencing patriotic pangs of nostalgia. In all probability his mind was hovering between the conscious and unconscious, a state which you can work yourself up to if you are habitually religious, or are accustomed to snoozing in a public vehicle, with a vague awareness of your destination. The cup of coffee left near an open pane of his window, had long frozen into a cup of ice with coffee flavour. Samir's disembodied spirit had meanwhile taken a stool and sat in a kitchen, thousands of miles away, decorated with cobwebs of soot and the cook's slippery napkin and besmeared with sacred bovine excrement.

Something was happening in the kitchen, of which Samir was not fully aware. Some invisible hand was busy concocting the dishes which remained vivid in his visual self after years of estrangement. Presto! There were metal pots full of bitter gourd in grey sauce, mashed and sweetened spinach, curry of dried pulse-paste, pumpkin and prawn, curry of jack-fruit, of cabbage and of gourd, of carp and of eels, pea-soup with fish's head, goat's meat curry, fried rice with fried cubes of fresh cheese etc., etc.

True, all these were not available in London, but you could get as many of the ingredients as you wished, and prepared just an ordinary dish or two without going into trouble over it. Pea-soup with fish's head, curried potatoes of a hash-up of radish, potato-peelings, spinach, brinjal, beans, spring onions and diminutive prawns, savoured with mustard oil which remained at the bottom of a bottle of condiment of sour Indian olives, were at any rate things for which you did not have to run all the way to Barker's at Piccadilly. The grocer's just round the corner kept tins of curry powder, Bengal curry, Madras curry and Malay curry, small 4 oz. tins and large 1 lb. tins. If you couldn't procure mustard oil then there was an abundance of olive oil as a substitute.

Soon after arriving at Warsaw, Samir had enquired at almost all the important grocers' of the city, but could find no trace of either curry powder or any kitchen explosives simulating it. Then after a thorough ransacking of the University and the Public Library with the help of a professor of Botany he had at last discovered the Latin name of *haldi—curcuma longa*. Failing to trace the existence of this as well in all shops of every description including haberdashers' and book-sellers', he had at last tried at the largest chemist's just off chance. And lo! there it was inside a lustrous glass case in a coloured bottle with curved neck, with *curcuma longa* written on it in ornamental letters; which was an indication that the medicament was held in high regard. The girl assistant delicately and reverently tipped the neatly cut tiny yellow cubes into a dainty little paper bag and weighed

the contents on an apothecary's pair of scales to half an ounce, adding one cube after another until the balance was strictly horizontal. Samir had tried all his deadly missiles for discomfiting the fair sex, namely, artificial boyish simplicity, flashing glances of a young genius, facetious remarks. But no, her heart would not melt. Wearing as dignified and serious a look as became her spotless, starched apron she had put the little paper bag before Samir, and clearing her throat a little had said bashfully "That'll cure your child of its worms. Please, when you come next time bring your doctor's prescription. You see, we aren't really expected to sell such medicaments without a doctor's prescription."

Samir had compounded some cayenne and Colman's mustard with half an ounce of that ingredient and had cooked a saucepanful of mutton, after consuming which his Polish friends and amies frankly confessed that they never before had tasted such first class Hungarian *goulash*.

The day was such that had it by some accident appeared in Calcutta, the Bengali housewives would have given their Orya cooks a day off and would have graced the kitchen with their presence to cook some *bhuni ked-geree* with cauliflowers and eggs. No wonder, therefore, that convalescent Samir should suddenly give in to waves of patriotic nostalgia. While feeling the excruciation of separation from curry Samir took up his pen and wrote to a friend of his in London to send him a lb. tin of curry powder post-haste to Warsaw.

He counted the days on his finger-tips and found out that there were clear thirteen days for Christmas. He resolved then and there that he would give his maid a day off, and cook as many as three courses—mutton, fish and egg curry with his own hands. No, it wouldn't be an Hungarian *goulash* this time.

Normally it would have taken a week at the most for that tin of curry powder to reach Warsaw. But ten days passed without as much as a whiff of flavour of that celestial sauce blowing anywhere near Warsaw. The postman brought the electric bill along with masses of printed circulars exhorting the purchase of some new make of radio-set or tactfully giving you the address of some tailor who made the best clothes in Warsaw, the name of some newly started laundry or of an eating-house "Under the Golden Goose" with the most elaborate wine-list etc., etc.. But there was no sign of Samir's brown-bodied compatriot even on the eleventh day.

Then at last.....on December 24 the postman came and rang the door-bell, and as soon as the door was opened passed a mysterious slip to Samir's hand, giving him the cutest military salute to remind him of his dues on the boxing-day. Samir gathered from the slip of paper that there was a parcel from London waiting for him at the General Post Office. But the article which was some non-descript brownish powder, could not be delivered to the addressee before its nature and its com-

ponents could be ascertained. In any case before the parcel could be delivered it would have to receive the sanction of the ministries of Health and Finance and of the Board of Trade. The postman gave another correct military salute and advised: "Proshem Pana, you are a foreign gentleman. If you would only proshem Pana, go to Room No. 54 of the General Post Office, I mean, in person, they will deliver the parcel at once. There is no doubt about that. Room No. 54, proshem Pana. Tak yest, proshem Pana." Tucking away the tips in some recess of his great-coat the postman put the wide fur-collar of his coat over his ears and went away, his heavy top-boots squelching on the brittle frost lying about in heaps on the road like minute particles of mica.

Samir looked out of the double window and saw that snow had been gathered into two long thick ramps on both sides of the road to make a passage for people, who were scurrying about impatiently, obviously hurrying to do their shopping for Christmas. Their black fur-coats had turned shining white with snow. Judging by the hasty movement of the passers-by one could easily surmise that the temperature had gone down to at least 20 degrees below freezing point. And the bleak North Wind had skipped over the frozen Vistula and had been doing a devil dance in the streets of Warsaw.

Samir had to make some calculation as to the degree of frost and the clothing he was to put on. Then stoutly fortified in two over-coats he put on his fur astrakhan cap and fur gloves and goloshes of felt, and drove to the General Post Office in a taxi. Whilst leaving he told his maid that he was going to cook some strange dish so that she could easily have the day off and meet her fiancé if she wanted to. On his way he did not forget to stop the taxi and buy some first class mutton. Mutton had to be kept a day soaked in vinegar in Poland in order to kill the muttony smell, and also to make the meat crisp. So the purchase was made a day in advance. There were a few cardamoms at home, and cloves and cinnamon could be bought in any shop. So there was nothing to worry about the final flavouring with *garam masalah*. Now, what about oil? Would he buy olive or the cheaper linseed or poppy-seed oil consumed by the poor alone? Linseed was better as it gave the curry the taste of mustard oil. On his way back he would have to buy some sour milk, bay leaves and ground ginger. Samir reached the post office, making a mental list of the various ingredients he would have to buy that day since all the shops would be closed on Christmas-day.

The back of the General Post Office which contained all the different departments, consisted of rows and rows of doors, arranged in all sorts of geometrical positions. Pushing and passing through a number of them as if he were entering some treasure-vaults in a fairy tale he at last passed through the door No. 54, the Customs Department. The spacious room was divided into two, by a long counter with a long line of postal employees in green uniform on

one side and a multitude of people on the other, those who had come on business similar to Samir's. He stood behind one of the "accused" who was to receive the final verdict. "So it is patent", the official was concluding, "that an album of this kind can be imported only for business purposes. Bound in Morocco, with floral designs in gilt. Don't say, this is for your personal use, my dear Sir." "Proshem Pana", pleaded the "accused", "Panie Direktorz", my uncle left for America just about two months ago. So, you see, he sent this album to me for my personal use as a Christmas present, that is to say, I mean a Christmas present, er, er, because he knows, you see, Panie Direktorz, that I collect autographs, that is to say er....."

The official dropped the bridge of his steel-framed spectacles down to the tip of his nose, and asked in a portentously grave voice, showing only the white of his eyes. "You mean to say, this album is not for business but for your own personal use?"

"Yes, proshem Pana."

"Are you sure?"

"Yes, proshem Pana."

"Sure?"

"Yes, Panie Direktorz."

"All right then....."

The official brought out a large-sized punching machine from under the counter and pushed the album into its iron jaws, and then pressed the handle with an ease that comes through long practice. Before the other man could resist there was a bull's-eye punched through the letter "B" from one Morocco cover to the other. The official pushed the album across the counter towards its possessor with a dignified, detached non-chalance, and turned a bespectacled, questioning gaze to Samir.

The latter passed the slip of paper to the hand of the august official and declared in Polish with a strong English accent: "Proshem Pana, er, I am a foreigner. I have a parcel waiting for me; so I have come personally to take delivery of the parcel."

The official held his glasses on that slip of paper like a microscope and was lost in thought for a long while, as if he were trying to discover some stunning scientific truth. Then asked in the polished tone of a bank-clerk: "Your passport please." His neighbour, another official, whispered into his ear, "Foreigner my eye! Another British subject from Nalewki, if you ask me, straight from the Mandate of Palestine. And hark at his trying to speak Polish with a foreign accent!"

Having examined Samir's passport scrutinizingly the official enquired: "You were born in.....?" Then answered himself: "Oh, it's written here, I see. Kalkoota, Kalkoota." And rattled off a series of place-names as if he were repeating a geography lesson: "Bombai, Madrass, Kalkoota, Osaka, Nagasaki, Delhee, Darjeelink. Tea comes from Darjeelink. You are a Hindu!"

1. In conversation Poles make abundant use of the phrase which means "Please Sir".

2. Tak yest—that is so. Polish orthography is avoided to facilitate pronunciation.

3. Panie Direktorz—Mr. Director (an exaggerated form of politeness).

4. Nalewki—the Jewish district of Warsaw.

"Yes, proshem Pana."

"Ganji, Tagorey?"

"No, I am no relation of theirs"

Wishing to cut short meaningless talk Samir broached the subject of the parcel again: "I shall be much obliged if you will kindly let me have my parcel."

"What parcel?", the official questioned in a tone as if all this while he had been having a chat with someone in a railway compartment. "Oh, yes, the 'parcel'!", he suddenly remembered and continued, "Yes, yes. But you speak very fine Polish, I must say, very fine indeed. Where did you learn it? So Indie Brytyjskie, British India, eh? We were taught to call it Hindustan in our days. Well, proshem Pana, so you are a Hindus, yes? But then where's your turban? Only last year, Panie, a German circus company came to Warsaw, Zee Inklisch Circus or something they called it. There, proshem Pana, they showed us twenty Hinduses. All in turban, everyone of them, as if all were Maharayas. What? Maharadjjas? What do you say? Can't catch it exactly. Maharajja, Maharajja. Some time ago there was a Maharajja too right here in Warsaw, would you believe it Panie, he had such a big turban on his head! But the gentleman had one weakness, a very pardonable foible though. I mean he liked the Varshaviankas⁵ immensely. He was invited to supper at one of my friend's. And he says, the Maharajja talked of nothing else but Varshaviankas the whole evening. He has been practically all over the world, I mean, been to France, Italy, Spain and all that sort of thing, but he said he had'n't met more beautiful women than Varshaviankas."

Samir gave the official a winning smile of approbation and broached the subject of the parcel again: "Proshem Pana, the parcel....."

"Oh, yes, the parcel! Let me see. I say, Stefan, Stefan, go and tell Pan * Direktor that a Pan Hindus has come, straight from Kalkootta. He has a parcel or something waiting for him. Oh yes, the number. Yes, take this slip. The number's on it. Ah yes, this's life! Well, proshem Pana, how do you like our country. Too cold eh? By the way, Panie', now I know whom to ask. They say all sorts of things, but I can't believe a word unless I see the things with my own eyes. They say that the Yogas or whatever it is, that the Yogas....."

Pan Direktor came down in person at the intelligence that a Hindus had come to the post office in his corporeal self. He asked Samir in a tone betraying great inner commotion: "So, you are the Hindus, yes? A Maharaya, yes?" Before Samir could open his mouth to reply, the official corrected the Director of the Department: "Panie Direktorzhe, allow me to correct you. We have a wrong way of pronouncing the word. It ought to be Maharajja."

Samir thought it wise not to let the topic drift to a discussion of exotic subjects, and mentioned the object of

his visit in a most businesslike fashion: "I hear, there is a parcel waiting for me....."

"Parcel? Why yes, indeed, a parcel. But, I am afraid, er, er, I am afraid, much as I would have liked to oblige you, er, it can't be delivered. I mean, such stuff is forbidden to be imported into our country."

"What stuff?"

"You would like to hear, what stuff eh? Stefan, Stefan, go and call the head clerk here, will you? Anyone found in possession of such stuff is heavily fined or imprisoned, proshem Pana!"

The head clerk arrived and eyeing Samir suspiciously from head to foot said rather stiffly: "Proshem Pana, the stuff may be an article of common use in your country, but in Europe (with a stress on the word) it is used only by the worst kind of libertines and that on the sly, avoiding the vigilant eyes of the police, you know!"

"What article, pray?"

"What article? You ought to know best, my respected Sir. If you pretend not to know, then I might as well tell you that I have to mention the name to the police."

"I hope, you are trying to be funny", Samir said deprecatingly. "For your information. I may tell you, my revered Sir, that one of your Ministers ate this and promised to propagate the use of this stuff in this country."

"Is that so?!! I hope you are fully aware of the consequences of spreading calumny about an honourable Minister of State?"

"Calumny?!"

"Nothing creditable at any rate, I can tell you. You won't call it creditable for an honourable Minister of State to use quantities of Hashish or some such narcotics, would you? (pointing to the tin) You mean to say that you are unaware of the fact that this tin contains a whole foont (pound) of Hashish or some such thing, made in India, eh?"

"Hashish! Don't be silly, er, I mean don't try to be facetious, my revered Sir, We are accustomed to it from our very infancy, and you with your hashish and what-not....."

"What did you say? You are accustomed to it from your infancy? Well, if you are, then you may stand it all right. But only yesterday a colleague of mine, a man used to very strong tobacco, I might tell you, took only a quarter-pipe-ful of this. He just wanted to try the stuff, you know, on the sly like. Well, he takes hardly a quarter-pipe-ful, and lights his pipe. He had not puffed twice at the pipe when he said he felt terribly ill, and had to go home in a taxi. The poor fellow hasn't turned up for work to-day, if you care to know."

Samir felt a potent nauseating urge within him at the thought that the poor man had inhaled a quantity of smoke of the stuff being burnt, the very smell of which is reputed to exercise the most refractory of evil spirits in India. He gave a short description of the ingredient to dispel the Pan Direktor's pessimism adding: "Proshem Pana, it's not only nourishment for us but more than medicine. If we don't eat some spoonfuls of it twice a day, our gastric juice simply stands like stagnant bilge. Habit is the second nature, you know. It is both food and medicine to me here in your country." Samir tried to strike a sympathetic

5. Varshaviankas—women of Warsaw

6. Pan—Mister.

7. Papiet—Sir.

chord and added: "Here, in your country, far away from home, with nobody to look after me."

The officials exchanged meaning glances. Then the head clerk's face beamed with grave self-satisfaction like the face of a man who takes snuff lights up with thoughtful complacency after a pinch of that explosive. "Didn't I tell you, Panie Direktozhe", he said triumphantly, "that there is something very fishy about it? Now you see, this really is some secret medicament made in India!" "Do you remember, Panie Direktozhe", he continued, whispering into the Directorial ear, "last year's case? Some Jew boy was doing exactly the same sort of gaescheft-business, you know! He imported some pills from abroad and was ruining the health of the girls of this country!"

The prompting was a sufficient incentive for the Direktor to ask Samir rather brusquely: "You mean to say, this is edible?"

"Oh, yes, Panie Direktozhe. You can try it yourself if you don't believe me."

Pan Direktor opened the tin and urged by the animal instinct of smelling an unfamiliar article of food before eating it, sniffed at the brownish powder, and forthwith losing all control over himself struck the head clerk's bald pate with a tremendous storm of a sneeze.

Samir proposed to demonstrate the innocence of the pulverized spices by offering to eat as much as the lid of the tin contained before the Direktor's very eyes. Hardly had he uttered the words when all the employees of the Department thronged to the counter to watch the incredible trick. Samir gulped down the lidful of the powder with no so much as a twitch on his face. Pan Direktor and the head clerk eyed each other with consternation, and gaped at smiling Samir expecting him to show instantly the rope-trick or some such thing.

One official opened his drawer and bringing out a handful of pins said: "Panie, show this trick also. Zee Inklisch Circus advertised that some Yoga would chew and swallow handfuls of nails like Quaker Oats. But didn't. The fellow only swallowed fire." "Yes, yes, Panie, for Heaven's sake", urged the others, "and that trick of chopping off a man's head and making the fellow alive again, and that trick of producing a snake from one's shoes, yes, yes, Panie, bring out the snake from our Pan Direktor's shoes, and that trick of making a tree grow out a seed, and that one of producing a beautiful girl from one's overcoat, please, from my overcoat, please, Panie, I ask you....."

Having with great difficulty rescued himself from the hands of postal officials a fatigued Samir, perspiring on that frosty day, somehow returned home, and lodged a complaint against the management of the Post Office to the appropriate Minister of State.

Then the knee-high petrified ice of the streets of Warsaw melted in the warm sunshine and flowed into the Vistula in a thousand turbid streams. The winter was over and so was the spring, and the Whitsuntide was expected in a day or two. Known as the "Green Holidays" it was a relic of Pagan days, and people made merry in all Poland. Samir had been dreaming of a party treated to goose's liver, breast and legs, delightfully sunb in curry

sauce, when his will power struck some telepathic wire high above. The maid came and announced the arrival of the postman, who in his enthusiasm had followed her to the study. As soon as he saw Samir he gave him a correct military salute as much as to hint at a proper *pourboire* befitting the occasion.

"*Dziendobry Panu!*", he ejaculated triumphantly, "the parcel has come to you at last. Didn't I tell you, Panie, now didn't I, he, he, he, that you are a foreign gentleman, and they wouldn't have the guts to withhold your parcel? On top of that, you are a Hindus, a Maharajja! Everybody of our office knows, you are a Maharajja. Well, I know the very first day I met you. I went home and told my missus about it. I met a Hindu gentleman, a real Maharajja I said.....", the postman opened his leather bag bringing out a parcel reverently placed it on the table. Then he handed over another slip of paper and a letter to Samir.

There was a bill of 25 zlotys and 50 grosches (about Rs. 13) to pay. The items were entered as customs duty so much and demurrage for six months and ten days so much. The note accompanying the bill ran thus:

"It is regretfully requested that in future, and for whatever purpose it may be, public, private or commercial, importing of such articles will require a previous sanction of the Ministries of Health and Finance and of the Board of Trade, and the last two in connection with clearing formalities. At first all chemical examinations failed to reveal the nature of the article. Subsequently the label on the tin: 'Curry Powder' served as the proper clue. We have succeeded in receiving the expert opinion of a Beauty specialist (holding a diploma from Paris) of the best Beauty Parlour of Warsaw, to the effect that there is a rage among young women of this country (the fashion is copied from Paris alas!) to get sunburnt and pose as exotic women from the tropics. It is they who import this brownish powder to match their sunburnt skin. You, Sir, made an official, written statement in your complaint to the effect that you use it as a kitchen ingredient. Though it is not the custom in this country to indulge in pleasantries in official correspondence, we are prepared to treat your statement as facetious, however out of keeping it be with the consuetude prevailing in our realm. If you still insist on the veracity of your avowal, we can only say: 'A la bonne heure! Thrive on it!'.....Your most obedient servant."

When Samir saw the postman to the door, and opening the lid in feverish excitement took a long sniff of the powder, he could not recognise the compound of the various ingredients with which he had been familiar from his infancy. Having spent six months and ten days in constant intercourse with Eau de Cologne, Mitsuko, Reine des Roses, Cent Fleurs, Narcisse and a hundred other foreign wenchies, the rice-eating son of a Bengali, so to say, that tin of Benigal curry had completely forgotten itself.

Samir put a pinch of that on his tongue and ascertained that it still tasted like curry, but in fragrance it could indeed beat any of the best Coty's face powder.

CONTROL OF STRATEGIC MINERALS (1) IN INDIA : MICA

By RAMANI RANJAN CHOWDHURY,

Mica Specialist and Industrial Planner (Late of the Government of India)

UNDER the British administration of India, matters and details of high strategy and diplomacy were exclusively kept as the close preserve for the white administrators in the government, with strictest control under the "top secret" level of official secrecy, so that not an inkling may get into the Indian knowledge. Subjects under this category comprised of various working programmes of high imperial policy. I am, for the present article, concerned with the control of strategic minerals, of which I confine the discussions to mica today. After the British 'quitting', the 'steel-frame-structure' of India has come into the hands of the National leaders but with what mutilation, suppression and distortion, who can and will say? Piles of 'secret' files and papers from the official archives have been reported to have been destroyed on the eve of transfer of power. Much of the important information of the type, I am afraid, may not be available to our national leaders in the government, who may have to work up the national policy and strategy in all phases from the scrappy materials that might be available here and there.

STRATEGIC MATERIALS: MINERALS

This category is subject to modification, based on experience, inventions and newer developments of war technique and science. In the last war, the following were specially classified as 'strategic materials', indispensable for the victorious conduct of a long-drawn war:

Minerals: Antimony, Asbestos, Cadmium, Chromite, Copper, Cobalt, Graphite, Lead, Manganese, Mica, Molybdenum, Nickel, Tin, Tungsten, Vanadium and Zinc.

Non-minerals: Rubber, Oil, Cotton, Manila-fibre (also sisal), Jute and Silk etc.

In defining the strategic materials and "key commodities", each nation has to take into account the abundance and easy availability or shortage of a particular commodity from its own point of view. What is considered 'strategic' by the United States may not necessarily appear to be 'strategic' for Japan or Australia and also what is judged as a 'key commodity' say during the forties and fifties of the present century, may not be deemed as such in the next forties and fifties,—strategy and scientific achievements of which time, are sure vastly to differ from what we have at our credit today. According to the United States Army and Navy strategy, "to be classed as strategic, a material must not be only a 'key' commodity, but one of which the domestic supply is insufficient." Again there are certain materials, which are absolutely indispensable for war and peace but the reserves of which are provisionally distributed fairly throughout the world and the sources and nature of which reserves are also fairly well-known and available in abundance. Such materials may not be classed as "strategic" or "key commodity", from this point

of view, for particular nationalities. Iron ore, coal, petroleum, copper, lead, etc., may be cited to fall in this category for U.S.A.

STRATEGIC MINERALS BOARD

I would suggest the setting up of a Strategic Minerals Board for the Union of India and I draw the attention of our Prime Minister and other Ministries concerned, namely, Defence, Mines and Commerce. The Board, of course, should have sub-committees for the various minerals, such as Iron Ore, Mica, Petroleum etc., which for India, constitute 'strategic and key commodities'. There are certain minerals, reserves of which are confined to one or two countries of the world and that too is unknown if not 'unknowable' quantities. Sheet Mica is one such mineral. If by prospecting, you ascertain the occurrence of mica in any particular locality, you cannot ascertain by any known method so far, the approximate size, quality and extent of the reserves discovered, i.e. whether it is in usable flawless quality sheets or that it may go in just for scraps, or waste. Mica has thus its own intrinsic and intricate problems of itself and it can better be put in the category of precious metals like diamonds, rubies and similar crystalline natural formations underground.

ANGLO-AMERICA AND MICA RESOURCES

British Government with India as her imperial possession, boasted hitherto as the sole monopolist in ownership of the best mica reserves of the world and during the last two world-wars, she controlled the production and distribution of India Mica, entirely herself and the United States in joint collaboration by means of Mica Ordinance or Control Orders. On the outbreak of the last war, the writer had been called upon by the Government of India, War Board, to advise them on Mica control and a machinery of mica control was brought into being. From the latter half of 1942, an Anglo-American Joint Mica Mission came out to India to make exclusive purchase of all the sheet mica that could be produced under the war impetus and exports other than by this Mission had been prohibited. At certain times mica had to be transported by planes, to avoid delay and the perils of the sea due to enemy actions.

Now that the Union of India holds monopoly of this great national asset, Britain or America shall have to look on India for supply of sheet mica of the Muscovite type. Mica is not only an essential sinew of modern scientific warfare but it is also of equal if not still greater importance for peace-time progress of modern civilisation. It is therefore of extreme importance for the Union Government of India to initiate proper action for its conservation and economic utilisation in national interests. Control of

these valuable assets must not be left in the hands of the extra-territorials through overt and covert methods.

RESEARCH AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT NEGLECTED

There has not been any good effort at research with mica in the past, save and except a little effort made at the personal initiative of the late Dr. P. N. Ghosh of the University College of Science, Calcutta, whom the writer interested in it, (after the publication of the writer's *India Mica**) Dr. Ghosh later contributed a chapter entitled "The Electrical uses of Mica", in the author's *Handbook of Mica** (published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. in 1939). I have since tried to interest others of eminence and affluence in the prospects of the development of mica and mica-products manufacturing industry in India but with little success so far. In India in the present mental make-up of the capitalists, in whose hands the country's wealth lies accumulated, it seems to be a difficult problem. These people, with rare exceptions, do not possess the necessary drive, resourcefulness and enlightened conscience, usually displayed by Europeans and Americans, so as to embark on such scientific development of industries in the collective national interests and for equitable distribution of benefits amongst all concerned. So far as the Indian scientists, inventors and pioneer entrepreneurs are concerned, it has been a sad and sordid tale of most shameless exploitation, often killing the gander that gave the golden eggs. Indeed the earnest and unassuming pioneers in this country, seldom get proper environs and opportunities for their talents and endeavours and they rot in miserable careers of life. Now that the national government has come into being and our popular leaders have taken over the reins of administration, it is expected that "*Proper man will find his proper place*" and the government will provide the suitable opportunities in stimulating private and state enterprises, free from unfair exploitation so that individuals of deserving talents and worth born under humbler auspices of life may build up prosperous careers to the general enrichment of the national exchequer.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, when Member for the Mines in the Interim Government of India, made the following utterance :

"Mica is at present mainly exported as a raw material but we feel that mica manufacture should be developed in this country to an infinitely greater extent than it is today. We should take steps to utilise our raw materials ourselves and with that end in view, we

should examine the possibilities of starting manufacturing concerns in different parts of the country at an early date and encouraging and developing the manufacturing concerns that exist."

More than a year has passed but nothing tangible has materialised in this direction. It was also stated by the Member:

"The Central Government is probably in a better position than the individual provinces to evolve a common policy for the whole of India. The role of the Centre as I envisage it, would be to co-ordinate policy throughout India and ensure that the mineral wealth of the country is conserved and utilised to the fullest advantage."

MICA, AT PRESENT THE MONOPOLY OF THE FEW

India as a whole, after the 'quitting' of the British, runs the risk of being entrapped by the Big Business on a broader context, for purposes which may not be conducive to the interest of the common man. In the line of mica, things are already concentrated in the hands of scarcely a dozen interests of which 4 or 5 own or command the bulk of the total strategic deposits. The National Government has to consider if it is safe in national interests, to leave the control, ownership or distribution of such a vital strategic asset of a vast country like India in the hands of a half-a-dozen hands. Sir J. D. Sifton, once the Chief Secretary and later the Governor of Bihar, once stated in the Bihar Legislative Council :

"We have here in this province, the most important imperial asset. The Industry is therefore of more than local importance. The supply is by no means inexhaustible and it becomes the duty of the local government as trustees of this important deposit, to conserve the available supplies and to keep the industry in a healthy and prosperous condition."

The whole mica industry in Bihar today lies at the mercy of practically 3 major parties of whom one practically moulds the policy for the others and the rest, by various long-established influences and practices. In the present state of affairs, even in trading, the small man is cornered. The monopolists are merrily ruling on. In course of the last few months, exports of mica from Calcutta alone ranged between 25 to over 60 lakhs of rupees in value per month of which more than 50 per cent represent the totals of 3 firms. The controlling hand of Anglo-America continues behind the "India Ltd." screen; a high-level investigation is imperatively necessary, without the least loss of time. I appeal to Mr. Gadgil, the present Mines Minister in the Union Government.

* *India Mica*, published in 1932, price Rs. 5; *Handbook of Mica*, price Rs. 15. American edition published from Brooklyn, N. Y. in 1941.



REFUGEE PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION

By V. V. SAYANNA

INTRODUCTION

EVIL work must have evil consequences and one of the most tragic legacies of the communal strife that has been deliberately fomented and freely nurtured in recent years is the huge refugee question. Broadly stated, since the last general elections and particularly after the horrid events that took place in Calcutta, Noakhali, and Bihar, the problem of refugees is faced by India as a whole which has only taken a serious turn after the partition of the country or after the announcement of what is known as 'Radcliffe's Award.' The widespread orgies of loot, arson and senseless savagery led to serious drop in levels of production, caused destruction or damage to wealth and property, public and private, and loss of thousands of innocent lives, both human and bovine. The consequent dislocation in all spheres of economic activity including the administrative services of the governments, and the ruling general feeling of fear and insecurity have resulted in diversion and wastage of time and energies which ought to have been profitably focussed towards consolidation of the economic, political, social and moral basis of each of the Dominions for the urgent task of their reconstruction and regeneration. These developments coinciding with the prevailing acute conditions with regard to food, cloth and housing cannot but aggravate the general state of things existing in both the new Dominions and may jeopardise their very existence, if no adequate and timely measures are taken up.

PRESENT POSITION OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Our refugee problem has some characteristics peculiarly its own which differ in a way from the emigration movements in the past or the refugee problems faced by certain countries of Europe and Asia during the last two great world wars. In the first instance the mass exodus of population in different parts is not the effect of emigration policies of the respective governments, such as the typical mass emigration among countries of the world particularly during the 19th and 20th centuries which was frequently assisted and directed by the Governments concerned.¹ In fact the Prime Minister of the Indian Dominion has clearly stated that the present national undertaking of mass transfers of population in the Punjab is rather forced on the Government against their declared intentions. Secondly, the problem does neither correspond exactly to the situation of the attack by a formidable aggressor from outside, nor to the situation of a violent revolution within the country like the October Revolution in Soviet Russia, because technically speaking conditions necessary for both these things are absent from the causes of the present

trouble. The trouble is largely communal and therefore the capitalists as well as the proletariat and intellectuals, all alike, are liable to fall victims to the catastrophe. The flight of people *en masse* is practically confined to the individuals and those families who are driven to it by force of religious circumstances and psychological factors. Obviously there are no strong economic or political motives to forge these unhappy persons into a coherent association or a regular group of emigrants in course of time on either side of the frontiers,² as their decisions have no strong economic or political foundation and are the outcome of spontaneous actions taken under panic, religious frenzy and lawlessness. Moreover, the problem faced by us is twofold. On the one hand asylum has to be given for the refugees coming from outside, say from Pakistan, on the other hand the refugees belonging to the religious minorities in question have to be duly protected and, if so desired, arrangements have to be made for their safe removal to the other Dominion. As a matter of fact the nature of the refugee problem is very peculiar, as the position of the refugees does not conform to the status of regular emigrants or to political exiles.

Final statistics are not available about the *numerical position* of this compulsory displacement of people. Describing the problem as 'terrific', the Prime Minister of India has stated that at least two million people on either side of the West and the East Punjab have been moved or going to be moved, although according to the unofficial sources, it is estimated that at least three million persons must have crossed the borders on either side of the Punjab. As a matter of fact the exodus from the West Punjab actually started in the month of last March and since then about one million Hindus and Sikhs have come to India. However, the Westward movement of Muslim population in the Punjab has commenced relatively much later, for probably the Muslim population in the East Punjab must have been under the prolonged old impression of the provincial majority of their community before the announcement of the Award of the Boundary Commission. If it is finally agreed by the two Central Governments upon exchange of populations in the two sectors of the Punjab, it would approximately entail the transfer of about four million people on either side on the basis of the census figures of 1941. Accounts regarding exodus of religious minorities (Muslims and non-Muslims) taking place in various parts of the two Dominions are forthcoming, and they are not verified by official statements. It is reported unofficially that at least six lakhs of non-Muslims must have left the Province of Sind, since the outbreak of the Quetta riots (26th August, 1947) to neighbouring states and provinces. For the sake of argument, if it is assumed that there will

1. See, *International Migrations*, by the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1929, Vol. I.

2. Cf. *Proletarian Mass Migration during 19th and 20th centuries* Vide, *International Migrations*, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 81-87.

be similar movements of entire minority population between India and Pakistan, according to the figure of the last census, it would involve, if states are excluded, transfer of about 1,670 thousand Sikhs or broadly speaking 16,557 thousand non-Muslims from Pakistan to India and conversely about 30,998 thousand Muslims from India to Pakistan.³

The flare-up in the Punjab caught the two new Governments napping. Any estimate of the number of persons killed and the value of the loss of properties involved would be a wild guess, and the official figures given were highly conservative. In spite of the previous experiences in Bengal and Bihar and the pitch of communal tension prevalent particularly in the Punjab (where many military units were reported to have been mobilised in anticipation of trouble as a result of the award of the Boundary Commission), it is regrettable to note that Governments should be taken unaware by the communal outbreak which rapidly developed into a serious crisis. Pt. Nehru has referred to this point in an outspoken statement:

"I must confess that we have several times underestimated the trouble, . . . we were rather taken unawares by these happenings. Perhaps it was our fault and we ought not to have taken unawares by anything. And if a Government is taken unawares, it must suffer for it . . . Having under-estimated once, twice, three times, we decided not to do it again. . . So we built up a machinery which could deal with every possible contingency and emergency all over India."⁴

In brief the following appear to be the *measures taken* by the Government of India and Pakistan to meet the situation. The first question to which serious attention is accorded, is the evacuation of people concerned to the respective dominions by all possible means of quick transport, by land, sea and air in close co-operation with the Provincial Governments. The Governments have tried to ensure military protection to their respective communities even in the remotest regions in either of the Dominions and from there they are shifted to the refugee centres to effect, if the refugees wish, their final removal to the respective Dominions under military escort. As soon as the refugees cross the national borders, they find food, medical aid and other facilities to meet their most urgent needs given according to arrangements made by the Provincial Governments and benevolent organisations. It is happy to note that the prominent leaders in India and Pakistan have condemned unequivocally the acts of violence and bitter feelings of narrow and dangerous communalism and have given instructions to their followers to forget the past and to protect the minority communities in their localities. In India, a new Portfolio is created for the purpose of Relief and Rehabilitation of refugees and shipwrecked lives. Besides, an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet is set up to deal with the Punjab situation and the Committee has to meet day to day to discuss problems

as they arise and issue directions. The Emergency Committee consists of the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, the Transport Minister and the Minister for Refugees, while the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief partake in the deliberations as invitees.

BROAD OUTLINES OF THE TASK

After an analysis of the nature and position of the refugee problem, it is necessary to examine the broad outlines of the task of suggesting appropriate solutions. From the outset there are at least three distinct phases in the solution of the problem *viz.*, the immediate, the provisional and the final. The immediate task is the establishment of peace and order in places subjected to disturbances and the removal of minorities concerned to the refugee centres ensuring security to them under strong military force. In accordance with the desires of the people, they may be either evacuated to the other dominion or may be allowed to stay there under protection, till conditions improve and return to normal. The refugees who are not mobilised by Government are to report on arrival at the Refugee Registration centres opened at suitable places or at the nearest taluk or district government offices of the Mamlatdars and Collectors. Refugee Committees are to be formed out of the refugees to place their pressing needs, grievances and all matters of their common interest and well-being before the authorities concerned. Official announcements have to be made regularly from time to time regarding the various developments, the measures taken and the state of affairs to the public and to the refugees. Similar committees may be formed out of the majority communities and other social workers, known as the Refugee Aid Committees. Their work is to protect minorities in their own regions, to infuse them with confidence, to create and to work for the establishment of cordial and paternal relations between the two communities, to safeguard the properties seized or usurped by unauthorised persons, to trace out and recover wandering refugees, abducted women and children and to co-operate generally in the work of the Government in all such matters. Again Refugee Advisory Committees constituting representatives of Refugee Committees and Refugee Aid Committees may be formed to advise the Ministry of the Relief and Rehabilitation of refugees on the evolution of policy and its execution. These must constitute the non-official bodies to help in the solution of the refugee question.

The above proposals require some time for their effective realisation and therefore some provisional arrangements need be made for the interval. That is exactly, the question of the distribution and placing of refugees, and making arrangements for their provisional maintenance or employment in provinces and states which have given them asylum. The provisional work chiefly consists of effecting temporary relief measures without any primary regard to the aspect of their rehabilitation. In the first place, the refugees have to be redistributed in various regions, as a result of negotiations entered into with the provincial governments and states as well as private or political organisations willing to accept the refugees, taking

3. If statistics for the States are also included, the corresponding figures are about 1,718 thousand Sikhs or 16,764 thousand non-Muslims from Pakistan and 41,569 thousand Muslims from India that are to be shifted to the respective Dominions.

4. *Ibid.*, Pt. Nehru in a Press Conference in Delhi on 13-9-47.

into account the wishes of the refugees and the resources of the recipients. Unless the tasks of receiving and distributing are co-ordinated properly, there will be overcrowding or congestion in certain places which produce complications, especially when the refugees come all at one time, in large numbers. From the practical viewpoint refugees belonging to the minority communities may be encamped in urban areas in order to ensure them strong protection against any possible emergency, while the refugees belonging to majority community, largely coming from different parts of the other Dominion, may be removed to rural parts after a short period of their reception. They are to be sent to the chief town of the district for which they have been assigned in order that they may be distributed later on in suitable places in the district with the assistance of the village committees set up for the purpose of receiving and settling the refugees provisionally. This will avoid the possible other alternatives of refugees remaining stranded in provinces economically incapable of maintaining or absorbing them and also the congestion and increase in the size of the refugee population in urban areas. Though they may be housed in buildings fallen vacant due to evacuation, to avoid complications or misgivings in the minds of the original owners for returning to their houses early, it is advisable as far as possible to find accommodation for the refugee in vacant public or private buildings huts, barns etc. after duly reconditioning them. The Collectors with the help of the local bodies like the District Boards and Municipal bodies have to look after the maintenance and welfare of the refugees until they find work or a final solution is reached. To make them self-reliant, it is desirable to help them in finding some employment within the limits of their new conditions of life. Partly since conditions in the countryside are not so satisfactory and partly since some of the refugees may not adjust themselves to rural life, it is possible that a good number of refugees tend to leave the districts to which they have been assigned and gravitate towards towns and industrial centres where they hope to obtain employment in commerce and industry. In such an event, issue of identity certificates to the refugees to enable them to move freely wherever they like may prove helpful.

The measures discussed above are only of a temporary character, and the question cannot be fully tackled, unless some final solution is found. That consists of repatriation, migration and permanent settlement of refugees. The implications of each of them are briefly laid down. The repatriation of the refugees to their original places is a suggestion par excellence. Obviously there are no economic, legal or political obstacles to the return of the refugees, as the refugees have got the legal recognition of their rights of citizenship and ownership of their properties etc. by the Governments of India and Pakistan, irrespective of whatever took place as a consequence of the disturbances. But it is difficult to estimate the exact number of the refugees who are likely to go back in the near future, particularly to Pakistan until the element of communalism is completely eliminated in the body politic of Pakistan. Repatriation is preferred in case of those who wish to return to their homes and to have a chance of recovering

their property. However, the possibilities of repatriating the refugees appear to be limited as it is a solution which depends on some practical and political considerations which cannot be discussed here.

The second consideration is emigration or migration. Migration policies in course of the last century or so fluctuated between enthusiastic encouragement and severe restriction.⁵ In recent years under the influence of the depression a number of countries have more or less completely closed their frontiers to foreign labour. However acute the question of population to India, it is evident that there is no possibility of avoiding emigration of people from Pakistan. One redeeming feature is that the flow of emigration of population is not one-sided, as there is an equal proportion of displacement of population in the opposite direction. Owing to the short distance between India and Pakistan, the transport charges may be less. Looked at from this viewpoint, the spontaneous migration of persons who decide to move from one Dominion to another or from one part of the Dominion to another at their own expense and rely largely or entirely on their own resources is good inasmuch as it relieves some trouble and cost on the part of the Government, and proper facilities of transport are to be provided. But large-scale migration cannot take place without extensive development schemes in the new regions. Migration must, like other economic activities, be planned to carry through a policy which will promote the interests of the countries of emigration and immigration and of the migrants themselves.

Hence in case of those refugees who cannot be repatriated, who perhaps form a majority, the possibilities of settling them permanently may be explored. If it is accepted as an inevitable solution, however painful the conclusion may appear, it is fair that the valuation of properties abandoned by the refugees may be undertaken under the supervision of a Joint Commission of both the Central Governments and that the refugees may be given compensation to which they are entitled, as soon as possible, in order that they may settle down permanently in the new territories. At the time of paying compensation at different rates, a certain percentage (say 10) may be deducted on payments made above a certain minimum towards Refugee Fund. If the general notion that economically the Muslims occupy a less advantageous position than the Hindus and Sikhs in the matter of ownership of wealth and property is accepted as true, the proposal is likely to enhance the liabilities of Pakistan State to India in the aggregate.

The organisation of settlement of refugees is great wherein the close co-operation between the Government and the private or public bodies is of vital importance. In this task, the Government, the Employment Exchange services, the employers, the Trade Unions, and other allied organisations have a part to play in helping the refugee population in finding their daily bread and work. Refugees belonging to agricultural communities may be settled on

5. *C. Migration and settlement in some British Dominions (In Australia, New Zealand and Canada)* by D. Christie Tait, *vide*, *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 24-65.

poramboke or government waste lands. To reduce to a minimum the probable opposition against expropriation of private lands, acquisitions and reclamation of additional areas must be simultaneously taken up. There is also need for providing them with financial aid until they can stand on their own legs. For instance, refugees settled on land require a dwelling, livestock, agricultural implements, seed etc. in addition to farm land, while the non-agricultural refugees have to be provided with housing and, if they are artisans, with tools and machinery to carry on their work, besides provision for family expenses till income is derived from their occupations. Indeed complicated issues have however to be fully discussed to safeguard the interests of workers and other interests concerned in each of the provinces as well as the interests of the refugees. At this stage close co-operation between the Ministers for labour and for refugees together with the Department of Planning and Development is essential to give a relative prospect of success in life to the settlers.

MATTERS OF ORGANISATIONS

The desired ends can be only obtained by collective efforts methodically organised. Statistics are to be collected by the Refugee services about the dates of arrival and departures of the refugees in different regions and their composition according to age, sex and occupation. Full details are to be gathered regarding number of families, number of persons in each family (number received casualties, died or missing); number of males, females and children (number of persons rendered orphans or widows to be shown separately); localities of origin (district, taluk and village); and lastly regarding previous occupations (Profession, Government or private services, business, artisan, peasant proprietors, agricultural landless workers, students, unemployed and the like). Owing to lack of proper means of registering the refugees in many provinces and states the compilation of census figures outlined above would be presented with many difficulties. However, with effective assistance of provincial governments, the Refugee committees, the Refugee Aid Committees approximate figures can be obtained. The final statistics supplied by the Refugee Department may be incomplete as a certain number of families may, for various reasons, fail to give correct information or to fill up the 'declaration forms' at the nearest Refugee centres on their arrival.⁶ At a later stage researches have to be conducted by the Department of Refugees in collaboration with the Universities in the Provinces affected to study the refugee situation cheaply, its effects on labour conditions, employment etc. to make necessary improvements.

In order to avoid frictions, waste of efforts, duplication of functions and various other defects, the necessity to co-ordinate the work of various services dealing with the refugee problem is obvious. One of the essential duties of the new Ministry for refugees is to grapple with the problem of refugees by co-ordinating and consolidating the efforts and goodwill of the provincial governments and

states with the help of the Central Refugee Advisory Committee.

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The effective implementation of these measures largely depends on the financial resources. Both as regards relief and settlement, the chief bottleneck is the same, namely lack of funds.⁷ No estimates can be made at present about the total cost of settling the refugees. It is equally not possible to express an opinion here and now, whether the provinces involved can raise funds entirely from their own resources and to what extent they have to look to the funds contributed from other areas and by the Central Government as it requires a detailed study of their economic and financial position. In view of the huge deficit previously faced by the Central Government in framing its budget, it is difficult to say whether the two states of Pakistan and India can stand by themselves without impairing the general economic position in the matter of raising sums within the countries, or the fulfilment of their obligations in connection with the refugee will necessitate them to have resource to an international loan. If the prospects of raising necessary funds within the two countries are not bright, the question of raising any international loan or approaching an organisation like the U. N. R. R. A. deserves full investigation. Various ways of raising funds have to be urgently devised. Collections may be made in money or in kind (foodgrains, fuel, and clothing consistent with the existence of rationing and controls) and the proceeds may be distributed among refugees by the Refugee Aid Committee. But it may be noted that collections of this kind have been made on various occasions in the last few years and it will be easily realised that the charitable sources of the common man have become almost exhausted, the amounts of such collections already having commenced recording diminishing returns in recent months. Therefore, a special tax on property owners in the country generally, and particularly in the Regions involved may be levied, besides imposition of an additional charge on all the wealthy and propertied persons at the time of handing over their properties to them on their return, may be resorted to.

CONCLUSION

The refugee situation has assumed great proportions and it is difficult to bring about fully the serious implications involved in dealing with problems of this kind, political and social. One cannot prophesy the new turns things may take in future which have to be boldly and determinately faced and overcome by the respective Governments by harnessing all their resources and energies to the fullest extent. The relief and rehabilitation of the refugees, the able-bodied as well as the disabled, shall be a hard task which can be only carried on an inter-provincial scale, as the work has a national character and no isolated or provincial measures are adequate.

7. Cf. Mr. Jinnah assured the League legislators of West Punjab in a recent visit to Lahore (on 30-8-47) that the Pakistan Government would go all out to rehabilitate refugees even to the point of facing bankruptcy.

6. See *International Labour Review*, January, 1928, Vol. XVII, No. 1 p. 78.

SOME INFORMATION ABOUT OMICHAND FROM THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT RECORDS

By Dr. N. K. SINHA,
Calcutta University

OMICHAND (Amirchand) is an unfortunate figure of British Indian history. He stumbles from obscurity into the pages of history when his greatest financial gamble failed miserably. The fraud perpetrated by Clive made Omichand a figure of Indian history. But we do not really know much about him.

An exploration of the unprinted records of the High Court of Calcutta unexpectedly revealed the existence of a considerable number of papers concerning Omichand among the records of the Mayor's court and the Supreme Court. The notes of Hyde, one of the puisne judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta also contain some information about him. This accumulated miscellany is helpful in reconstructing the career of this Sikh merchant, though it throws no light on the part which he played in the conspiracy against Siraj-Ud-Daula.

Omichand's name was really Amirchand. Huzuri Mul (Hazari Mal), his brother-in-law, who was for a long time his close associate and later the principal executor of his will, refers to him as Amirchand in several documents. In one of the Bengali documents he describes himself—

“আমীর চন্দ্রজীর দৌলতের মোক্তার” —which was

then turned (by slurring over *r*) into English as “manager of the estate of the late Babu Ameechand”, which was spelt also as Umichand or Omichand.

The Seths of Sutanati worked as brokers to the East India Company in their Dadni business in the seventeenth century and in the early years of the eighteenth. In his early days Amirchand attached himself to one of the Seths. In 1795, in a case before the Supreme Court—*Bulaki Singh vs. Gopinath Seth—Jogmohan Sen*, an old servant of the Seths, who was more than seventy years old at the time, deposed to the effect that Bostom Das Seth was the maker of Amirchand's fortune. Bostom Das and Amirchand were for some time partners. Jogmohan Sen repeated with emphasis—“Who was Omichand? His fortune, character and all were made under the Seat. By Seat I mean Bostom Das Seat.” Bostom Das was very unfortunate in later life and died in 1752. He summoned Amirchand and told his old partner in business that he could not hope to live long, that he was indebted to many people and he had many children. How were they to be taken care of and what would Amirchand advise him to do? Amirchand advised him to make a fictitious mortgage comprehending all his property in Amirchand's name and leave the document with his son Nemai Chand Seth. In case any creditor laid claim to any of Bostom Das's house property in Calcutta Amirchand would make a counter-claim as mortgage. Amirchand assured his old partner, “I will pay off all your debts and save your house from your creditors.” It is relevant to note that the Calcutta estate of Bostom Das included

“Tollah garden, Chowringhee garden which is now included in the esplanade and Jourabagan Garden.” The sons of Bostom Das were alarmed at this prospect of a mortgage. But Amirchand assured them and said that the mortgage would bear no interest and Pitambar Seth, owner of half share must not sign it, the paper should be antedated and no one was to witness it. His plan was to scare away the creditors of Bostom Das, not to sell the property under duress but to make a gradual Sale and pay off the debts. Bostom Das died shortly after this fictitious mortgage was made. This episode reveals Amirchand in a characteristic role.

We have the first glimpse of Amirchand in the records of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta in July, 1749. This is one of the earliest records preserved in the High Court. An application was made for the administration of the effects of one Williamson deceased. His nearest of kin as also a large creditor Thomas Smith was appointed to administer them along with another creditor James Irwin. Amirchand, one of the creditors, moved that he might be joined in the administration of the effects of the deceased. The Court declined.

Amirchand again comes into prominence in the judicial records of 1755 in the proceedings of the Quarter Sessions. The Grand Jury, an institution now obsolete, made the following presentiment:—

“The Jurors for our sovereign Lord the King present that Omichand of this place inhabitant, having been frequently presented to the Court by several Grand Jury for neglecting to repair his houses so great in number in this town which he is possessed of, several of which are quite untenable . . . remain still in a ruinous and untenable condition . . . the Jurors therefore do say that the accused's neglect is a great nuisance to the town in general and to the inhabitants thereof . . . the said nuisance still remains to the hazard of the lives of many inhabitants who are obliged to rent the said houses for want of others as likewise passengers passing by and endangering neighbouring houses by their fall.”

The Court acquainted the Grand Jury that the part of their presentiment should be immediately redressed. We learn from Orme that most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to Amirchand. His garden house three miles from the Fort of Calcutta is famous in history as the place where Siraj-Ud-Daula encamped when he attacked Calcutta in 1756. That Amirchand was also one of the worst landlords is perhaps not known to all.

In my search of facts relating to Amirchand's life during the fateful years of 1756 and 1757, I could only come across the evidence of George Williamson who was Sub-Secretary to the Council during the years of 1757 to 1761 and who deposed thus in a case relating to Amirchand's estate in 1793:—

"I have seen Omichand and Diachand (Diachand) together during Omichand's life. The first time I ever saw them was at Mr. Drake's, the Governor. I did not then know who either of them were but Omichand was leading Diachand by the hand into the council room which must have been just after the capture of Calcutta, by his going up and embracing each member of the Council among whom Colonel Clive was sitting as Commander-in-Chief of the army. Omichand introduced Diachand to each of them as his *palak betta* (adopted son)."

It was most probably after this large-scale embracing that Amirchand accompanied Watts as his adviser to Murshidabad, and thus was set in train the whole series of events in which he played his part, culminating in that famous trick of Clive.

Amirchand died in the month of Agrahayan B. S. 1165, early in December, 1758. For some time before his death he was not in Calcutta and was staying possibly at Malda. His absence from Calcutta is proved by a Sheriff's return of August 15, 1758 in the case of *Edward Handles vs. Omichand*. The return contained the following entry "The within-mentioned is not to be found within my district." The case was a claim for Rs. 5812-9-6, the amount of a bill of parcels for 3 pairs of emerald drops and a trinket. It was withdrawn by the plaintiff.

The story of Amirchand's becoming insane is a pure figment of imagination. In the prolonged litigation over his estate no mention was ever made at any time that he had ever lost his reason. No doubt he was very much annoyed with himself for his failure to get what he thought

was within his grasp, especially when he looked around and found his European friends suddenly enriched beyond their wildest dreams. The feeling of a cheat when he is cheated by another can be easily guessed. But his business dealings with the East India Company continued almost as before. One new development is, however, clearly discernible. As a reaction from this money-making which was so long the be-all and the end-all of his existence, he developed a religious turn of mind. Some time before his death he talked of going to Amritsar as a pilgrim and in his will, after distributing about 1,60,000 among the different members of his family, he left the entire residue as *Debottur* to Sree Gobind Nanakji. This estate was later valued at 42 Lakhs after payment of Rs. 37,500/- to the Magdalen and Foundling Charities in England. For the management of this *Debottur* property there was prolonged litigation between Hira Singh (heir of Hazari Mal) and Bulaki Singh (nephew of Diachand, Amirchand's *palak-betta*).

The Will of Amirchand has been published in the Report of the Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam (1946-47) appointed by the Indian Historical Records Commission. History is not concerned with the long-drawn story of the litigation between Bulaki Singh and Hira Singh. But a genealogical table drawn up by Justice Hyde of the Supreme Court to help his memory may be reproduced here because that would correct some of the current mistakes.

||
Gulabchand
(died before Amirchand)
||
Bhowani Bibi = Dakhin Rai
(Survived Amirchand) ||
||
Diachand another son
died, August, 1793 (probably by another wife)
||
Bulaki Singh

||
Amirchand = Sister of Hazari Mal
(no issue)

Hasari Mal, d/- 1783
||
by Nilu, a slave, after his wife's death
||
Rai Motichand =
Sree Cowar
||
Hira Singh

The property that Amirchand left to Sree Govind Nanakji by his Will was estimated by one of the litigants later as worth 42 Lakhs. Some of the witnesses used indiscriminately the term Govind Nanak and Nanak Govind. The impersonal character of Sikh Guruship was well known. The peculiar Sikh conception was that the Gurus were one and the same. The quarrel between Diachand and Huzuri Mal and between Bulaki Singh and Hira Singh helped to ruin this very valuable trust property of Amirchand.

I have seen Amirchand's name in intimate family correspondence, in official documents drawn up by him and his associates and nowhere is he described as a Singh. It is therefore natural to conclude that he was a Nanakpanthi Sikh. His niece Bhowani Bibi was married to Dakhin Rai. If name is an indication neither he nor Huzuri Mal was a Khalsa Sikh. As has been said, "A Khatri, when a Sikh is ordinarily a Sikh of Nanak rather than a devotee of Guru Govind", because he is not there-

by under the necessity of completely giving up his caste principle. The fact that Diachand's heir was a Sikh of Guru Govind Singh and Huzuri Mal's heir was also a follower of the tenth Guru does not militate against this theory.

Some facts connected with Amirchand's affair after his demise deserve notice. At the request of the executors, Messrs. Frankland and Holwell acted in conjunction with them in collecting all his concerns at the *aurungs* with Mr. Scrafton as their assistant. Huzuri Mal, the principal executor, was anxious to please Englishmen of rank to an extent altogether improper for a person who was in charge of the management of a trust property. Clive took advantage of Huzuri Mal's anxiety to please him to do a favour to Raja Tilakchand of Burdwan, who was indebted to Amirchand's estate to the extent of 15 lakhs. A settlement of account was made at Lord Clive's house in 1765. Huzuri Mull was prepared to give Tilakchand credit for Rs. 2,90,000/-. But Lord Clive made him

give up all except nine lakhs, thus making the executor forego a sum of 3,10,000 rupees.

The servility of Huzuri Mul to Sahibe is best illustrated by his payment to the Magdalen and Foundling charities in 1762. In the case—John Doe on the demise of Hira Singh *vs.* Bulaki Singh—Williamson, who has been quoted before, gave the following evidence:

"Huzuri Mul, the latter end of April in the year 1762 came to Mr. Vansittart when I was with him and hold him that Omichand by his will had left a certain sum of money for two charities in England and begged to know what two charities he Mr. Vansittart would particularly recommend. Mr. Vansittart recommended the Magdalen and Foundling hospitals and he Huzuri Mul acquiesced in that and the next day gave into my hands as Secretary

a letter to that effect in consequence of which an order to that effect was made out."

There is a slight inaccuracy in the evidence of Williamson and it is no wonder because he was giving his evidence in 1793. The verbal offer of Huzuri Mul must have been made on the 31st March, 1762 because the letter was dated 1st April, 1762. He expressed his intention to pay from Amirchand's estate 37,500 current rupees into the Company's cash, 3,000 rupees annually half to the Foundling and half to the Magdalen hospital. I have read the Will of Amirchand as thoroughly as possible and nowhere do I find any provision for the two charities in England. Huzuri Mul made this unauthorized payment of a very considerable sum of money out of Amirchand's estate only to please the Governor and his friends.

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A PLEA FOR HIGHER BANK RATE A Measure Against Post-War Depression

By PROF. P. C. BANERJEE, M.A.

THE POST-WAR BOOM

THE first phase of the post-war period will be naturally a period of boom, as it is now. The demobilisation crisis has been momentary. As the war production is being over, peace production begins and a transfer from war work to peace work takes place. A great demand for repairs and renewal of the plants and machinery, a rush for the construction of buildings and railways and the necessity for starting the postponed social work of the State are being at once arisen. These greatly stimulate first the activities of the capital goods industries and then the consumption goods industries. On the other side, when the war-time controls and restrictions on consumption will be over, the people forced for so long a period to a strict austere living will try to satisfy their pent-up demand for consumption goods. Although the demand for both capital goods and consumption goods may thus be considered as immediate, the switch-over from war to peace economy will require some time. In the transition period, therefore, the rate of output of both the capital and consumption goods would be insufficient to cope with the intensity of demand and their prices would consequently shoot up. This will bring a wind-fall profit to the producers and the trades will experience a highly stimulated activity. This is what may be called a post-war boom.

THE POST-WAR DEPRESSION

But this boom will be temporary and short-lived. It will be the herald of a great depression that awaits us all in the next phase of the post-war period.

The post-war demand will soon be satisfied. This will not be a continuing demand, but a sudden demand arising out of wants that had remained unsatisfied during the war and also out of war damages and postponed repairing and restockings of factories, shops and houses. Being allured by high profits and being facilitated by an abundant supply of funds available

at low rates of interest in the transition period from war to peace, the *entrepreneurs* of capital goods would embark upon projects beyond necessity, and the producers of consumption goods would expand output beyond demand. People's savings in the banks would gradually be drawn upon and would not be replaced by inflated money as it used to be during the war under the regime of inflation. The affluence in the field of finance will now give place to scarcity and the banks would find it difficult to provide money to *entrepreneurs* as freely as they have been doing. Consequently the interest rates might tend to rise. This would at once reduce the prices of securities and also the shares of the industrial concerns. The cost of financing the projects in hands would rise and this would reduce the profitability of the schemes launched. Many of the projects would be abandoned and unemployment would set in first in the capital goods industry. The unemployment in this industry would reduce the effective demand for consumption goods and the set-back in the capital goods trade would also spread to the consumption goods trade within a short time. A crash would occur and the prices would adopt a falling course. It would be difficult to bring a proportionate reduction in the high level of wages and thus the cost of production remaining high, in consequence, the industries would suffer from a cost-prices disequilibrium. Once the ball is set rolling it gathers impetus. Similarly, as the depression spreads, it tends to gather cumulative force. In India, capital goods industry being negligible the break would at once take place in the price of consumption goods, and the unemployment would be more wide in consumption goods industry.

We thus see that the seed of the post-war depression is thus sown in the post-war boom which will ultimately dig its own grave. In order, therefore, to avoid the post-war depression, we have first to avoid the excessive development of the post-war boom.

THE BANKING POLICY

The banking system will play no less a part in the price fluctuations that are inevitable after the war. In spite of a great increase in the demand for money in order to meet the colossal war expenditure, the pre-war Bank rate has been kept intact throughout the war period. In this country this *three per cent war* has been made possible by the abundant supply of paper currency which has made money surprisingly cheap. It would have been better if the Bank Rate were increased and the war were financed more through loans and less through inflation. The upheaval that has taken place in the country's economic and price structures would not settle down at once after the war. Violent fluctuations, as we have noted, both upwards and downwards of prices are likely to follow one after another before a readjustment of the different economic phenomena takes place. Much of the vagaries of price fluctuation can be checked if the banks take timely actions and adopt a wise policy. This the Reserve Bank can do to a certain extent through the manipulation of Bank rate according to the circumstances. Tinkering with the credit and the currency policy would be of little value to avert the crisis and a stable Bank Rate even then would be another blunder on the road to stabilisation.

THE PRESENT HIGHER RATE OF EXCHANGE

There is one more danger in India which may intensify the slump. The post-war exchange policy of the Indian Government will have a great bearing upon the period of transition from war to peace. If the rupee is not revalued after the war in terms of sterling and the policy of the Government is to hold on to the present rate of exchange, the banking authorities will be sparing every nerve to resist falls and encourage rises in the rupee-sterling rate of exchange when the free movements of international trade are restored. It is with this end in view that the Bank Rate in India might be raised higher and higher at certain later period of the post-war boom. Its efforts on the business psychology would be catastrophic, and it would accentuate the vigour of depression. After the first world war, the high rate of 2s., a legacy of the Babington Smith Committee, accentuated the trend of falling prices in India from 1920 onwards. England too, being eager to re-establish the gold standard after the last war at the pre-war rate, tried hard to resist falls in the dollar-sterling rate. The exchange in America was unpegged, and to raise the dollar-sterling rate in New York, England thought it prudent to attract funds from America. The Bank Rate was consequently raised in England to as high as 7 per cent, and, this at a time when the depression had already set in. As a result the depression was intensified and it continued so till the middle of 1922 when the Bank Rate was brought down to the level of 3 per cent which brought about an improvement in the situation. In India, we are threatened with a similar experience after this war, when the freedom in export and import trades would be re-instated fully, if no measure is

taken against such calamities. While the prices then would be tumbling down, money wages and other costs of production would not follow suit. And this money cost of production lagging behind the associated price movement, which is a natural accompaniment of a severe monetary slump, will curtail heavily business profits, and this is surely to bring a serious contraction of employment.

A HIGHER BANK RATE NOW

Every care should be taken by the banking system to be free from the temptation of creating an expansionary credit during the period of post-war boom. Noticing the sign of an all-round optimism, there is every possibility of the banking system to be allured to build up a huge structure of credit expansion which would at once crack as the depression would stealthily set in. Therefore, instead of waiting for the depression and then raise up the Bank Rate as a remedy, as England did after the first world war, it would be prudent to raise it now as soon as possible. This would not permit the Bank Rate to remain below the natural rate, as has been the case during the war just ended. Is not prevention always better than cure?

CONCLUSION

To sum up, in order to meet the immediate post-war crisis, the country should take every monetary, fiscal and necessary control measure in order to prevent prices from collapsing. A big programme of public investment should at once be launched to replace the war expenditure. The object should be a gradual and orderly fall in prices all round and to prevent a drastic monetary contraction. In the meantime, the Bank Rate should be raised to a higher level in order to prevent the *entrepreneurs* from embarking upon projects beyond necessity with the help of cheap money available. When the control over import and export will be fully lifted, there would be a heavy rush of foreign goods into the country as the prices in India are comparatively higher. As a remedial measure the problem of the devaluation of the rupee would at once be taken up for consideration and a proper rupee-sterling rate should be fixed, so that the higher ratio may not get an opportunity of increasing the country's import at the cost of its export. The effect of higher rupee ratio has already begun to tell upon the Indian prices, as the prices of a few articles of foreign consumer goods which have already made their appearance in the market are far lower than their Indian equivalence. Unless the rupee is revalued and the exchange rate is fixed at its new natural level, all the programme of stabilisation will be torn into pieces. As our sterling balances would gradually be dissipated by paying for our import, the contraction of currency would become inevitable. The country should, at all means, avoid such rapid deflation and, if necessary, issue *ad hoc* securities to prevent the currency from sudden contraction. When prices have come down to a reasonable and economic level, they should be scientifically stabilised.

In the border sphere, the economic stability of the country can only be achieved if the currency policy of the India Government and the credit policy of the Reserve Bank are properly married together. The instability in the standard of value is to a large extent, responsible for the economic miseries and disappointment of expectation of the present-day world. Although difficult, it is not impossible, however, to maintain the stability of the measuring rod of value

within limits with the help of the new ideas now developing in the banking world. A mind free from conservative and orthodox notions and having an aptitude for clear analysis of the real situation can confidently steer through difficult times and reach the destination safely. The future currency reforms in this country should be carried out in the above light.

5.11.46

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THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES

By PROF K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., M.L.A. (Patna State)

The latest declaration of H.M.G. makes the following points clear :

i. That the British would withdraw from India by June 1948.

ii. As far as the States are concerned, Paramountcy would cease to exist ; the States would regain their sovereignty and begin to exercise full governmental functions.

The average reader of this journal would at once begin to imagine big states like Hyderabad and Mysore when he reads or hears about Indian States. What we should note first is that there are about six hundred States in India occupying an area of 712,508 sq. miles and having a population of 93 millions according to the census of 1941. Of these only ten are bigger than the smallest of British Indian Provinces; there are only 30 States which are bigger than the average size of a British Indian District; Lava State in Rajputana is about 19 sq. miles; while there are some States which are no better than small holdings. It is illogical and much confusion would arise in calling all these entities by the same term as 'States'; but the recent declaration implies that all these States, big and small, though they came under the British under different circumstances and though they enjoy today different degrees of autonomy and power of internal government, would find themselves vested with full sovereign powers.

The declaration of H.M.G. has only one meaning to the States—Paramountcy would cease. What does it mean? Paramountcy is difficult to define; the Butler Committee could not exactly define it and they were content merely to remark that 'Paramountcy is paramount'. It simply means in non-technical language the sum-total of the powers exercised by the British Government through the Viceroy and the Political Department on the 'sovereign and inherent rights' of the Ruler of the State. The word is very elastic and its meaning varies in practice depending upon treaties, conventions, politics and personalities. It ranges from the right to advise the Nizam on the appointments to the Executive Council to the right to depose the Ruler. In fact, as Lord Curzon said, "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its prerogatives." Lord Reading made it complete when he asserted that the right of intervention in the internal affairs of a State was inherent in the para-

mounty of the British Crown and the right might be exercised at the sole discretion of the Crown.

A perusal of the development of the relations between the States and the Crown would convince us that these States were never treated as equals at all and that they were allowed to enjoy internal autonomy as a matter of grace and to a degree according to contingencies. Paramountcy has never been defined and one of the points constantly urged by the Princes through their Chamber was for the definition of Paramountcy; and one of the points that troubled the Princes all these years was to whom Paramountcy would be transferred when the British quit India. Paramountcy all these years was exercised by the Crown not only in Imperial interests but also in the interests of British India. In his speech at Udaipur, Lord Minto stated that "there are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs and other services of an imperial character." (Italics mine). If control of the Indian States was required to safeguard these general interests as stated by Lord Minto, the necessity to safeguard those interests is still there.

An unnecessary controversy is raging in India now on the question of Sovereignty. Independence is being given to India by legal transfer as a 'gift' of the British and just as we cannot question the right of the British to confer Pakistan so also we cannot question the right of the British to confer full sovereign status on the States. Yes, even Lava in Rajputana having an area of 19 sq. miles can be independent; but the question is not one of the *right* of being independent but one of *might* of retaining independence. Sovereignty is a question of *fact* and not one for theoretical discussion. Even I can declare independence at any time and the question is one of might; if I have ten atom bombs with me, probably I can declare independence at once—nothing can prevent me. Legally all the States do become fully sovereign States in June, 1948 and then there are three courses open to them :

i. They can declare independence and remain aloof or enter into some agreement with the Indian Union on some common matters ; or

ii. They can come into the Indian Union and

form a Federation handing over a part of sovereignty to the Federal Government; or

iii. They can all form together into a Federation and enter into some agreement with the Indian Union or remain aloof.

Whatever course the Indian States take and whether all of them take the same course or not would depend on circumstances, practical difficulties and political realities, but not on the legal interpretation of sovereignty. There is as yet no international law governing national States and even if there is one it is bound to remain a dead letter in the absence of an international authority capable of enforcing it; in other words, law without force behind it, is bound to remain a dead letter whether it is in national sphere or in the international sphere.

Theoretically there are many possibilities. The States, even Lava, can declare independence and then adopt any of the following steps to retain that independence:

i. Seek *de facto* recognition from some of the strong nations like Britain, U.S.A., or U.S.S.R.—the three countries that are exercising the rights of an International authority by virtue of their might; or

ii. Enter into an alliance—defensive and offensive—with any of them; and/or

iii. Secure membership of U. N. O.

But practically, political wisdom would dictate to the States the advisability of joining the Indian Union in one form or the other, as no outside Government would be interested in these States to enter into alliance with them against India.

The only practical course open therefore is to join the Indian Union—and this can be done in the following manner, as indicated earlier:

i. By joining the Indian Union by surrendering a part of the sovereignty, as do the provinces, for federal purposes, specially for Defence, Customs and Communications.

ii. By declaring independence and then entering into an alliance with the Indian Centre for definite purposes, specially for Defence.

Whatever is the course taken, the practical effects are the same: the question that would arise in future is: what attitude should the Centre take if there is an internal disturbance? It is well-known that today the Princes are able to rule not by the will of the people—though the contrary cannot be asserted,—nor by any inherent strength of theirs, but simply by the protection offered by the Paramount Power. But the Paramount Power always insisted on the right of internal intervention in case of bad government as a corollary to the protection offered. If the same protection is expected from the Union Centre, the same right of intervention should be conceded also. Again Paramountcy was exercised, to quote Lord Minto, 'to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole... such as railways, telegraphs and other Imperial services', and these interests should still be safeguarded by the Indian Union which means intervention with Indian States' internal administration. So the Princes might be feeling, and with legitimate fears, that whatever might be legal phraseology of the relationship with the Indian Union, force of events would gradually result in a new Indian

Political Department trying to interfere with their autonomy.

I concede the possibility but there is also another possibility that cannot be overlooked. Where the Union subjects are strictly limited by a written constitution, the actual working of Federations shows that the scope for intervention is less and less; even in India it was demonstrated by the inability of the Centre to intervene in Bengal. The Princes may rest assured that no Indian Political Department could be substituted for the present one under the new constitution, as the relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of suzerainty, whereas the relationship of the Union with the States would be one of equality. A strong Federal Court would be the best safeguard against any incursions of the Union into States' powers.

By adopting the second course, namely, declaring independence and then entering into a sort of a loose or strong alliance with the Indian Union, the States would be getting a better bargain. Those that are thinking in these terms are no doubt clever but they are not counting upon the contingency of the Indian Centre refusing to enter into such an undertaking—the prospect of the British leaving with nobody to fill the void to protect them. The meagre armies that they maintain or they can maintain in future are not sufficient to stop the popular rising when specially such risings would be actively helped and encouraged by British Indian political parties; (There can be fear of internal disorders only but no fear of any external aggression in the coming years as far as the States are concerned).

It is a serious point that must engage the attention of all the parties concerned. Suppose there is a State X which has joined the Indian Union. Suppose after June, 1948, there is a popular agitation against the government for self-rule; and suppose, in order to quell it, the Ruler as the Head of the Government asks the Union Centre for military aid. What is the attitude to be taken by the Union Government? Can it refuse aid, or could it allow its army to suppress popular movements? Whatever may be the legal position, the people of India would not allow the Indian army to be used against the people of the Indian States; and any Government of the Union with such designs would be forced to resign. So those of the States that are thinking in terms of declaring independence and then entering into military alliance with Indian Centre are simply gambling away their future; they hope to get everything, but the chances are they will surely lose everything—even the monarchical system of Government might vanish in those States—for nothing can save them against their own people helped by powerful neighbours.

The interests of the Rulers and the people of the States therefore lie in straightway joining the Union in federal units as is being advocated by Gaskwad of Baroda, Maharaja of Patna and other enlightened Princes.

Pandit Nehru's warning not to become 'hostile' and the Maharaja of Patna's warning not to become 'reactionaries' are timely. Time will prove that the lead given by Baroda and Patna is the only right course,

While what is written above applies largely to big

States which number about ten to fifteen, the problem of small States is different. The income of none of these States is sufficient to enable it to stand alone. There are three courses open for them:

- i. They can join the Union straight ; or
- ii. They can first form a group and as a group they can join the Indian Union as a Unit ; or
- iii. They can be absorbed into the neighbouring State or Province.

Of course No. (i) is out of the question. No. (ii) is feasible only when the small States are contiguous and can form a decent unit. Where the small States are scattered and cannot be formed into various groups, they have to be absorbed, but in this case the wish of the people concerned should be taken into account before any definite action is taken.

As an example of what can be done, the Eastern States' Agency can be taken. It has forty-two States. Out of these two are Bengal States and stand far away from

the rest. The rest are more or less contiguous. They can form a decent Unit for a Group with a population of about 80 lacs and with an income of about 4 crores. Attempts are being made at a high level to form a Federal Union of these States with responsible government as the goal. The Maharaja of Patna has made a very bold declaration promising complete responsible Government to his people by 1952, or even earlier if circumstances permit. Thus a time-limit for the grant of responsible Government has been set in Patna and the interval is expected to train the necessary personnel. It is hoped that the other Rulers in India would take his example and follow suit and set a time-limit for the grant of complete Self-Government.* 1-5-1947.

* The author wants to make it clear that the views expressed in this article are entirely his own and the Government or the Maharaja he has the proud privilege of serving have nothing to do with them either directly or indirectly.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS IN THE FUTURE INDIAN FEDERATION. By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. 1944. Price Rs. 4.

The problem of distribution of powers between the centre and the units is a pivotal one in any scheme of federation and naturally it has engaged the attention of constitution-makers as well as publicists all over the world over more than a century and a half past that the federal form has come to be accepted as the most suitable one for all countries except very small ones with complete homogeneity of conditions. Whatever differences exist among different schools of political India about the future political set-up there is perfect unanimity in one point, viz., that it should be a federal one. There has been a lot of controversy, however, on the question of allocation of legislative powers as between the federation and the constituent units in this country ever since the problem of constitution-making for a free India was broached. The problem is an intricate and difficult one in any federation. In fact, the success or failure of a federal scheme which is by its very nature an essay in a delicate balancing of centrifugal and centripetal forces depends on a satisfactory solution of this one problem which should leave adequate scope for the free self-expression of the units and at the same time provide for national unity and integrity. It does not, however, admit of a uniform solution in terms of a rigid formula. Different countries have adopted different plans of allocation according to their peculiar history and tradition, genius and needs. Unfortunately

in our country the approach to this question also as in many others has been vitiated by communalism, the bane of Indian politics and instead of being determined, as it should have been, by considerations of economic, political and military needs of the country, the solution has been sought on the communal plane. The author has analysed the scheme of distribution in some of the typical federations as also in the Indian constitution under the Government of India Act, 1935, and has formulated his own scheme for the future constitution of India in the light of experience of working of those plans. The basic principle of allocation that he has adopted for this purpose is that the centre should have specific powers, residuary powers vesting in the units somewhat on the American model. He has, of course, put forward cogent reasons in support of his thesis. Applying this principle he has worked out in Chapter II a detailed list of legislative powers which should vest in the Centre. The proposed federal legislative list has been arranged under seven broad categories, viz., (1) Defence and External Affairs ; (2) Industry, Trade and Commerce ; (3) Transport and Communication ; (4) Finance and Taxation ; (5) Subjects upon which uniformity of laws is desirable ; (6) Labour ; and (7) Miscellaneous. This list is to be divided into two parts—some subjects in each category being within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal legislature while others being under the concurrent jurisdiction of the legislatures of both the union and the units. Against any possible conflict in the concurrent field it is provided that federal law would prevail over the law of any unit. So virtually there would be three legislative lists. Although attempt has been made to make the federal list fairly

wide yet the federation would necessarily be weak in comparison with the units under the proposed scheme. The author wrote in the perspective of a United India which the Muslim League could not be persuaded to accept except on the basis of a weak centre. A completely new situation has been brought about since by the partition of India. Moreover, recent events in the Punjab and other parts of the country with the gigantic problems of evacuation and rehabilitation that they have brought in their trail, besides the critical food situation and problems of economic planning and reconstruction are all a pointer to the need of a very strong centre in this country. The reviewer believes that the author would now feel inclined to modify his scheme in the light of recent developments. This, however, does not detract from the merit of the work. It is a very timely publication which must have been helpful to our constitution-makers for a thorough and masterly treatment of one of the thorny and vital problems confronting them. The author deserves to be congratulated on the exhaustive treatment of such a subject within the short compass of a monograph of only seventy-three pages.

A. K. GHOSAL

EVERYDAY PSYCHO-ANALYSIS : By *Girindia Shekhar Bose, M.B., D.Sc.* Published by *Susil Gupta, 1 Wellesley Street, Calcutta.* Price Rs. 6.

A detailed academic discussion about the merits of the book will certainly be out of place here. We, therefore, make only some general observations. It is perfectly true that one cannot learn psycho-analysis by reading books, but if there be one genuinely interested—and we believe there are many such at present—in knowing something about its nature and techniques, its wide scope, its utility not only as a therapeutic measure but also as a means of solving many problems of our individual and social life, he cannot do better than carefully go through the pages of this volume. Written by a recognised authority the book indicates in simple and easily understandable language, what psycho-analysis is, its methods and applications, how it can be of use to businessmen in his dealings, to criminologists, to theorists of human behaviour, as also to husbands and wives in their domestic troubles and to mothers in their onerous task of bringing up children. No student of psychology and we are of opinion, no intending social worker can afford to omit this book from the list of their basic studies. Every one having some interest in and curiosity to know the motives that drive men and women to do what they do in the various spheres of life, family, occupational, social, will receive a great deal of enlightenment from the perusal of the book.

S. C. MITRA

LOGIC FOR THE MILLIONS : By *A. E. Mander.* Published by the *Philosophical Library ; 15 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y., U.S.A.*

We had occasion to make some adverse comment on a publication of these publishers. But we concede that in bringing out this book, they have justified their name. Though Logic is not philosophy, it is a necessary propaedeutic to philosophy. This logic has been shed of its old inelastic form and has been presented to learners in a new and very attractive garb. Avoiding the traditional scheme, emphasis has been laid by the writer only on the essentials and all unnecessary paraphernalia have been dropped. To the general and casual reader, the book has a special value. "Thinking is skilled work," as the author has aptly put it ; and he has shown in an excellent way

that this skill may be acquired by any man of average intelligence with a little diligence and exercise. We hope the book will be read by all who desire to learn Logic and also by those who wish to think well without being logicians. Places of learning where Logic is taught will benefit by having a copy of this book. It can be recommended as an introductory study even for those who desire an advanced and more technical study of the subject.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BRITISH SAVAGERY IN INDIA : Edited by *Mr. Ram Narain Vidyarthi.* Published by *Messrs Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd., Agra.* Pages 333 + 20. Price Rs. 9-8.

This is a very timely publication when the country is attaining her independence after a life and death struggle for over twenty-five years under the leadership of Gandhiji. August 8, 1942, is a red-letter day in the history of Indian struggle for independence, as it was on that date that the Congress passed the famous 'Quit India' resolution. August 9th saw the arrest of almost all Congress leaders of the A.-I. C. C. followed by untold repression started by the Government all over India. Leaderless, the Indian masses, burst into a revolution the like of which India never witnessed before. The author, by his quotations from various authoritative sources, has brought out a horrible picture of the atrocities perpetrated by guardians of law and order. It was the war of a Government equipped with modern weapons of destruction against unarmed masses of an unfortunate country groaning under the tyranny of foreign exploiters for centuries. Mr. Vidyarthi has proved by records whose authority cannot be challenged that the actions of the authorities were not justified and were pre-meditated. The Government was determined to kill the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. Indian leaders who were in prison can not be held responsible for the mass excesses in several parts of the country.

A book of this nature deserves to be kept in all the libraries of the country.

A. B. DUTTA

INDIAN AGRICULTURE : By *Dr. R. D. Tiwari, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.* Published by *New Book Company, 188-90 Hornby Road, Bombay.* Pp. 420.

Dr. Tiwari's book is a valuable addition to our slender stock of literature on agricultural economics. The appalling poverty of the Indian people is due to the inefficient technique of utilisation of our resources and it is true both in respect of agriculture and manufacturing industries. The author has shown how the Indian technique of agricultural production has failed to take advantage of modern scientific developments and how the present method of production has involved colossal waste of natural and human resources. The chapters on the unit of agricultural work, and tillage and technique deserve special mention. The author has emphasised the imperative need to secure an immediate and effective solution of the problem of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. We fully agree with his view that an exclusive reliance on the co-operative spirit, specially at the present moment, will cause undue delay and, at the same time, the work cannot be entrusted to the Revenue Department so long as it continues with its present machinery and outlook. To accelerate the speed of consolidation of holdings, the Provincial Governments may constitute special consolidation Boards composed of trained economists, experienced officers of the revenue and co-operative departments and a senior member of the Bar. The constitution and

functions of the Board, as suggested by the author, should receive serious attention of the Provincial Governments. If the units of agriculture can be sufficiently increased so as to make them economic and if the technique of cultivation is improved, most of our agricultural problems will be easily solved. Only a National Government can have the willingness and power to undertake the task of economic and social reconstruction. The Government of the Indian Union must now undertake improvement of agriculture as the first task in its programme for a reconstruction of Free India.

D. BURMAN

YOGA IN DAILY LIFE : By Swami Sivananda. Published by the Sivananda Publication League, Rikhi-kesh. Pp. 169. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book is comprised of ten sections, besides an appendix and a routine at the end. The ten sections deal with Bhakti Yoga, Karma Yoga, Raja Yoga, Jnana Yoga, Hatha Yoga, meditation, Brahmacharya, as well as stories and narratives, etc. The reader may find the volume as 'full of practical instructions, precious hints and helpful suggestions.' The author in a nutshell and in simple English has described the various useful practices of Yoga in daily life. That the book has been popular to many is evident from this revised, enlarged third edition under review.

The printing and get-up leave little to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

BIBHINNA DESHER NARI O SAMAJ (2nd Edition) : By Kshitish Ch. Banerjee. To be had of the author, Po. Garia, Dt. 24-Parganas. Price Rs. 2-4.

The author is a well-known world tourist who travelled over many countries of the East and the West. In the present volume he has presented in an interesting way the first-hand experiences which he gathered about the women of different nationalities during his tour round the world. Every passage of the book indicates that his power of observation is keen and his reflections are also thought-provoking. The chapter on Japanese women is decidedly the best chapter in the book.

KALOR ALO (3rd Edition) : By Sourindra Mohan Mukherjee. The National Literature Co., 106 Cotton Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

Sj. Sourindra Mohan Mukherjee is a voluminous writer of short stories and fictions. He is one of the most popular writers of Bengal and his popularity is mainly due to two things i.e., simplicity of his style and note of sincerity in all his writings. The subject-matter of the present novel is selected from the every-day life of the middle class Bengali family. Sarat and Prafulla were two brothers. Sarat's wife Uma, loved Prafulla with all tenderness, he was more than a son to her. But their domestic peace was disturbed immediately after the marriage of Prafulla with the daughter of a deputy. Prafulla's wife Sindhu cut off all connections with her husband's family but after the sudden demise of Prafulla she came to her senses and realised that her real place was amongst the members of her deceased husband's family. Her world was, as it were, covered with darkness. She was dismayed and prayed for light which would lead her towards the right direction. The writer has shown great skill in the treatment of characters. Of course, the discerning critic may trace subtle influence of the characters of Saratchandra's novels over some of them. In spite of this and some other drawbacks we can unhesitatingly say that the simple story-element of this novel will be a great relief to many readers

who are tired of reading so-called intellectual modern novels, full of religious, social, economic and other problems.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

KAH PANTHA : By Prof. Sudhansubimal Mukhopadhyaya. Introduction by Prof. Tripurari Chakravarti. Bina Library, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pages 136. Price Rs. 5.

The book is a collection of twelve brilliant essays on social, political, economic, educational and cultural regeneration of the U.S.S.R. Russia today is a land of marvels. She has been rescued from the bog of misrule and effete administration by the makers of the Revolution. What could not be expected to be achieved in course of a century of Tsarist rule has been done in two decades. Russia in the modern world ranks as a class I Power not only militarily but also in respect of cultural advance. She stands for a new economic order based on classless society. Naturally, millions of proletariats whose vitality is being sapped by the ruthless factory-machine of the Capitalists look up to U. S. R. R. as the land of their dream and redeeming ideas, of big experiments involving the fate of toiling humanity.

Free India today has launched upon a new career; it is a voyage in an uncharted sea as it were. The task of making the country prosperous and happy is pressing and strenuous. The results of the Russian experiments achieved so far and the ways and means adopted by the Socialist leaders will undoubtedly be helpful to Indian leaders of thought and action in chalking out a line of progressive work. Hence the importance of books dealing with Russian experiments and achievements.

Sudhansu Babu has made a wide study of Russia and her problems. His articles are replete with facts and arguments arranged cogently and logically with an undercurrent of philosophic vein throughout. In the concluding article the writer has raised a query—Are the Socialists right? Are they wrong? Which is the right way to cure the ills of the old world? In a masterly Introduction Prof. Tripurari Chakravarti of the Calcutta University has discussed the ideals and achievements of the Socialists.

In order to make the book appealing to readers having knowledge of Bengali only we would suggest that the English quotations so copiously cited may be replaced by their Bengali renderings in the next edition.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

HINDI

GITA-PRAVACHAN : By Vinoba. Translated from Marathi by Haribhan Upadhyaya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 2-8.

In 1932 while under detention in Dhulia Jail, Shri Vinoba,—'the near-ideal *satyagrahi*' of Gandhiji's conception, a great scholar turned a man of action for the service of his suffering and suppressed fellow-countrymen,—delivered discourses in Marathi on the *Bhagavad-Gita*, which were then recorded by Shri Sane Guruji of Maharashtra. The present volume is a translation of his transcript, duly corrected by Vinobaji and since published in Marathi, in which language the book has become a hot favourite of the Marathi-speaking public, into Hindi by the well-known writer and scholar, Shri Haribhan Upadhyaya,—in itself, therefore, a guarantee of the excellence of his achievement. Vinobaji has, in these discourses, aimed only at bringing out the essential ideas in each of the eighteen chapters of the scripture, in question. But the clarity of his thought, the simplicity with which he sets it forth, and the abundance of analogy, anecdote, illustration in which he is an adept (and which indirectly gives one an idea of the volume and width of his reading) have invested his interpretation with an easy intelligibility; which is seldom to be met

with in the usual pattern of presentations of profound, philosophical doctrines. *Gita-Prabachan* is, therefore, sure to find before long a permanent place on the shelf of every Hindi-knowing student of the *Gita*. It can be used admirably and effectively by all those who are engaged in social work, as a handbook for congregational spiritual instruction.

DHARMA-PALAN: *Gandhiji's post-prayer discourses—compiled by Shri Prabhudas Gandhiji. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 253. Price Re. 1-8.*

Gandhiji's post-prayer discourses have become both an institution as well as an abiding inspiration. But in order that others, beside those who happen to be present at the time, also may be able to derive benefit from these, it is indispensable that they should be recorded, as far as possible, verbatim and then published in book-form. So far, however, only a summary of these has appeared in the daily press as well as in the *Harijan*. Shri Prabhudas Gandhiji has, therefore, done a distinct service by showing the way in the desired direction. In the present collection, which covers discourses delivered at New Delhi from 1st April to 16th June, 1947, he has tried, with commendable success, to give the discourses as fully and in Gandhiji's own words, as far as possible. And to re-create the atmosphere, preceding the discourses, he has prefixed interesting and informative paragraphs bearing on the subject. At the end there are two useful appendices,—in one the prayer-verses from the various scriptures which are recited prior to the discourse which, by the bye, deals with crucial current problems—a kind of a running commentary by Public Conscience,—are given, while the other is a transcript of Gandhiji's historic speech at the A. J. C. Committee's session, at New Delhi on 25th June, 1947, *Dharma-Palan* is worthy of being the Bible of India's teeming millions.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **JAGATMAN JANAVAJHEVUN**: *By Chotalal Mansing Kawdar, B.A. Thick card-board. Pp. 128. Price ten annas.*

(2) **GRAHAJIVANNI KALA**: *By "Samaj Shastri." Thick card-board. Pp. 127. Price ten annas.*

(3) **ITIHASNE AJAWALE**: *By Indra Vasavada. Thick card-board. Pp. 136. Price ten annas.*

Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, 1945.

The title of the first book means "Wonders Worth Knowing in This World." It is written on the lines of such books in the English language, which try to give in a small compass but in popular style, all that is worth knowing about matters and objects round about us, such as, birds, animals, electricity; as to why sea water is salt, and as to why the cloth Alpaca is so-called, and several other useful matters. In the second book, "Samaj Shastri" (Student of Sociology) gives the reader several "tips" for the purpose of leading a happy, harmonious and peaceful domestic life, in other words, creating "A Happy Home." Its 19 chapters are full of kernel and also thought-provoking. "By the Light of History," the third book, is a record, in

10 chapters illustrated by instances from our mythology and history of India's greatness, from the Vedic Age down to the age of Rajput chivalry and valour. The compiler has been successful in showing that greatness of soul and largeness of heart of Indians as in a mirror.

(1) **SHRI YOGA VASISHTHA**: *By Gopaladas Jivabhai Patel. Card-board cover. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 4.*

(2) **KALA ETALE SHUN**: *By Maganbhai P Desai. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3-8.*

(3) **HIND NUN PRAJAKIYA ARTHA SHASTRA**: *By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Paper cover. Pp. 176. Price Re. 1-8.*

Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, 1945.

Yoga Vasishtha is one of the most difficult philosophical treatises in India's metaphysical literature. The philosophy of the Dwait and Adwait (Dual and non-dual) is so difficult to grasp. However this *chhayanu-vad* (transition of substance), with the learned introduction of the M. P. Desai, has tried to sail clear of the technical side of the subject, to make it as popular as possible and within grasp of the ordinary reader, and succeeded. Tolstoy's "What is Art" is translated, by Mr. M. P. Desai in the second book, into Gujarati in such a way as to preserve the spirit of the original and attract the reader to the subject. A treatise on National Indian Economics right up to the present period was over-due. The third book of Mr. Kothari intelligently planned and ably written, supplies the want.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CONGRESS MISSION TO MALAYA: *By Dr. C. Siva Rama Sastry of the Congress Medical Mission to Malaya, 1946. With a foreword by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. To be had of Shree Haranadha Murali, Tenali. Pp. 100. Profusely illustrated. Price Rs. 2.*

NATIONAL HARMONY: *By Percival Spear.*

CO-OPERATION: *By W. R. S. Sathianadhan & J. C. Ryan. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Nos. 38 & 39. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price As. 6 each.*

KASHMIR (TRADE & TOUR) GUIDE AND BUSINESS DIRECTORY, 1947-48: *Publishers—Rine-misray, Srinagar, Kashmir. Distributors New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Cloth-bound. Profusely illustrated. Pp. 276. Price Rs. 4.*

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY —(1946-47 Annual): *Vol. X, August, 1947. Publishers—Gandhi & Co. Pp. xlviii+104+66+xxvii. Price Rs. 6.*

ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION, TAMIL NAD TIRUPUR—ANNUAL REPORT, 1945-46.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Shakespeare. The Master-BUILDER

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Thomson King, an American engineer, writes of Shakespeare as the master-builder of word structures. He attained a pre-eminence that is unique among the creative artists of the world :

I have been asked to write of Shakespeare as an engineer, but I think the request was made because I am an engineer of sorts; not because Shakespeare was any sort of engineer. He was a master-builder, but his materials were not those used in engineering. They were more vital, more enduring. He built for all mankind and for all time structures of words made imperishable by their meaning, by harmony, by beauty that is a joy forever.

He created characters that live today, that will be loved and hated as long as man continues to climb the upward path, so long as he can feel and think of love and hate, of triumph and despair. Above all he created dramas, those colourful tapestries woven of the threads of human life and character, whose patterns truthfully portray with infinite pathos and understanding the struggle and travail of our lives, the eternal conflict between good and evil.

In the building of word structure and the creation of characters Shakespeare showed tremendous creative power and rare originality. When he began to write, the makers of plays among the Western nations were still dominated by the ideas of the great writers of Greece and Rome. Tragedy and comedy were separate and distinct and never the twain should meet. A tragedy was unrelieved by any lighter interlude.

Very early he broke the shackles of the classic tradition and disregarded the oracles by showing tragedy with interludes of comedy.

His feeling for and fidelity to life were so great that the older method seemed unnatural. He began to write of life as he saw or imagined it. He followed no man or fashion whose dictates were foreign to his genius. His building of drama is characterized by a glorious originality and freshness. As the Parthenon and the Taj Mahal have been the inspiration of architects and the despair of imitators through the centuries, so the word buildings of Shakespeare have stood the supreme tests of time and change to enthral us today with matchless grace, dignity and beauty.

In the work of all great writers, teachers and philosophers we find something transcendent, almost divine, in the master's knowledge and portrayal of human nature, coupled with very human qualities. "Gods for they knew the hearts of men; men for they stooped to fame." Frequently Shakespeare gives us the whole summation of a character or a situation in one unforgettable brief sentence. Old Lear, hopeless, witless, broken in body and spirit by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" hears Gloucester ask, "Is't not the king?" The question strikes something submerged, but still alive; for a moment memory and pride return and he replies, "Aye, every inch a king." In those five words we see what he has been,

what manner of man he was, with a clarity and an intensity that no elaborate description by a lesser man could produce.

The builder of words and drama, to an even greater extent than the builder in stone, must choose his materials from the common mass available to all. The grace and dignity of the completed edifice, the beauty of workmanship, come from the brain and skill of the architect and builder. The combinations of words, of sound and sense, the creation and delineation of character by words and actions, are found in the mind and imagination of the writer. In this respect Shakespeare is the superb, supreme prodigal of all time. There seem to be no bounds to his fancy, no exhaustion of his coinage of expressions, so apt and pertinent that they have become the heritage of every man, and are used every day by thousands without an idea of their origin. How many who say "To make assurance doubly sure" know they are quoting Macbeth? Who says "And none so poor to do him reverence" with the thought that he is quoting Antony? It is this quality that fills us with continuous admiration and amazement. We read and reread him all our lives and in the end can say "Time cannot wither, nor custom stale his infinite variety!" In each play he pours out such a wealth of thoughts and observations, such wisdom and fancy that one feels the treasure-house must have been emptied, but the next is equally rich with jewels of fancy and the refined gold of wisdom.

This master-builder of drama, otherwise the most original of writers, did not invent the plots of his plays.

He preferred to use incidents from history, the old chronicles or old stories and plays. He has not told us his reasons, he was not interested in autobiography. Perhaps it was because there was no such thing as a new plot. The basic emotions and situations in human relations are limited in number. The details, the way they may be presented and described are of infinite variety. Perhaps his audiences could better understand and appreciate plots of which they had some previous knowledge.

So he took the plots and principal characters of his historical plays from Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Plutarch. For non-historical plays he drew on Boccaccio and others who had in turn taken them from earlier sources. He took these plots and characters as a great sculptor takes a block of marble that other men have taken from the quarry and hews and shapes it into a statue of beauty and meaning to adorn a stately capitol or temple.

Twelve Aspects of American Literature

Krishnalal Shridharani writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

During the few months I have spent in India after my twelve-year stay in the United States, I have been asked many questions about the state of American letters. This quest for American literature is a part of India's new interest in the United States. It is more than that. It signifies the death of a popular myth.

Formerly it was believed that America has no literature. And upon my return I find that American books have flooded the Indian market, as they have flooded the rest of the world.

It is hard to provide an introduction to American literature short of writing a tome. All I can do is to provide a peephole. And it is bound to be an Indian peephole, since I functioned as an Indian writer even in the United States.

The fact that I could function in America as an Indian writer is itself indicative of the open-door policy of American literature. Most cultures of the world are suspicious of foreign ways. Most professions are intolerant of foreigners. Especially the writers of a country operate on the basis of closed-shop. A writer of one country writing in the language of another is hardly taken seriously. Take the instance of England. In its long and glorious literary traditions, it has accepted only one foreigner as its own—Joseph Conrad.

American literature offers a refreshing relief in this otherwise isolationist pattern. America has accepted and even glorified foreign writers residing on its soil and writing in English. I can cite many names but I shall limit myself to only two writers who are no strangers to thinking Indians—the late Dhana Gopal Mukerjee of India and Lin Yutang of China. America's literary tastes know no national boundaries; they are truly catholic in the non-religious sense of the term.

This open door policy of American literature reflects the character of America as a nation. America is the world in miniature. It is, like India, a melting pot of races and religions, colours and creeds. Fresh racial stocks continued to pour into the melting pot. And yet what emerged was not a hybrid but an authentic type—the American.

This is the first facet of the American life which we should bear in mind in order to understand American literature. And since literature mirrors the life of a people, we must understand what is called "the American Way." American literature has been enriched by the myriad cultural traits which go to make America. I will give only unexpected examples, unexpected, that is, to Indians. You will find Oriental mysticism in the haunting poetry of Khalil Gibran, the Syrian. You will find the elusive quality of Tagore's plays in the dramas of William Saroyan, the Armenian.

The second element that we should note is the physical immensity of the country. America is larger than India, but that comparison does not evoke the full image of the titan. This immense country was rugged and virginal only three hundred years ago. The lore of the Aryan pioneers who tamed India is now remote from our consciousness. But the saga of the sturdy pioneers who broke the American frontier is still a matter of family traditions. So the American novel has an epic overtone. It reflects the ruggedness and all the violence of its vast landscape which was untamed and unconquered until very recently. The turbulence and intensity of the frontier life continue to govern themes which are hardly pioneering. Take the instance of Theodore Dreiser whose naturalism matches that of Emile Zola, and whose *An American Tragedy* (1925) is the terrifying epic of weakness turning into strength through crucifixion. (I should be pardoned when I single out Dreiser because I lived for two years in a hotel suite which he once occupied for years). And the massiveness of the American landscape calls for the inexhaustible expressiveness that one finds in Thomas Wolfe. An endless flow of incident is America. An endless flow of observation is Wolfe's *Of Time And The River* (1935).

There is the third aspect: America boasts of

regionalism. This element might not be apparent enough to Indians who are familiar with very startling regional contrasts in their own country. They are apt to see in America a culture flattened by the steam-roller of standardisation. But from the point of view of observers who come from small compact European countries, the regional variations in America are valid enough. Regional themes in novels and short stories are quite successful. There is the great American South, which provides themes associated with the Civil War. Just recall *One With The Wind*. It also abounds in themes of racial conflict. Remember *The Strange Fruit*? The puritan New England inspires comedies of manners and tragedies of aristocratic decay; read John P. Marquand. Or take the West and California as portrayed by John Steinbeck and Upton Sinclair, the latter being more popular in India than in America. The appeal of sectional treatment lies in the fact that one man's regionalism becomes another man's exoticism.

The fourth aspect of American life which we should remember in order to understand American literature is the brevity of American history. America is a body, however strong and husky, in the family of nations. This very shortness of American history has given birth to an acute historic sense. The contemporary rage is the historical novel. No country in the world has produced so many historical novels on such a short history. On the state, this historic sense expresses itself in conflicts between generations. In moving pictures, the historic sense bobs up in costume comedies. So much made of so little history.

The fifth characteristic of the American life is to be found in the obliteration of differences between rural and urban life. Gandhiji's India which glorifies the village will be interested to note that America has ever remained disenchanted by agrarian charms. The acid satire of Sinclair Lewis is vented in attacking the barrenness of small Middle Western towns. And yet *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922) won him the Nobel Prize. It is one thing to say that the village needs the help and services of the urban, and quite another to shame the urban into becoming a country hick. In America even a hamlet is a city in miniature. It has paved roads, cinemas, radios, a hospital, school, the town hall, and even a local dramatic society. A farmer, off his work, wears clothes in the style of Hollywood stars, and he has the musical tastes that match with the tastes of those who frequent New York's Metropolitan Opera House. The result is this: many people in America prefer to live in villages, while in India few educated persons care to go to villages in spite of patriotic appeals.



The sixth thing to remember is, that although America is a land of great trusts and combines and corporations, it has also a cult of creative artists who belong to the liberal revolt. Some time ago these were described as the "muckrakers," and now they are called progressive or leftists. Their aim is to hit big fortunes and to extol the common man through the medium of their art. Many have attacked the so-called Robber Barons, and noteworthy among them are Doss Passos, Steinbeck, James T. Farrell and Upton Sinclair.

I would like to include in this group Erskine Caldwell who follows the "party line" much more unabashedly than the rest. But his work has another value to me. His *Tobacco Road* (1932) is indicative of the seventh aspect of American literature—the casual acceptance of the grotesque and the horrible. There is even an element of relishment, as in the case of the artist Dali. Some people prefer nightmares to dreams, oddity to beauty. Maybe it is healthy from the Freudian point of view, and ventilating. Russia and the continent are familiar with this form, but India is certainly not.

The eighth fact about the American life is the dignity of labour which leads to the elevation of the common man. What Faulkner describes as the "quest for social justice" finds its strongest expression in the greatest of contemporary American novelists, Ernest Hemingway. Idolization of the common man has led him to the edification of the common man's language. Hemingway has become a great exponent of colloquialism in the tradition of Sherwood Anderson. Hemingway is also noted for the intensity of experience and the violence of passion.

The ninth aspect to remember is the American preoccupation with facts. Facts have some magic quality so far as the American is concerned. Know the facts, and the problem will be solved—that is the American credo. Americans are the world's best fact-finders, but not as good theorizers as the Germans or the British. This worship of facts has produced the factual novels of Upton Sinclair. But as novels, they leave one cold. They are like the documentary film in relation to a human drama.

The observation that I am going to mention as the tenth aspect of American literature will not be noticed by anyone save an Indian. It is alcoholism. Alcoholism is ubiquitous in American novels, plays, movies and paintings. Now this might not arrest the notice of a European, but it is bound to strike as strange to an Indian who can live and die without seeing a drunken man, and whose temperate country is on its way to becoming a prohibition land. Drinking constitutes a piece of polite business in artistic creations as well as in the actual lives of writers. And there have been heroes who drank themselves to death, both in fiction and among fiction writers.

In the eleventh place, it should be remembered that the backbone of America is the middle class. The mass of the American people belong to the middle class, while the mass of the Indian people belong to the masses. In other words, there is no appreciable middle class in India. Literature in America, therefore, is less class-conscious than in most countries of Europe and Asia. Most of the workers of America still think of themselves as potential millionaires. The myth of the social ladder still persists. The central note of American literature is, therefore, success and progress. The American mind refuses to regard even the sky as the limit. It is the most optimistic mind in the world.

The aspect of the American literary world which will round out our dozen pertains to the rewards of intellectual labour. In America literature pays, which ought to sound reassuring in this land of literary penury. And in quite a few cases literature brings high rewards. Some American novelists are as rich as industrialists. That is because book business has almost become an industry, like almost everything else in America. The mass production and mass enjoyment of a successful book have been possible mainly through the various book clubs whose business it is to guess beforehand what the public will like and then make the public like it. The greatest writers of the world gravitate to America in search of gold. So competition is very stiff, and standard extremely high.

So far I have mainly dealt with the American novel. That is natural. The novel is the thing in American literature. And this is the century of the American novel. No country in the world can come anywhere near America these days in the quality and the quantity of the novel.

In poetry, America has been poor in the past and it is poorer today. No doubt America had its Walt Whitman and its Edgar Allen Poe, and today it can claim such favourites of mine as Robert Frost and Archibald MacLeish and Carl Sandburg. But poetry is a dying art in America, as everywhere else in the world, save, perhaps, India. Somehow or other, our modern machine civilization does not allow a free reign to our fancy and to our emotions, and without these poetry dies. With it dies one of the tenderest segments of man's make-up, but this hard-boiled world leaves little room for tenderness anyway.

I am no expert, but to me the American theatre is, the liveliest I have seen anywhere. I have seen English dramas, and some French and Chinese plays. Unfortunately I have no knowledge of the Soviet stage, I know all too much about the Indian theatre not to feel pained. Of all the national stages I have seen I like the American stage most. Even today, America can boast of such playwrights as Eugene O'Neill, Robert E. Sherwood, and William Saroyan.

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The greatest thing about America is that it always looks to the future and seldom to the past. The promise of America is rosier than its past. There are quite a few young writers with promise, great promise. I would like to point out only three most obvious cases: William Saroyan in drama; Howard Fast and John Hershey in novel. These are the people to watch.

Minority Representation

The New Review observes :

India's Constituent Assembly has abolished communal electorates. The decision marked a re-orientation in India's politics, and a definite step towards unity. Now that the peninsula is divided, what India needs most is unity. Every measure that makes for real unity is welcome. Communal electorates which kept up communal opposition as a permanent characteristic of the body politic connived at India's division and turned cultural values into mere political stakes or stunts. They had to go. But 'in order that minorities may not feel apprehensive of the effect of a system of unrestricted joint electorates on the quantum of their representation in the Legislature,' seats will be 'reserved on the basis of population' at least for the first ten years. The minorities which were given this reservation were those which numbered between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population, namely, the Sikhs, the Assam tribes, and the Indian Christians in Madras and Bombay.

This privilege was denied to microscopic minorities like the Parsees and the Anglo-Indians or to large minorities like the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes. It was granted to groups that were weak enough to need protection and strong enough to need attention. Whatever was said on the floor of the Assembly, the reservation of seats is granted in a spirit of measured protection, and has no functional basis; it was not given because of a special contribution, economic, social or cultural, to the general welfare.

The Constituent Assembly was too aware of the disastrous consequences of communal electorates and of the evils attending the caste system to take kindly to any idea of representation of 'vocational groups.' When unity will have been strengthened and caste disabilities removed, and when our democratic views will have moved away from the British tradition, the idea of vocational or functional representation may be taken up with a fairer chance of success. As vocational groups mean not classes like employers and employees, but professions, they should be assigned a definite role in legislation. All professions make a distinct contribution to State-life, and consequently should have their say in State-organisation.

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Santiniketan and Sevagram

Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The idealism and aspirations of modern India, broadly speaking, are summed up in two symbols: Santiniketan and Sevagram. Both, these institutions came into being as a protest against the late-nineteenth-century values of the West; individualism, industrialism and imperialism, more particularly as these were reflected in the systems of administration and education introduced in this country.

Santiniketan rose Minerva-like from the head of a poet. For, the very first day on which Rabindranath Tagore sat down in a *sal* avenue to be a playmate to three little children during the whole gamut of their youthful growth in the presence of Nature and their neighbours—the primitive people, the children of the human race—he presented to the professional school-master an ideology in instruction which had on it the stamp of synthesis.

Sevagram, or its predecessor, Phoenix Ashrama in South Africa, or Sabarmati, on the other hand, was built brick on brick by an artisan who held honest manual labour as the primary principle of human existence, knowing as he did by faith that such labour gives both dignity and depth to man.

The poet had a vision of the oneness of all life and this he aimed at implementing in his forest hermitage, albeit adapted to changed conditions. Whatever stood in the way of the evolution of the inherent sense of unity, which dwells in the heart of every man, was therefore eliminated through study, self-discipline, service and song.

The ploughman, as Gandhiji may well be metaphorically called, with his philosophy, at once pragmatic and practical, of "One step enough for me," began with a conscious cultivation of every attribute which would aid him in effacing his ego gradually till he touched what is common to all.

In short, the *motif* of one was mysticism, while that of the other was asceticism.

And it is obvious that in the arduous task of regeneration, whether individual or collective, both these views and ways of life are absolutely necessary. For we need liberty as well as law, vision as well as virtue, the watch-tower as well as the work-shop.

The mystic is the flower which grows in sunshine and in shower. Therefore, he accepts everything, he rejects nothing. He is a kind of a witness to the ever-unfolding pageant of life.

The ascetic, on the other hand, is a sort of a servant who scrubs and scours one by one the pots and pans of the scullery till each one of them shines. Or he is a warrior, who struggles at every step to go nearer to the goal of his heart's desire or his soul's dream.

The impact of the intellectual ethos of England, though confined to a microscopic minority of our educated countrymen, had brought in its train, scepticism, softness and snobbery. Thus, a sort of "moral proletariat" had sprung up in our country. It was cut off from the traditions of the past, which govern a people's character and conduct in a rhythmic manner. And following the precedent initiated by their like-minded fellow-countrymen of the previous generation, both the Singer of Santiniketan and the Spinner of Sevagram raised their banner of revolt against the "proselytising" of the young by the politics and polish of the money-minded civilisation from across the seas. This entailed their giving up their respective careers of cushioned comfort and big bank balances. The poet exchanged his flute of beauty in the environs of his aristocratic upbringing and activity, for the sword of duty. The pleader left the premises of the law-court,

with all its prospects of the proverbial goose that lays the golden eggs, to plough the stubborn, sandy soil. But both were actuated by a spirit of self-sacrifice akin—to compare small things with great—to that of Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ, who surrendered the “kingdoms” promised to them, for the sake of service of the “great orphan humanity.” Once again, thus, the truth of the ages and the sages was illustrated that sacrifice is the seed of the evolution and advancement of mankind; nay, of all Life.

The poet sang :

“When one knows thee, then alien there is none, then no door is shut Oh, grant me my prayer that I may never lose the bliss of the touch of the One in the play of the many.”

And he revealed and radiated this “touch of the One” in the fields of literature and art, education and rural reconstruction.

And the ploughman-cum-spinner confirmed the perpetual presence of the “One in the play of the many” from his side.

“He (God) is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil.”

Both cast away the crown,—and who does not covet it?—of personal paradisiacal salvation and engaged themselves in the work of the world with a

view to making and leaving it better than they had found it.

“Deliverance? Where is the deliverance to be found? Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; he is bound with us all for ever.”

In short, Santiniketan and Sevagram deepened the inherent human urge for perfection as against what passes muster under the protean term “progress.” And the best and truest expression of perfection, in spirit as well as in substance, is simplicity. As the Poet has said somewhere, “Simplicity is the physiognomy of perfection.”

And has it not always been so? The prophet or the poet has found himself, while passing through the corridors of history, side by side with the priest or the ploughman. In our times the priest has failed to fulfil his holy avocation and the prophet has not as yet appeared. In their place, however, we have witnessed the sublime spectacle of the poet and the ploughman travelling together to the Temple of Truth. And Truth has generally been approached along the avenues of *ananda*—joy—and asceticism. This may be the explanation of the observation which the Poet made on one occasion: “Santiniketan represents the *ananda* of Truth, Sabarnati, the *tapasya* of Truth.” And is not Truth the Beautiful Bird with two wings or the Tree with two birds sitting on its branches?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New Day, New World

Under the above heading in *Between the Lines*, the following interesting editorial appears, to which our notice is drawn by Rev. G. H. Schanzlin of Springfield, Ohio :

Most of us need right now to make a deep and lasting change in our thinking. We have thought of the world as mostly the U. S., with Great Britain, France, Italy and the other western European countries crowding close about us, and the ponderous shadow of Russia rising just beyond our more immediate arena. The rest of the world,—China, India, Malaya, Burma, and the other parts of Asia, we have thought of merely as indistinct, inarticulate and rather unimportant outer parts of the world.

That picture has now gone forever out of date with the rush of an express train.

We are still an important part of the world, of course,—with little Britain, France, Italy, and the others on the fringe of our own immediate horizon . . . *but the world that is awakening,—potentially overwhelming, powerful, increasingly articulate,—is the world of Asia. And unfortunately for us, and due to our own blindness and blundering,—Russia stands with Asia.*

It is the emergence of India that has made this transition become so dramatically and drastically important. In fact, two large new states have suddenly arisen. The Moslem state of Pakistan—with over 90 million people,—and Hindustan with its 300 million.

Two huge nations are coming to life, each vaster than most existing nations. Together, they have a population as great as all of Europe and greater than that of the whole western hemisphere, and their awakening symbolizes the end of yesterday's world,—the world in which the United States emerged and has lived.

What is still more important,—never before has such a transition come without war.

For generations historians have taught and militarists have insisted that war was a necessary evil in the evolution of the state and human society.

But now one of the greatest changes in human history has been fostered and completed without war. The rioting and street violence that is played up in the press is only the froth on the deep silent sweep of the waves of change. Even a civil war, which could conceivably break out in India, would be incidental to the fact that these two great states have gathered themselves together, swept aside the long established grip of conquest,—have organized themselves for self-government and have become established without resort to organized violence. Such an achievement cannot be measured yet,—but it will be measured in the future when men of the West will reflect upon the time when they first began to realize that war was not necessary to man's development but an evil disease actually frustrating and perverting man's progress.

The people of Asia, such as the Chinese and the Hindus, centuries ago renounced war as a national policy. *The soldier in much of Asia has long been considered little higher than a beggar or a bandit.*

The next century will not be "the American century" that so many of our own extreme nationalists have been talking about. In the face of these new events, such talk

is callow and immature. We will never be able to dominate and control these nations upon nations of awakened people. *Already the new Hindu government has proclaimed a "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia.* It was this proclamation that shook the Dutch into realizing that they could never again really control Indonesia and provoked them to commit their final violent acts in the suicide of Imperialism.

We can co-operate with the people of Asia, drop our absurd and adolescent mantle of race superiority and, by working with them in a spirit of Christian goodwill and on democratic economic principles, have a golden century of world-wide friendliness and prosperity. Such an achievement would take no more time than another world war and would cost infinitely less. In fact, it would earn enormous commercial dividends.

But we can't inaugurate that kind of a century by hogging all the oil in the world for British-American control, by maintaining a strictly British and American monopoly on all strategic waterways (with the Dutch and French as our stooges) and thus controlling world trade,—and by doing the many other things we have been guilty of in our effort to keep it a white man's world.

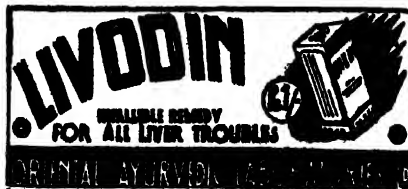
All these out-of-date policies are playing into the hands of Russia. While we keep ourselves blinded with our own propaganda, Russia continues to champion the rights of the colored peoples. Even in China, in spite of civil war, Russia is succeeding in winning the attention and sympathy of millions of the young Chinese away from the American and British backed Chiang government.

These issues make up much of the inner tensions now between Russia and the U. S.

The Future of Indo-British Relations

Under the above caption in *The Asiatic Review*, July, 1947. P. D. Saggi of the Indian Nationals Overseas Congress, observes :

The future of Indo-British relations is not a matter of sentiment or party politics. It has now assumed the dimensions of an international question. Statesmen all over the world are looking towards India, for what happens in India is going to affect the peace, progress and prosperity of the world.



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To speak of the future is an exacting task. With a view to discussing the future we have to glance over the past, for present, past and future are closely interlinked. That the East India Company, during the first 150 years of its relations with India, was animated by considerations of commerce and trade is well known. After the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Company became a political power. Indian history for the next hundred years was a record of the exercise of absolute power divorced from responsibility to the people, though great statesmen like Amherst, Munro, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Bentinck, and many other Company's servants laboured for the common good and were actuated by a genuine solicitude for the people of India. Many reforms were introduced, social and educational, to meet the demands of a developing and self-conscious society.

With the spread of English education and increasing knowledge of English social and political ideas, the educated classes began to agitate for civil and political rights; which culminated in the grave crisis of 1857. With the Royal Proclamation of the following year power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. In 1861 the first India Council's Act was promulgated and the right of Indian representation was recognized. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was established with the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy, as a safety valve for and register of public opinion. In 1892 the principle of election was admitted by the back door, and the powers of the Council were extended to the point of asking questions and discussion of the Budget.

STAGES OF REFORM

A much bolder step was taken in 1909 by the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms. The Legislative Council were enlarged; the principle of direct election was accepted; and non-official majorities were provided. But unfortunately a great blow was dealt to the unity of India by the introduction of separate electorates. Our main difficulties today can be traced back to this. Time does not permit my relating the story of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy at that time—a "command performance," as the late Maulana Mohamad Ali put it. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, until lately a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has observed:

"The deputation urged that the Muslims should be represented in the Legislatures in greater numbers than his numerical proportion permitted, in recognition of the historical importance of his community and his service to the Empire. So far the claim was just and eminently reasonable. But the device of separate representation sowed the seeds of a growing separatism, and the progressive growth of separatism has rendered the device inadequate. Seldom was so just and right an end vitiated by so wrong a means." [*A Treaty Between India and the United Kingdom*, p. 66.]

In 1921, under the Act of 1919, parliamentary reforms were introduced with the avowed object of "a gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to a progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The India Act of 1935 was the outcome of years of discussion, commissions and conferences. Shevalankar, however, calls it a "prodigy of Imperialist statesmanship, an elaborate and ingenious device to frustrate the emergence of a free India and to secure so far as constitutional provision could secure the continuation of British rule in circumstances totally different from those prevailing at the time of its establishment." [*The Problem of India*, p. 186.]

THE 1935 FRAMEWORK

Unfavourable comments have been made in this country about the cautious, suspicious and unfriendly Indian approach to the British declarations of good faith and goodwill towards India. But in the words of Professor Coup-

land: "If the Act [1935] came into full operation (which of course was difficult to work) the status of India would be comparable with that of a Dominion before 1914." When war came the federal structure was shelved, and British India worked under the other provisions of the Act in the Provinces and of the 1919 Act at the Centre.

Next came the Cripps proposals. They conceded the demand for a Constituent Assembly and introduced the idea of a treaty to be negotiated between the two countries. The proposals were considered, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, "a post-dated cheque," and were rejected.

The next attempt at the solution of the problem was the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, 1946. Thereby an interim Government was set up, and India's right to secede from the Empire was accepted. The demand for fixing a time limit had been persistent, and Mr. Attlee rose to the occasion by declaring in the House of Commons on February 20 that all British forces would be withdrawn by June, 1948. The news was reassuring, and proved the sincerity of the Labour Government and the integrity of British statesmanship. This improved Indo-British relations, and achieved much. Throughout the constitutional history we find that public demand has been always ahead of the concessions made and the reforms introduced. India was not only democratic in her outlook, but she wanted to reach the goal of complete independence at the earliest opportunity.

A very pertinent question is asked at this stage. Having won freedom, can India retain it? I say yes. Indians fought to defend liberty, freedom and democracy in France, Germany, Egypt and the Desert campaign; from Dunkirk to Hongkong they fought everywhere. And they will fight again and again till the foes and forces that threaten freedom and democracy today are humbled and humiliated.

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DEFENCE

Some people opine that shorn of the British Navy, Army and Royal Air Force, the defence of India will be almost impossible. I do not subscribe to this view, though I realize that some sort of technical aid will be necessary in the beginning to train Indian personnel. Germany, Italy and Japan are finished as potential dangers. France is licking her wounds.

Britain is slowly recovering from war losses. The two great Powers that remain are Russia and America. Many a time the question has been asked, Are Indians pro-Communists? Without any hesitation I say no. There may be certain things which we could learn from Russia, because she and India are agricultural countries; both have rural economies and raw materials and markets. All that Russia wants today is capital and machinery, and India can supply neither. Therefore, India is not afraid of any aggression from Russia. Regarding America, the danger is even more hypothetical. America wants markets for her goods, and for a long time to come we shall need all the machinery, all the technical skill, and all the mechanical paraphernalia that America or Britain can spare. Moreover, Americans are independent people; they are not prepared to build their palaces on the graves of others.

India is a great country, rich in men and material resources. An independent India can definitely raise an army efficient and strong for her purposes. Moreover, in these days, defence is a joint problem. To say nothing of India, even America, Russia or Britain cannot stand alone. In this atomic age defence is more a regional matter. "Days of big Empires are gone," says Pandit Nehru, "and so are those of individual entities." For our defence we have to make common cause with China, Australia, Egypt and other countries that lie in this region. Hence India need not necessarily remain within the Commonwealth for the sake of defence. In due course India will contribute more towards international amity and goodwill than she will need in the shape of protection. The other possible groups that can be formed are: (a) Central European; (b) Slavonic; (c) Far Eastern; (d) American.

On close scrutiny we find that, whereas India has much in common with other groups, her continued connection with the British Commonwealth is more natural, and history in the past two decades has forged the links stronger.

TRADE AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The activities of the East India Company in India were more than trading. Even English historians have called them "loot" and "shaking the pagoda tree." Even after 1858, when government by the British Crown began, trade relations were still conducted preponderantly in the inter-

ests of Great Britain. Such industrialization as exists in India today is the outcome of the two wars, which gave her a chance to equip herself. She remains a great market for British goods, and will be so for a long time to come provided political relations are not embittered. The conductors of British trade and commerce have a reputation in India for fair dealing; their integrity and soundness are relied upon.

The United Nations Organization is being built up to bring peace and to end wars. But will it do so? As the time passes the gulf between big powers, instead of being bridged, is widening. I was in Paris at the time of the Peace Conference and it was clear that though the Allies had won the war they had yet to win the peace. The nations were divided into blocks and factions. Once again separate zones of influence were sought to be created and different ideologies were pushed forward. In the presence of clashing theories—of capitalism, imperialism and communism—which side should India take? By nature Indians are peace-loving. Not only India, but the East generally has given birth to policies of peace. Such great religions as Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity have taught peace. India's role in present circumstances is to strengthen her own position and go on promoting peace as best she can.

WITHIN OR WITHOUT

The Cripps Declaration gave India the choice either to remain within the Commonwealth or to sever her connections if she so desired. Under the Statute of Westminster, 1931, all the Dominion Parliaments became formally and legally independent for internal and external purposes alike, but the way they stood with the Mother Country during the last war showed that there was something stronger than a formal contract between Britain and the Dominions. In the face of a common danger they stood as a unity to fight the forces that threatened the overthrow of democracy.

Sir George Schuster in *India and Democracy*, referring to Britain and the Dominions, observes: "There is a spirit which binds these separate units in a string like beads: (a) Common way of life; (b) allegiance to a common sovereign; (c) a common home of origin."

By these tests India does not belong to the Commonwealth. Moreover, in South Africa, Ceylon, Australia, Canada, East Africa, Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, Indian nationals suffer from political disabilities of one kind or the other. "All these restrictions and racial discriminations," says Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, "are not only very humiliating and irritating, but they also raise the fundamental question, What does the Commonwealth stand for? 'If our nationals,' to quote Viscount Peel at the Imperial Conference in 1923, 'are to be regarded as a foreign body politic of these dominions,' it is time we asked ourselves, Should not India go out?"

On the other hand, there are uniting factors between India and the Commonwealth: (a) Common struggle and suffering during the two world wars; (b) common allegiance to the ideology of democracy; and (c) two hundred years of historical relation. Links so strong cannot be easily disregarded by snapping the connections which have grown out of them. The seeds of democracy were present centuries ago in the village system in India. But they had no opportunity to develop, because of internal insecurity and invasion from without. With the coming of the British and the study of their self-governing institutions, a movement grew for the revival of ancient self-governing local institutions in the light of modern notions of democratic government. This was crystallized in the birth of the Indian National Congress. No wonder that India has come to have a great faith in the parliamentary form of government, and, in spite of everything, has retained

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great love for political traditions on the British model. She desires to draw inspiration from the same source in the building of the new Constitution for a United India in the future.

THE INTERNAL CONFLICT

Another factor which will greatly influence the future of Indo-British relations is that of the internal travail. There is the triangle of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princes. The Constituent Assembly, boycotted by the Muslim League and before any States' representatives attended, passed a resolution declaring the intention to make India a sovereign republic. As you are aware, the League meeting at Lahore in 1940 asked that India should be partitioned into two blocks—Pakistan and Hindustan.

Mr. Jinnah does not seem to me to have gone beyond the Lahore resolution. All that he has done is to give it flesh and blood and to clothe it in a new spirit. As such, it appears very much inflated. Gandhiji is willing to concede the substance of the Lahore resolution. Mere academic controversies regarding India being a nation or a congeries of nations should not stand in the way of a final settlement. If India is to be free, democracy must decide on its particular pattern, and Muslims will, and must, be given the right of self-determination. Once Hindu and Muslim differences are composed, the question of the State can be taken up and solved without much difficulty. The States, by resolutions of the Chamber of Princes, have shown their willingness to join the rest of India; rightly they wish to avoid siding with one party or the other. It appears that the settlement of the Indian problem is within sight, and the country is accepting the inevitable. Such a settlement will not only vastly improve internal conditions in India, but also place Indo-British relations on a much better footing.

There may be certain differences of opinion between the politicians and the statesmen in India as to whether she should remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But there can be no difference of opinion that a free India will not only be friendly, but also a close ally of Britain. Destiny—or call it the force of history—has brought us together, and together we shall remain. The links that have been forged between the two countries are no common links and it is not easy to tear them asunder. All we have to do at present is to understand each other better. In the past, I must admit, little was done to explain the English viewpoint. India was considered of small importance. The goodwill of a small country in the Balkans or the Middle East was regarded as of greater consequence than the goodwill of millions in India. This perhaps was due to India being a subject country. But now conditions have changed. India is at the threshold of independence, and good relations with her cannot be a matter of indifference.

There remains much prejudice in both countries to be overcome. Maybe it arises from pride on one side and long frustration on the other; but I feel that, given the chance, these features will disappear and the sun of friendship and amicable relationship will arise. Then the mutual destiny of India and Great Britain set in the historical background will be reached—that is, to promote peace, amity and goodwill in the world. Only then can we proceed from the British Commonwealth to the Commonwealth of Mankind.

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Philippine Republic Holds First Elections Nov. 11

With state and local elections just past, U. S. public attention today turned toward the Republic of Philippines which will hold general elections November 11 for the first time since full independence was granted by the United States, July 4, 1946. The present Filipino Government was elected while the nation was still a Commonwealth.

More than three million Filipinos are eligible to vote this year, and estimates indicate about 85 per cent will go to polls. Balloting will determine eight senatorial seats, 45 provincial governorships, 100 provincial board members, 1,130 municipal mayors and about 7,000 municipal councilmen.

The November 11 elections culminate 45 years of systematic political progress for the Philippines. Completely without political privileges when the United States took over in 1898, the Filipinos voted for the first time in 1901 when mayors, vice-mayors and municipal councilmen were elected by less than two per cent of the total population.

Since then, the number and level of elective offices has been increased steadily and franchise has been extended gradually through the expansion of voting qualifications and education. Women's suffrage was adopted 10 years ago, and this year there is a woman candidate for the Philippine Senate.

A Commonwealth Government for the Philippines was set up under the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which also fixed 1946 as the year for attainment of nationhood—*USIS*.

The Social and Economic Role of Engineers and Technicians

In an article under the above caption, J. H. E. Fried writes in the *International Labour Review*, June, 1947, about the close inter-relation of the work of engineers and technicians with general social factors and economic policies, from which the introductory portion is quoted below :

The urgent and challenging task of the post-war era is to translate into reality what has been made possible through the constant progress of technology. In the accomplishment of this task, engineers and technicians have an important and often decisive part to play.

Technical developments are going on in industry all the time; everywhere numerous engineers and technicians are constantly engaged in finding new and improved methods of production, and the range of their activities is constantly widening. The effects of these developments in production methods are far-reaching. One has but to consider the example of the mechanisation of agriculture, which promises to do away in time with the chronic state of hunger to which large parts of the world have hitherto been subjected, and which must also change profoundly the conditions of life and work and the social structure of agricultural workers, who still form the largest section of the population of most countries. Changes in production methods bring about changes in consumption and distribution, in employment and population movements, in exports and imports.

Realising this intimate connection between technical developments and social and economic changes, Governments have carried out exhaustive official investigations during the last decades in order to furnish the background information for adequate legislative and governmental action. These investigations have shown the repercussions of technological changes to be so great that all countries are considering how technological development may be directed in such a way as to ensure the achievement of desirable social ends—above all, how to combat technological unemployment and attain full employment.

The most direct approach to the problem is to distinguish between ends and means, to acknowledge that technology is a means and that social and economic progress is the end. The first task, then, is to establish in broad outline what are the desirable economic goals; the technological means of achieving those goals can then be determined. It is almost universally agreed that social and economic progress depends largely on technical progress; but there is also a growing belief that the development of technology can and must be largely directed by social considerations. There is an increasing tendency to repudiate the notion that technological development is a blind force ungovernable by man. What machines and what industries shall be developed, what production methods shall be prohibited, what raw materials shall be used, what type of research shall be stimulated or discouraged—these questions are now considered to be of national—and often international—concern, and therefore to be decided, or at least influenced, by the community as a whole, or by international agreement. Technical development is valuable in so far as it promotes the legitimate aspirations and the welfare of the community. In other words, the technological system must be regulated by choices based on considerations of social desirability and by the realisation of the need

— for international co-operation.

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This, in a very approximate way, is what is meant by the 'planning' or 'social engineering' which is now going on in many countries, particularly in those confronted with the huge tasks of reconstruction. In the countries which have not directly suffered from the destruction of war, there is also a growing awareness that deliberate action must be taken against the hazards of the industrial system (such as technological unemployment; underpayment, job insecurity and the drabness of life of the worker; uneven use of resources and uneven economic development which leads to "scarcity in the midst of plenty, or potential plenty"; etc.). The increased sense of urgency with which these problems are now considered is due partly to the complexity of present-day industrial society, but also partly to the belief that present-day technology is able to master these problems. Few would deny that the immediate evils of the earlier stages of the industrial era were greater than those of the present stage; and that the development of technology, while increasing the dangers that might result from mismanagement, provides unparalleled possibilities.

What is, in view of this situation, the position of the engineers and technicians as professional groups? Firstly, for the successful solution of the great tasks which have been briefly outlined, the advice and collaboration of the engineers and technicians is indispensable, as is, on the side of the latter, a full understanding of their social and political responsibilities. Secondly, however much the problems and tasks of engineers and technicians of the various countries differ, they "speak the same language." Their methods of work and investigation, their professional standards

and ethics and their social and economic interests are fundamentally identical. However, engineers have suffered from specialisation and insufficient contact among themselves; they have also suffered from insufficient contact with other groups, as much as other groups have suffered from lack of contact with technical experts. Finally, it must always be remembered that engineers and technicians are not only the creators of, but are also themselves conditioned by, the course and application of technology, and that their own activities contribute as much to shaping their own lives as to shaping those of their fellow citizens. This is particularly so because the large majority of engineers and technicians belong to the employed group. They are givers, but also receivers, of orders. Legislation and practices concerning industrial relations, collective bargaining, salary scales, etc., are of immediate importance to them and their families; they are covered by social insurance schemes; they are liable to suffer from adverse working conditions and unemployment, and to gain from favourable working conditions and full employment; in brief, their fate is tied up with that of the community as a whole and they are as directly interested as any other group in property and progress.

Hence it is the opinion of competent observers in many countries that the engineers and technicians must, more than hitherto, be integrated in social and political life, both on a national and on an international scale.

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Turkish Women Today and Yesterday

For the better appreciation and realization by the outside world of the progress and evolution undergone by Turkish women during the last 50 years, Miss Sureyya Agaoglu writes in *The Asiatic Review*, April, 1947 :

Today in Turkey women enjoy all the rights enjoyed by all women of the civilized world. With the exception of military service they are active in all walks of life, share the same remuneration and are subject to the same regulations for promotion. In order to understand the real value of the freedom and equality of women, which appears to us only natural, it is necessary that her social position in the past should be studied. It should be borne in mind, however, that Turkish women only acquired these rights after the Kemalist Revolution in 1923. Prior to this date the role of women in Turkey could be divided into two distinct phases. In the first phase before the influence of Arab, Byzantine and Iranian civilizations, they enjoyed all rights held by men, just as they do today. Even in those days the Hakan, the State ruler, could not receive or grant audiences to Ambassadors without the presence of the Hatun, the ruler's wife. The Hatun was present at all State conferences, and her opinion was consulted in important affairs of State. Peasant women, like their sisters of the towns, were recognized as important factors in their homes and communities.

The second phase began in the tenth century, when Turkish civilization came in, together with Iranian, Arab and Byzantine. Zoroastrianism, which was the national religion of Iran, looked upon women as profane creatures. In Byzantium, due to patriarchal family life, the position of women was very low. Before the Islamic religion was founded, it is true, Arabs had considered women with disdain and as instruments of amusement. Arab women were deprived of the rights of inheritance, of holding property and of acting as witnesses in courts. Muhammad strove hard to elevate the position of women, saying that a paradise was under the feet of motherhood, and he assured many rights to women. Men, who previously had been allowed to marry as many women as they pleased, were prohibited from taking more than four wives in marriage; he recognized the rights of women in laws governing inheritance, property and choice of witnesses in courts.

Consequently the result of the contact with such civilizations has been unfavourable for Turkish home life. Under their influence the place of the Turkish women in Turkish home and society became debased. Thus Turkish women withdrew themselves from social life, and their intellectual and moral education became neglected. They were not allowed to read books other than moral and religious; they were made to wear thick black veils on their faces, and their windows were fitted with wooden lattices to prevent them from being seen. Behind such lattices and veils there remained no other prospect than that of getting married. A young girl could marry as soon as she was fifteen. She could not talk to men other than the members of her own family, and her marriage was arranged through the family.

Under these circumstances no prospective bride or bridegroom could see each other before the wedding. After the marriage the wife would display complete submission towards the husband. A man could marry up to four wives. To obtain a divorce it was not necessary to appeal to State authorities or to get a court ruling. As it was only men who could form a bond of union it was practically only they who could



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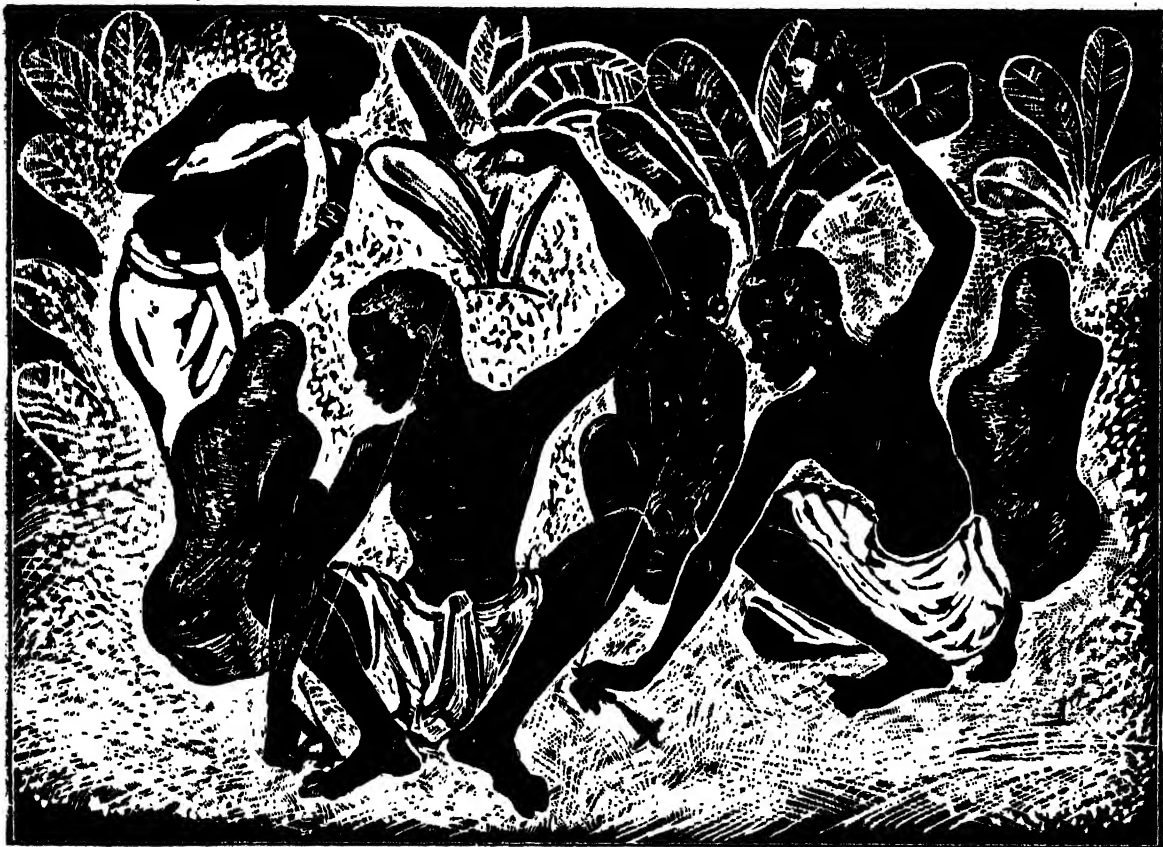
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loosen it by pronouncing the words, "I have divorced thee." Men had the right of priority in inheritance. After a simple elementary school education the doors of further education were closed to women.

After the reforms of 1850 women's movements started. Turkish women began to get in touch with European movements, to learn foreign languages, and to read foreign books. After the second constitutional period of the Young Turk Revolution in 1909 women were given a little more freedom, and secondary schools for girls were opened, as a result of which thousands of young girls flooded the schools, and the voices of women were observed to rise in social life along with those of men. The veil became gradually thinner and Carzaf was turned to an elegant dress. In a very short time the veils were entirely lifted and drawn up on to the head, forming a band of tulle as an ornament. At first the change was observed only in certain cities and among the upper classes. However, in spite of these great changes in the lives of women, even until the end of the first world war, in public places, such as trains, trams, cinemas, theatres, women's seats were separated from men's by partitions made of either wood or cloth. When the girls started to attend universities they worked entirely separated from men, and this was called Women's University. Although complaints were heard from time to time by some narrow-minded people, women continued to develop in their social life. The Turkish girl, finding that all educational establishments held their doors open for her, worked as hard as she could.

When Turkish men went to the front in the first World War, women began to take the place of their menfolk. But these activities were on a small scale, although they began to earn their own living.

The Turkish woman, however, was not constitutionally placed on an equal social footing with man until 1923. During the wars of independence women were of the greatest assistance to men, both in the towns and villages. Townswomen looked after the wounded, comforted them and produced food for the troops. Village women carried ammunition to the front on ox-drawn wagons, and when necessary even bore arms as valiantly as did their brothers and sons. It is for this reason that in Ankara one of the monuments represents a peasant woman carrying heavy missiles on her back and plodding along with patience, fortitude, gravity and dignity.

As soon as the war was over, Atatürk launched a new campaign for the freedom of women. He made speeches about women's freedom, and all these found a joyous echo in every part of the country. The progress begun in women's life took a more rapid turn, a wider aspect and a safer course under Atatürk's protection. Women were to be seen working in every sphere of social life.

The Turkish women obtained all her social rights through the civil law in 1926. This law proclaims the following Statutes in favour of women :

1. Man may marry only one woman.
2. Girls may not marry before the age of seventeen.
3. Marriage had been freed of religious ritual and had assumed legality under civil law.
4. According to the new law either party may apply to court for a divorce. Whether such a plea is justifiable depends on the decision of a court of law.
5. In the absence of any special understanding the only difference which exists between husband and wife is that which concerns private property.
6. In matters of inheritance no difference exists between men and women.

Four years after the introduction of civil law, civil rights were granted to Turkish women as a natural outcome of a regime which looks upon women as an

important half of society. In 1934 they were also given the right of a seat in the National Assembly. Today a woman has complete freedom of action. She can be a teacher, doctor, architect, engineer, lawyer or judge. She can engage in business and administration, and can become a Member of Parliament or of any Municipal Council.

The women working in the fields, the thousands of women in factories, in public works as labourers—all these women contribute their share, are very diligent in their work, are paid on equal basis with men, and perform their work with complete success. While the Turkish woman is carrying on her professional work with great zeal and vigour, she is at the same time not neglecting her part in the family life, and most of the women holding important posts are married and have children.

Turkish women know that there is a duty far higher and more virtuous than any other—the duty of being a good mother. In social work women also play a prominent part. They are leaders in the Red Crescent (Turkish Red Cross), in Child Welfare Societies, in finding employment and caring for the poor, as nurses, as workers in children's hospitals and nurseries, and as teachers of the illiterate.

In one word it is the aim and object of Turkish women to do everything in their power to raise the standard of life in their own country and to co-operate with the other women to build a better understanding and to make one world.

The Philosophy of Sufis and Saints

East and West reproduces the above illuminating article by Gurudas Ram from *Kalyan Kalpataru* :

The philosophy of Sufis and Saints is the religion of Love Divine. They lay the maximum stress on spiritual environment, the company of the living Spiritual Master, known as *Murshid* or *Guru*, for the cultivation of Love Divine. The principle can claim to have its basis on science. The influence of environment is one of the greatest doctrines of science and is recognized to be one of the most potent factors in the evolution of life. Just as without the harmony of a scientist with the natural environment there can be no real science, in like manner, there can be no true religion without the correspondence of spiritual environment.

*"God can be reached only by those
Who on the Master wait for help :
O those who seek after Him,
To Him alone thy worship give."*

The religion of externalism, or of the orthodox type with its narrow fanaticism and bigotry and meticulous performance of rituals and ceremonials, is reprehended by Sufis and Saints. The religious faith reposed in a living Spiritual Master, who has communion with the Almighty Creator, is higher and nobler than the faith in the paraphernalia of externalism. In the religion of Sufis and Saints, the religious Master is the personal living center of theology around whom the whole religious system is enmeshed.

*"Like the Hajis I too circumambulate,
But around my Master Beloved ;
Like the dogs I am not disposed
To walk around the bodies dead."*

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Nor do the Sufis and Saints recognize the study of books and scriptures as sufficient means for the comprehension of the Ultimate Reality. They prescribe "knowledge through acquaintance" for the realization of Divine Wisdom, and not "knowledge through description." Words may hint at reality through symbols and metaphors, but they do not help a seeker in the realization of the Ultimate Truth. Religion is to be experimented with and experienced, and the experience essentially relates to Spirit.

The fact is that the path starts from the heart of a student. It is, therefore, a matter of paramount importance that the dust which has accumulated on the mirror of heart through the fierce and distorting gusts of sense desires, must be brushed away by the gentle breeze of Love Divine. Love Divine purifies the heart and helps the devotee to soar up moth-like through the citadel of egoistic selfhood to the Divine Candle—the candle which consumes all sense of duality.

The spiritual practices prescribed by such Spiritual Masters are simple and direct. They are not complicated by tortuous and rickety paraphernalia, and can be practised by any one, anywhere and at any time. They are entirely free from any bias and have an intellectual basis. An ordinary householder can achieve wonderful results by devoting even a slice of his time to the performance of these spiritual exercises which comprise: "repetition of the Holy Name" (termed *Zikr* or *Sumirana*), "contemplation of the

Holy Form" (*Fikr* or *Dhyana*) and "perception of the Spiritual Sound" (*Sultan-ul-azkr* or *Surat Sabda Yoga*). The performance of these practices puts the lower-self of the seeker out of action and ultimately enables him to attain a state of oneness with the Supreme Being.

*"I became Thee, Thou didst become me,
I became the body and Thou the life,
No one can say now, Oh none!
That Thou and I are not one."*

The prophets and messengers of God descend to this planet to harmonize and unify suffering and staggering humanity. The Sufis and Saints have consequently trampled under foot all distinctions of caste, creed and nationality. They have preached brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God.

*"How can I solve this riddle, O followers of Islam!
For I do not know my own nationality,
I am neither a Jew nor a Christian,
Neither a Zoroastrian nor a Muslim."*

Religion is a system of Truths. Truth is one and harmonizing. Like Lord Christ who has said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil" the Sufis and Saints have corroborated and substantiated the religion of each other.

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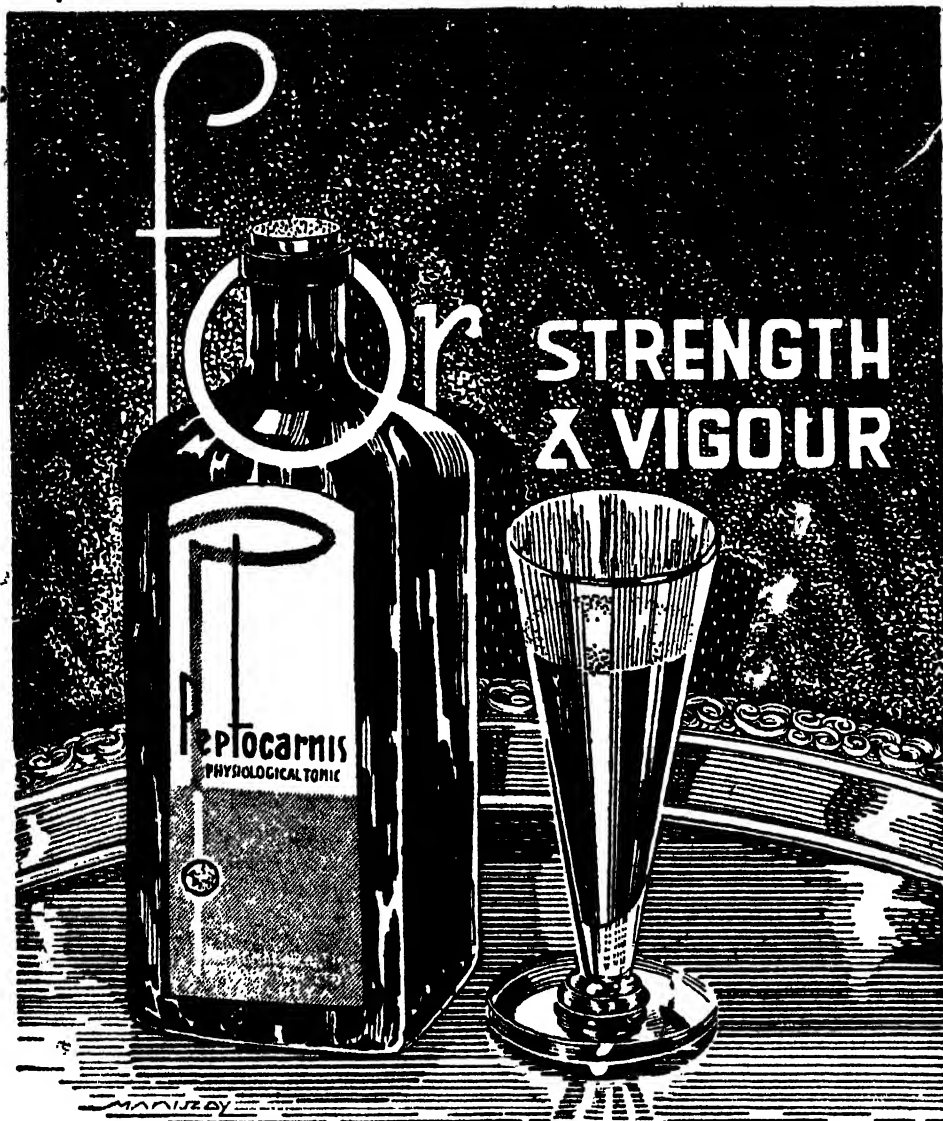
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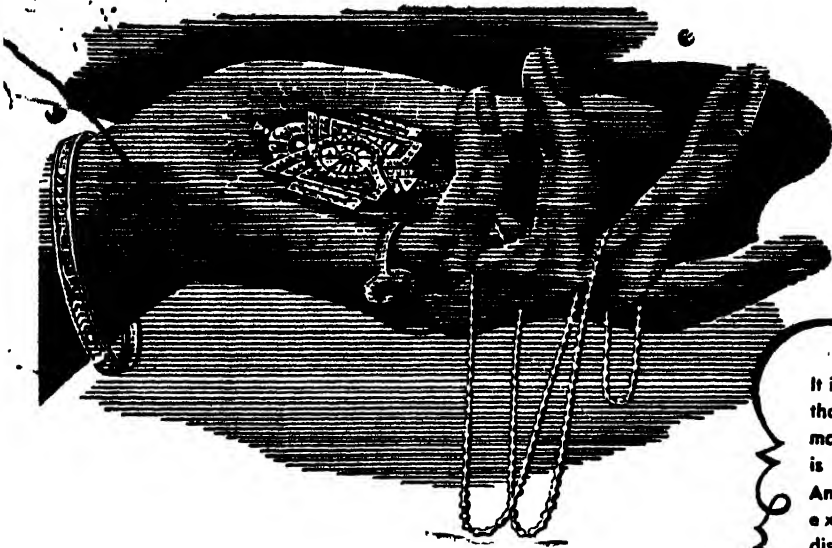
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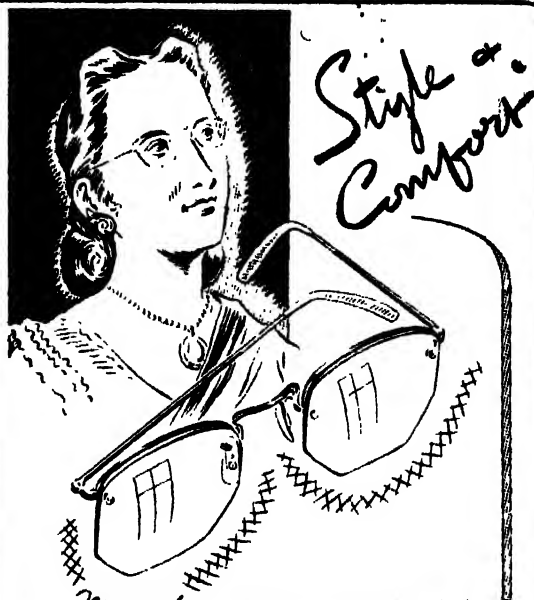
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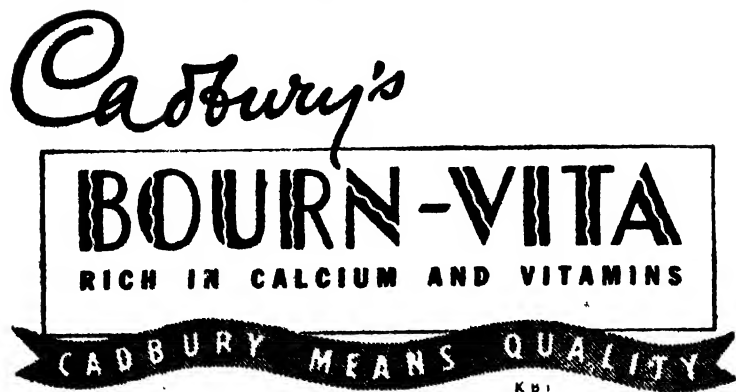
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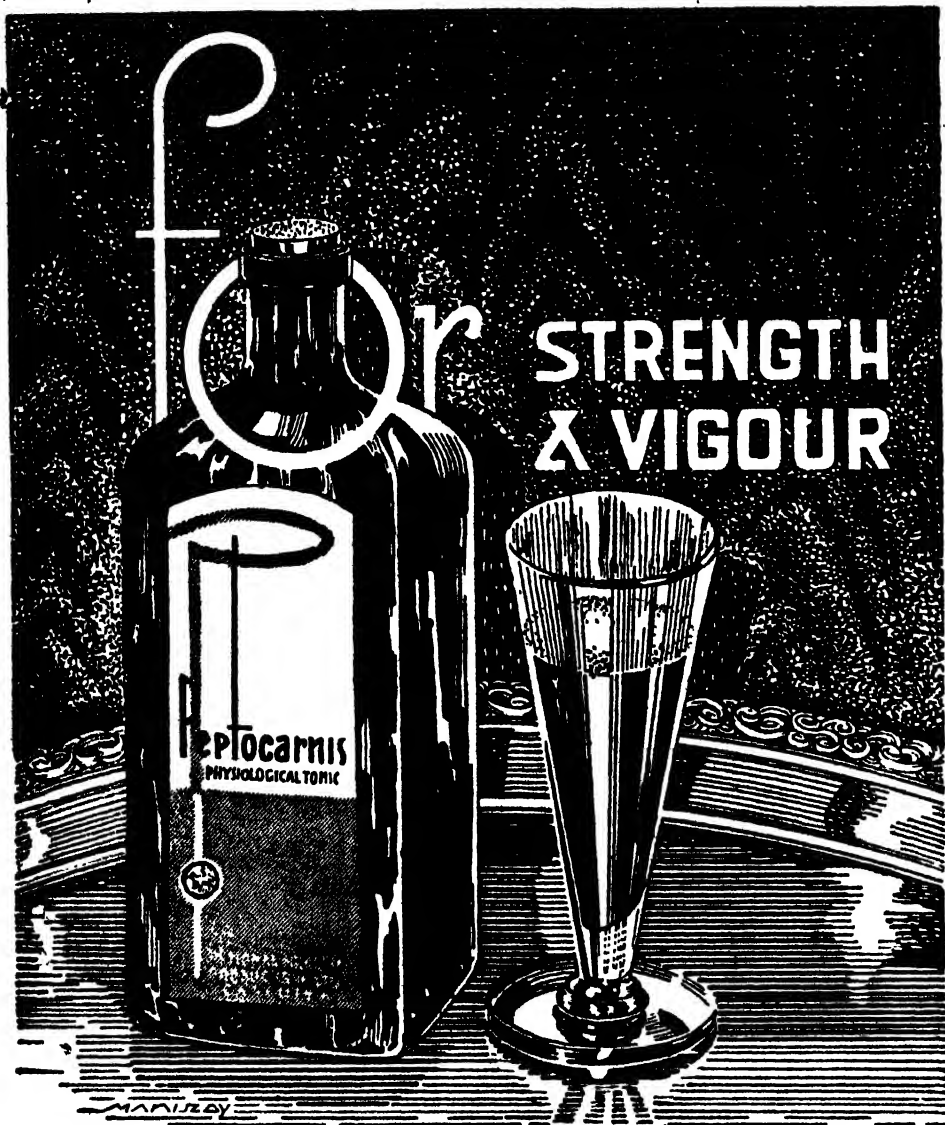


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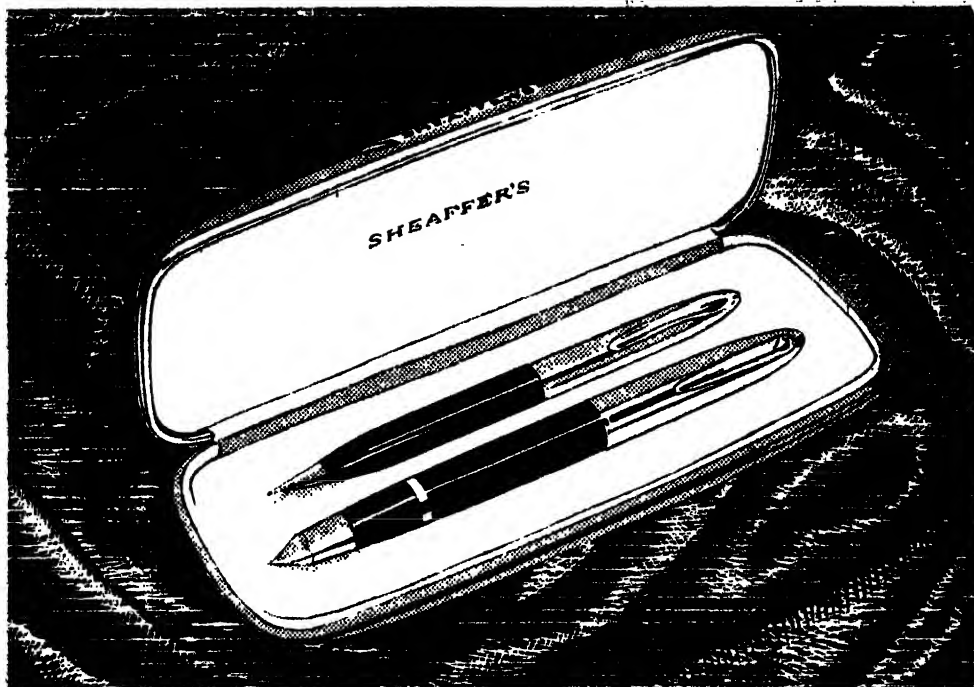


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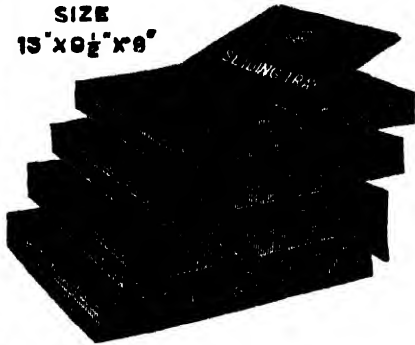
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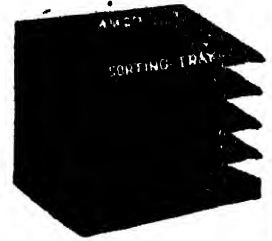
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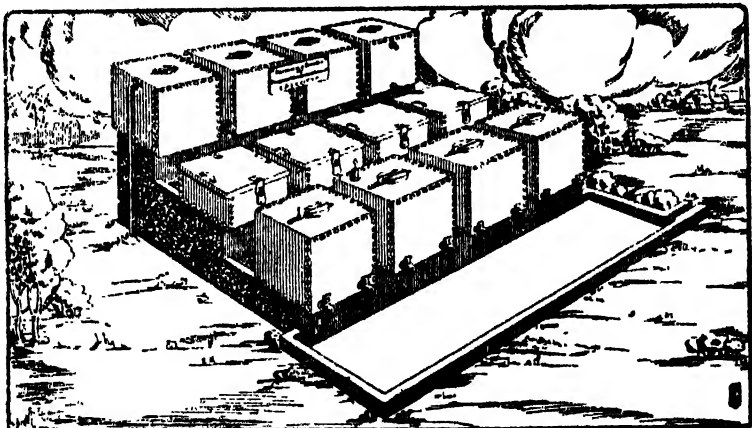
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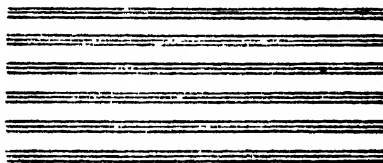
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CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER 1947.

	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—PRAKRITI AND ANANDA (in colours)—Niharranjan Sen Gupta	
NOTES—	421-440
Non-Violence For Modern Man— <i>Bidhan Chandra Roy, M.D.</i> ...	441
South Asia's Opportunity— <i>Harold R. Isaacs</i> ...	444
Objects Behind The Invasion Of Kashmir— <i>Nanimadhab Chaudhuri, M.A.</i> ...	450
The Income And Standard Of Living Of The Rural Population In Bengal— <i>Prof. Karunamoy Mukherjee, M.A.</i> ...	453
The Poetry Of W. B. Yeats— <i>N. N. Banerji, M.A.</i> ...	456
The Kew Gardens (illustr.)— <i>Phyllis Lovell</i> ...	457
The Shrine Of Sri Vithoba At Pandharpur (illustr.)— <i>M. B. S. Rao</i> ...	459



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CONTENTS—(Continued).

	PAGE
U. S. Nursery Schools (<i>illustr.</i>)— <i>USIS.</i>	... 462
Motorways For Britain (<i>illustr.</i>)— <i>Sir William Rooses, K. B. E.</i>	... 465
Belwa Where The Ramparts Of Bhim Converge (<i>illustr.</i>)— <i>Monoranjan Gupta, B.Sc.</i>	... 467
Problems Of Art Schools In India— <i>Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury, M.B.E.</i>	... 469
Indian Womanhood (<i>illustr.</i>)	... 470
Walt Whitman— <i>A. D. Moddie</i>	... 471
This Undeclared War In Kashmir — <i>Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.</i>	... 474
Education In India— <i>P. Narasimhayya, M.A., Ph.D.</i>	... 476
New York Celebrates India's Independence Day— <i>Probooth Mittra, M.A.</i>	... 480
Coalition Ministries In The Two Bengals— <i>Ajit Kumar Sen, M.A.</i>	... 482
"Richer By Asia"— <i>Taraknath Das</i>	... 486
"The Future Of Freedom In The Orient"— <i>Taraknath Das</i>	... 488

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

BOOK REVIEWS: ... 490-492

Nirmal Kumar Bose, Narayan C. Chanda;

Suresh Chandra Deb, P. R. Sen,

A. B. Dutta, Swami Jagadishwara-

nanda, H. C. Bhattacharjee, Sunil

Kumar Bose, G. M. K. M. J. ...

INDIAN PERIODICALS: 493-498

Paracelsus--Physician and Philosopher ... 493

Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya ... 494

The Kashmir War ... 495

Political Evolution ... 496

Common Script ... 497

The Scientific Aspects of Village Uplift ... 498

FOREIGN PERIODICALS: 501-504

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Research in the Tennessee Valley ... 503

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(Eggart's *chaitanya*)
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NOTES

The Congress in Power

Acharya Kripalani's statement, the full text of which is given in this issue, contains many poignant truths. It is a vital necessity for every Congressman and nationalist in India to realise in full the implications of such a statement, coming as it does from the President of the A.-I. C. C. We have been feeling for some time that the men at the top of the Congress have lost sight of realities and are indulging in self-adulation and self-and-party-aggrandisement at the cost of their faithful followers, who constitute the bulk of the Indian nation. The All-India Congress Committee and most of the Provincial Congress Committees have lost sight of the Congress ideals of service and are behaving as if they were conquerors, free to bestow largesse, jobs, contracts and appointments indiscriminately, on their relatives and favourites, without regard to the welfare of the people. We cannot say as yet that we have even made a beginning to arrive at the democratic ideal of governing the country "for the people, by the people."

Imperial Delhi was conceived and constructed by the British Imperialist as a psychological dam against the flowing torrent of Indian nationalism, in a vain attempt to divert that flow back to mediaevalism. The British failed, due mainly to two World Wars and the rising temper of the masses in Nationalist India, but to our sorrow we must record the fact that Imperial Delhi is more mediaeval today than it was ever under the Viceroy. We must admit the truth of the remark, made by a foreign educationalist whose knowledge of the India of today was comprehensive, that the Congress Government was ultra-modern in its speeches and preachings but was mediaeval in its ways, while the Muslim League was mediaeval in its ideals but primitive in its behaviour. The heads of the Congress Governments, at the Centre and in the Provinces, must realise that at present they are lowering the standards everywhere and unless the menace be checked in time, this freedom, won by the People at such a terrible cost of sacrifice and misery, might be frittered away by the

Leaders of the nation. The heads of the Government must realise that they are gradually estranging themselves from the people in the way they are proceeding.

There is a tame Legislature and Parliament at Delhi and the same is the case in the provinces. And the reason why is not far to seek. For a considerable time past, the Powers-that-be in the Working Committee, virtually nominated the A.-I. C. C., and the A.-I. C. C. in its turn dominated the Provincial Congress Committees. The Provincial Committees moulded the District Committees and so on and so forth. The nation was frantically eager for freedom after over a century of ruthless exploitation and merciless repression and therefore neither asked questions nor reasoned why. They were willing to be led by anyone in the name of freedom without looking at the antecedents of that leader. And therefore these Tammany Hall methods of Caucus rule was tolerated for the want of a better system. As a consequence we have today party-boss rule almost all over the country, and these party-bosses have seen to it that only the tamest and dumbest of their henchmen be sent to the Legislatures and Assemblies. Indeed it would not be wrong to say that 80 per cent—if not more—of the members of the Legislatures and Assemblies are nominated members, nominated by their party-bosses and not elected by the free will of the country's nationals. Our leaders must realise that this arrangement runs counter to the basic ideals of the Congress and violates the accepted principles of democracy.

In the total absence of any opposition or even that of a "ginger-group," the Government remains unaware of pitfalls and becomes pussillanimous in normal times and vacillatory and erratic in emergencies. This fact has become patently manifest in Delhi through the course of the year that is coming to a close. Our leaders, including our beloved Mahatma Gandhi, must beware of this fact. No country can travel far on the path of progress if its heads alternate between blissful somnolence and violent emotional agitation.

We find that our great ones are yet moving along

their individual/emotional impulses. Do the Congress leaders realise that their first and foremost duty is to serve those of the Indian nationals through whose staunch support, firm determination and immense sacrifices these leaders have attained the eminence and power they enjoy today? We confess that we are unable as yet to perceive any realism or even any desire to serve in those in whose hands the reins of the State have been placed through the sanction of the people. We observed with dismay the irresponsibility and light-heartedness with which vital Cabinet portfolios and Foreign service posts of paramount importance were handed out like prize-books at a school annual function, without any consideration as to the fitness or suitability of the incumbent to the post and without weighing the consequences, if the man proved to be a broken reed. Delhi today, as ever, is the Eldorado of the careerist, the office-hunter and the myrmidons of the profiteer and the black-marketer. Square-pegs are still being placed in round holes by the arbiters of the nation's destiny. Efficiency is being shouldered aside by sycophancy and sterling worth, experience and specialised knowledge count as nought as against skill in party-jobbery and intrigue. And most of the provincial administrations have taken the cue from Delhi and at least one well-established "Congress province" is out-Heroding Herod. Acharya Kripalani is more than justified in stating that "the unfortunate fact remains that red-tapism, jobbery, corruption, bribery, black-marketing, profiteering are as rampant today as they were in the days of the British." He should have added that nepotism, favouritism and party-jobbery evils threaten to set up records unsurpassed even by the Quisling governments under the League-Linlithgow administration. Do our leaders consider the task of nation-building in India not arduous enough that they allow the Indian Union to backslide into a vast Augean stable in this fashion?

The Congress of today must redeem its pledges to its real supporters who formed the masses that rose and fought for freedom against desperate odds, without guidance and without aid. Or else this Congress must and will have to make way for a nationalism more vitally alive to the grim realities of nation-building, just as the Moderate Congress and the Liberal Congress had to stand aside before Mahatma Gandhi's passive-resistance movement. A nation cannot be experimented upon for ever like a cat under chloroform, just to satisfy the pet theories of its leaders, however great and eminent they might be. We have to make this statement, more in sorrow than in anger, because we are unable to appreciate the erratic actions of our leaders and their still more puzzling utterances. For example, we confess we could not perceive either logic or realism in the "back-to-Pakistan" resolution in A.-I. C. C., in regard to the Hindu and Sikh refugees. And further, we confess, we are unable to perceive, in the light of our harrowing experiences in the dire calamities of the 1943 famine, any constructive reasoning in Mahatma Gandhi's tirade against Controls, in the absence of a full and unfailing guarantee of pro-

tection to the poor and needy against the filthy lust for gain that is ever present in the atrophied hearts of those who control the trade in the people's food and raiment.

Bengal and the Congress Ministry

Reaction is inevitable in any democratic country, sooner or later according to the degree of political consciousness of its peoples, if the government continues to insist on imposing its will on the nationals of that country, without any consideration for the opinion, needs and necessities or feelings of the majority. The reaction becomes more and more pronounced as the people progressively realise that they are being denied those very rights, inherent in the principle of self-determination, for which they have fought and suffered for generations, by the self-same leaders who only yesterday were totally dependant on their support. If that leader who, through a pledge of democracy and selfless service, has been able to climb to the high pedestal of authority through the will and sanction of the people, starts looking down from it on the people with the superior air of an autocrat, ignoring their will, needs and desires, then he is only asking for repudiation. If he continues to air his whims and fads and to give vent to his psychological complexes, without any regard for the feelings of his own people, relying solely on the acclaim and adulation of his creatures whom he has secured as henchmen through the lavish distribution of office and largesse at the cost of the long-suffering tax-payer, then catastrophe will follow, sure as fate. *Vox populi, Vox Dei* is not a mere hackneyed saw today, it is an axiomatic, living truth.

Arrogance, obduracy, intolerance of criticism and chronic self-opinionatedness might be admirable traits in a totalitarian Dictator, but they cannot be called democratic virtues by any stretch of imagination. Resentment will follow with the progressive realisation by the people that pledges are not being redeemed, that the people's needs and desires are being ignored and that unworthy persons are being placed in authority, through nepotism, favouritism and party-jobbery crowned with inexperience, on whom the people cannot place any reliance. This, for example, is patently the case in West Bengal today under the Ghosh Ministry.

The people of West Bengal feel that they are being deprived of their rights, for example, there has been no formation of the Zonal Congress Committee for which the A.-I. C. C. President issued a directive. Further the people of West Bengal feel that their opinion or will counts for little with Mr. Prafulla Ghosh, who relies on the party-caucus of the B.P.C.C. and the benevolence of the A.-I. C. C. to keep him in office. We do not wish to go into further details in view of the recent deplorable anti-Security Act demonstrations—which we cannot condemn too strongly—in which the immature youth of Calcutta was made a cat's paw for ulterior motives. But we must state that the resentment against the Ghosh Ministry has substantial grounds.

Acharya Kripalani's Resignation

The Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, asked the All-India Congress Committee, which met at New Delhi on November 15, to relieve him of the responsibility of Presidentship and to treat his decision as irrevocable. Mahatma Gandhi attended the meeting and supporting the stand taken up by Acharya Kripalani told the Committee that either it should accept the resignation of the President or agree to his point of view. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected Congress President in succession to Acharya Kripalani. The election was unanimous. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who is now holding the portfolio of Food and Agriculture in the Central Government will resign his Ministership but will probably retain the Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly which may hereafter be made a paid office. The following is the full text of his statement :

Looking back over the ghastly tragedy of the last two months, I have no doubt that we would have been wise if before agreeing to partition we had made Mr. Jinnah face the logical consequences of his theory of two-nation. We did not and do not believe in this pernicious theory and yet by accepting the June 3 Plan, we were more or less driven to adopt it as the basis of partition. However, my purpose in inviting your attention to this tragedy is not to discuss the past but to seek light for the future so that we may face it with one mind and with clear conception of the issues at stake.

Those of our Muslim countrymen, and they formed the overwhelming majority of the Muslim community, who, misguided by the League leadership, helped in the establishment of Pakistan, assure us today that they no more believe in the two-nation theory. They are as vehement in their loyalty to the Indian Union as they were for the division of the country. Although we welcome these verbal expressions of loyalty, it is only by their deeds that this loyalty can be tested. Nor is repentance in itself sufficient to wipe out the evil consequences of the mischief already perpetrated.

The last few months' experience should teach us that it is easy to divide the country but not so easy to divide the peace of the country. In spite of the national and non-communal basis of our State, we cannot ignore the fact that whatever is done in Pakistan has its inevitable repercussion in India. We should, therefore, frankly tell the League-minded Muslims that though we, Congressmen, and our Governments are determined to protect them, we cannot do so merely on the strength of our police and army. A democracy cannot put down the common man by sheer force of arms.

The safety of the Muslims must come from their Hindu neighbours who form a majority of the population and from whom the majority in the ranks of the police and the army must come. These will not be active in affording this protection unless they know that their co-religionists in Pakistan are getting a fair deal.

If that is so the Muslim community must organize itself to bring pressure on Pakistan to do justice to its minorities. This is the only way that it can show its loyalty to the Indian Union at this critical juncture. If the Muslim community fails in this effort it must be

ready to help the Indian Union to adopt whatever pressure international practice prescribes to settle disputes between two independent States.

It is no good shutting one's eyes to facts. We must face them boldly and make up our minds as to what we must do if we wish to preserve the freedom we have won after years of suffering and sacrifice. The issue at stake is the very existence of our State. It is time we realized that the politics of the Muslim League and the principles which govern its policy in Pakistan are the very negation of all that the Congress had stood for and one which we seek to build our own State in India. We believe in a secular, democratic State, and whatever the provocation and whatever measures we may be obliged to adopt to safeguard its security, we cannot think in terms of a communal State.

The League, on the other hand, with its creed of Islamic exclusiveness, its cult of communal hatred and its practice of terrorism and treachery is an exact replica of the German Nazis. The more we appease its appetite the more it will devour till like the Nazis in Europe, it will become a menace to the peace of Asia. If we do not take a firm stand today and prepare against this menace, we shall, like Chamberlain's England, rue our folly.

I do not suggest that we would declare war on Pakistan. Far from it. On the contrary, I hope and pray that such an unhappy contingency will never arise. But I do believe that the only way to avoid the ghastly tragedy of a war between India and Pakistan is to make India strong. There are many sanctions, economic and other, short of war, which we can use to help Pakistan see that friendly and amicable relations with India are to the mutual advantage of both the countries. Fear of the consequences of one's folly is a salutary factor in enforcing international, if not also individual, morality.

Our first and foremost duty today, therefore, is to sink all our petty inter-group or personal differences in one Herculean effort to build up a powerful State which will be a bulwark of peace. I am a believer in non-violence, but I understand the logic of violence. Our State, like every other State, maintains an army and must use it when occasion demands it. Weakness, I hold, is a crime. If we lack the supreme courage of non-violence and the will to follow the Gandhian way, let us at least have the common courage of disciplined violence. We have enough of resources and more than enough of manpower. *All we need is organization, and drive to train and equip our men so that every city, every town and every village should have a disciplined citizen-army, which will be an instrument of service in peace and a guarantee of security in war.* As far as I know the popular mind, the people are only too anxious to co-operate with the Government in such an organization.

I dare say the Government are aware of the urgency of the situation and are perhaps planning such a drive, but so far there has been little evidence of it. With the result that the people, instead of being inspired with enthusiasm and confidence, are daily becoming restive and critical and looking to communal organisations for a lead

in this matter. After all, in politics, we must not only do the right thing, but also appear to be doing so.

The people must also realize that a nation's strength is to be measured not by the size of its armies but by the ability of the common citizen to rise to the occasion. The State can cope with external menace, only if it can count on the disciplined loyalty of its people. No State can be strong where the people are prone at the slightest provocation to take the law into their hands. Whatever the provocations, the kind of lawlessness that recently disfigured the face of Delhi was the greatest disservice that our people could have done to the State.

Apart from the moral degradation involved in lynching innocent men and women for crimes of their co-religionists elsewhere, such anarchy is the very negation of the conditions necessary for protecting our new-found freedom. If the people have a grievance, they must look to the Government to take the necessary steps and if the Government of the day are not willing or able to do so, they can demand a change in the Government. But they have no right to deprive others of the elementary rights of citizenship for no other crime than that of belonging to a different religion.

Even a criminal in a civilized State has a right to live, unless the State after a fair trial deprives him of it. It is degrading and barbaric of us to assume that a Muslim because he is a Muslim is unworthy to be a citizen of this State. All that we can demand is that those Muslims whose past record or present behaviour makes their loyalty to the State suspect should not be trusted with responsible positions in the services, in the interest of the safety of the State. But in no case can the people arrogate to themselves functions which properly belong to the Government. Thereby they will only weaken the State and wreck the very foundations of a stable and civilized existence.

There are at present two sources of friction between India and Pakistan which, unless eliminated or wisely controlled in time, may develop into major conflicts or war. One relates to the problem of the minorities, the other to Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. In relation to both these problems it is desirable that our leaders in the Government should take the A.I.C.C. into confidence and tell us what the present position is and what the Government's future stand is likely to be. On both these issues the nation is deeply agitated and Congressmen ought to know enough of the Government's policy to be able to explain and justify it to the people.

We cannot absolve ourselves of our responsibility towards the minorities in Pakistan. They were part of our nation as much as we are. They suffered and fought as our comrades in the struggle for freedom. They believe as fervently in the Congress ideal of a united India as we did. It is not they but we who voted for the acceptance of the June 3 Plan which has deprived them of the fruits of freedom and placed them at the mercy of a party in whose ideals they did not believe. And yet as loyal Congressmen they accepted our decision in good faith, believing that it was for the good of India as a whole.

They believe in our assurance that their rights in

Pakistan would be adequately safeguarded. How then can we disown responsibility towards them today? How can we allow them to be treated as worse than pariahs in Pakistan? How dare we deny or grudge them shelter when they come to us fleeing from terror worse than death? You have then to lay down a policy for all our provinces to follow. With intelligent planning and proper co-ordination, we should be able to absorb in our economy a few million people. It may take time to do so, but the task should not be beyond our resources.

What, however, is exasperating is not the nature of the task but the fact that in this, as in several other matters, we do not know where we stand. *We seem to be living from hand to mouth and have left the initiative in the hands of Pakistan. We ought to have anticipated the contingency of a transfer of populations being forced on us and should have provided for it in the June 3 Agreement.* As it is, we have been obliged to accept it with regard to the Punjab. Although Sind, Baluchistan and the Frontier are not included in the arrangement, we are faced with the fact of a daily exodus of the Hindus from these provinces. Fortunately, the situation in Bengal is comparatively better but he would be a rash prophet who said that a similar contingency would not arise there. Are we going to let the initiative in this matter to rest with Pakistan so that whenever it suits its Government it hounds the minorities out of its land and forces us to maintain refugee camps in perpetuity? How long are the minorities in each Dominion to look for protection and shelter to the Government of the other Dominion?

The situation is illogical and intolerable. We must finally make up our minds whether the Government of Pakistan can be trusted to look after the minorities. If we are convinced that it cannot, then the sooner we take them over and allow such Muslims as wish to migrate to Pakistan to do so, the better it is in the interest of both the Governments.

If, on the other hand, we feel reasonably confident that the Pakistan Government is sincere in its profession to guarantee equal rights to the minorities, then we must by mutual agreement fix a time-limit within which citizenship will be freely inter-changeable. We must then relax Central and provincial regulations, if any, about service and settlement in particular areas of the Indian Union for those coming from Pakistan. After the expiry of a fixed date the protection of minorities will be the exclusive concern of the State whose citizenship they have voluntarily chosen to accept. Some such arrangement is the only cure of what threatens to be a chronic disease.

I also feel that since the Congress is a national and not an international organization, it is inconsistent for us to maintain Congress parties in Pakistan, once the transition period is over. As it is, we are faced with several anomalies. Many office-bearers of the Frontier, West Punjab, East Bengal and Sind P.C.C.s and members of the provincial Assemblies there have left their respective areas. Do they continue to represent the Congress organization there? These are matters about which the A.I.C.C. must give a clear directive to the Working Committee. Personally, I feel that the indefinite continuance of the Con-

gress Party in Pakistan and of the Muslim League Party in India is illogical, inconsistent and fraught with complexities:

Coming to the States, I am glad that our Government have declared their policy in clear and firm terms. Kashmir has acceded to the Indian Union and unless and until the people of Kashmir have constitutionally declared their will otherwise, the Government of India shall meet any unwarranted interference or aggression from outside with all the resources at their command. Nor will the Indian Government recognize or tolerate the so-called independent status of Hyderabad. Fortunately, the Junagadh episode promises to end satisfactorily. While the Indian Government have consistently maintained their democratic stand that the will of the people must be the decisive factor in determining the State's accession, the Pakistan authorities, in their frantic intrigues to grab what they can, have landed themselves in the illogical and absurd position of justifying the Nawab when he flouted his people's will and of repudiating his action when he was obliged to respect their will.

I congratulate the Government on their firm action in Kashmir which, though belated, has fortunately succeeded in checkmating the well-planned plot of the Pakistan Government to terrorize the State into submission. The initial success that has been attained by our Army is a tribute to its courage and efficiency. But we must not suppose that we are as yet out of the woods. Winter will soon make operations in Kashmir difficult. We must take immediate steps to see that our forces there are not isolated or unduly handicapped by the road being blocked by snow. I assure the Government that whatever measures are necessary to fulfil our obligations to the people of these States will have the willing and whole-hearted co-operation of our people.

CONGRESS OBJECTIVE

There is yet another problem of which I wish to invite your attention, and that is the problem of the Congress objective and of the Congress organization. *Now that the basic aim of the Congress, which was the achievement of independence by peaceful and legitimate means, may be taken to have been achieved, should the Congress as an organization and as a political party continue to exist and, if so, what should be its programme?* I have no doubt in my mind that the need of the Congress to function as a well-knit, disciplined political party is as great today as ever. Even in the recent communal frenzy, it is Congressmen who have kept themselves comparatively free from the prevalent hysteria and by their influence helped the various provincial Governments to maintain the peace and whatever communal harmony there is. Nor is there in India today another political party that can immediately and effectively fill the gap, were the Congress to disappear from the scene. Moreover, the Congress in the course of its struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership has evolved a concept of freedom which comprehends a programme of social and economic reconstruction, not yet realized. We believed not only in an India freed of British rule but in a non-violent democratic society built on decentralized economy which will eliminate economic

exploitation of one class by another without investing the State with the monopoly of political and economic exploitation, which is what happens in the centralized economy of a Communist or Fascist State. This concept was symbolized in the Charkha on our Flag.

To work out the scheme of decentralization the Congress under Gandhiji's lead created the Charkha, *gramud-yog* and the *talimi sanghs*. Does the Congress yet hold to the principles and policies underlying these associations? Or do we consider that the three institutions, brought into being by resolutions of the Congress, merely represent the unpractical fads of Gandhiji which we accepted as the price of his leadership? In the former case, the Congress Governments, now that they wield effective power, must carry out the policies worked out by these associations and profit by their knowledge and experience. In the latter case, we must be honest enough to admit that these policies being unpractical are no longer acceptable to our Governments and cannot be given effect to by them. The Congress might then dissociate itself from these associations by some kind of declaration or resolution. Not to take either course is to create confusion within the Congress and uncertainty in the nation.

On the other hand, we may not forget that if India is to survive as a free nation in the modern world of aggressive ambitions and heavy armaments, and since the nation seems to have decided that the State cannot be based upon pure non-violence, India must have a powerful army and certain heavy basic industries. We have then to review the whole structure of our economy and finally make up our minds as to what sort of a State we want. That it shall be democratic State we are all agreed. But what sort of a democratic State? Do we believe in a capitalist economy with its unlimited scope for private enterprise and unrestricted profits? Or do we envisage State Socialism of the orthodox Western pattern, with its highly centralized economy, State-ownership of all means of production, and supremacy of the bureaucrat? Or shall we utilize such wisdom as Gandhiji has taught us and experiment with an unorthodox pattern of socialist economy, where industry will as far as possible be decentralized and such enterprises as cannot be so decentralized will be run either on a co-operative basis or owned or controlled by the State? In either case whether of the orthodox or unorthodox pattern, we have to ask: *Have we an adequate, efficient and irreproachably honest army of civil servants who can be trusted to plan, manage or control production and distribution on behalf of the State?*

We have a programme for the abolition of zamindaris which the Congress Ministries in the provinces are in the process of putting through. Are we going to rest content with abolishing the zamindaris or have we a plan for so ordering our agricultural economy as to increase production as well? Whatever plans we have, they have to be executed by the civil service which was trained by the British for one purpose and which has to be utilized by us for quite a different purpose. *I know that our leaders who before they took over the Government used to denounce the civil service as inefficient and corrupt have suddenly discovered its virtues.* We take their word for it, though

there is a general suspicion that the services, even where they are loyal to their present bosses, have not changed their attitude to their real masters, the public.

However, the unfortunate fact remains that red-tapism, jobbery, corruption, bribery, black-marketing and profiteering are as rampant today as they were in the days of the British.

In the streets of Delhi, on the pavements of Connaught Place, black-marketing goes on flagrantly and shamelessly. Where is the police and the dreaded C.I.D. that used to dog our footsteps? Why can't they bring the black-marketers and the anti-social criminals to the dock? The common man is as much the victim of injustice and exploitation today as he was before the National Flag was hoisted over the Secretariat.

Even more unfortunate is the evidence of decay in the calibre and morale of our political workers. The unity that held us together in the days of struggle and suffering is being increasingly marred by factions and divisions based more on personal rivalry than on any discoverable principles. The spirit of sacrifice and idealism that sustained us and made us what we were is being replaced by competition in our politics. It is tragic that we should disintegrate at a time when we need all our strength, unity and moral resources to justify the hopes that the nation has reposed in us. For if the salt loseth its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?

All these are questions which we must ponder over and to cope with which we must mobilize all our moral and material resources.

CONGRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT

This brings me to the issue which demands consideration in the present context. It has perturbed my mind ever since my election as President of this organization. What should be the relation of the Congress Executive or the Working Committee to the Government at the Centre? This is a matter which is bound to affect for good or ill not only the character of the Central Government in the new set-up but the position of the Congress in the country. The indefiniteness of this relation has already caused confusion in the minds of Congressmen and the general public who do not know and cannot yet understand where the responsibility for any particular decision or the want of it lies.

How is the Congress to give to the Government its active and enlightened co-operation unless its highest executive or at least its popularly chosen head is taken into full confidence on important matters that affect the nation? If there is no free and full co-operation between the Governments and the Congress organization the result is misunderstanding and confusion, such as is prevalent today in the ranks of the Congress and in the minds of the people. Nor can the Congress serve as a living and effective link between the Government and the people unless the leadership in the Government and in the Congress work in the closest harmony.

It is the party which is in constant touch with the people in villages and in towns and reflects changes in their will and temper. It is the party from which the Government of the day derives its power. Any action

which weakens the organization of the party or lowers its prestige in the eyes of the people must sooner or later undermine the position of the Government. If, therefore, the present confusion is not checked in time, I am afraid the Congress as an organization will speedily disintegrate and its place in the national life will be captured by either some organization, may be of militant communalism, or by the Communist Party.

I have discussed this problem with my colleagues in the Working Committee on more than one occasion and have also sought Gandhiji's light on it. While no one disputes the necessity of a close and harmonious co-operation between the Government and the Congress Executive, the difficulty is how to achieve it. The need for this co-operation is recognized in theory but I find it missing in practice. It may be due to the fact that all of us are not united on basic policies. Or it may be that this co-operation is lacking because I who happen to be President of the organization do not enjoy the confidence of my colleagues in the Central Cabinet. If that is so, then I should be the last person to stand in the way of what is necessary in the interest of this nation.

If by eliminating myself I could make room for this co-operation between the Government and my successor, none would be happier than myself. I sought Gandhiji's advice and he agreed with me that under the circumstances I was justified in resigning. And so I placed my resignation before the Working Committee. But in view of the critical situation then prevailing in the country my colleagues were unwilling to relieve me of my responsibility. In deference to their wishes I agreed to continue. Any longer continuance is, I feel, dangerous both for the Congress and the country.

Realizing the critical situation in the country, a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of my colleagues in the Government. They are tried and trusted leaders of the people and are guided in their action by the highest motive of service to the nation. I am, therefore, loth to take any step that may divert the attention of the people from the immediate task of strengthening the State. Nevertheless by allowing the present confusion in the relation between the Working Committee and the Government to continue, we shall in the long run weaken both the Government and the Congress. I, therefore, want you to consider this question calmly and dispassionately and after hearing all viewpoints and viewing all considerations to give a clear and positive directive which must in future govern this relation. In your discussion you will please avoid the personal factor. It has no place in considering the present situation. You will also treat my decision to be irrevocable.

You have also to decide about the composition of the Working Committee. It is today overweighed with members who occupy office in the Government, either Central or provincial. Last year though you left the discretion to the President in the matter it was the feeling of the House that not more than a third of the Committee should consist of such members. I respected this wish of the House in forming my Working Committee last year but since then several of my colleagues have accepted

office and the original proportion has been upset. At present a majority of members of the Working Committee are in the Government. I would like you to give my successor a clear directive in this matter of the composition of the Working Committee.

I know that by resigning at this critical juncture I am taking a grave decision. It is possible that my point of view may not be appreciated. It is even possible that my motive may be misunderstood. But I must take that risk if I am to be true to myself and to the charge that is placed in my hands. I must, therefore, efface myself. I do so in the assurance that the national interests which we all hold so dear will be safe in their hands.

India Govt.'s State Policy

Sardar Patel explained the Government of India's policy regarding the States in a public meeting held at Rajkot on November 12. Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, in the words of Sardar Patel, were the only problems left out of a difficult legacy handed down to India by a departing Britain which quite naturally desired at the time of its departure not to displease either the Princes or the people—either Hindus, or Muslims or Sikhs.

He told his audience that the real purpose of his visit to Kathiawar was the disentanglement of the many knotty problems which the sudden collapse of authority in Junagadh had created not only for the people of Junagadh but the whole of Kathiawar.

Recalling how the Nawab of Junagadh had left the State "without a shot being fired," Sardar Patel maintained that the trouble had been brought upon the Nawab's head by the wrong advice which he received from the people who were bent upon mischief and by machinations of the Pakistan Government itself.

Pakistan had no business, he said, to meddle with Junagadh. When we accepted partition we did so in the hope of a final settlement of a brotherly dispute. We felt that satisfying the obstinate demand of a brother who had been a part of the joint family we would bring peace to both of us and prosperity to all. But hardly had partition been effected when the Punjab disturbances engulfed us. Nevertheless we took particular care to avoid creating any obstacles in the way of Pakistan's relationship with the States with whom such relationship was quite natural.

"We did not attempt to seduce any of their States into our fold. But it was they who throughout made it a business to create difficulties and obstacles for us as much and as often as possible.

"Even then we had no intention of marching our troops into the Junagadh territory but then the Provisional Government led by S. J. Samaldas Gandhi took a hand. They took village after village and reached Kuntiana. It was then that the advisers of the Nawab, who had already fled, realised that the game was up. They left, leaving the people who had financed them, in utter predicament."

Narrating the circumstances which preceded the final debacle, Sardar Patel pointed out that the Dewan's decision to hand over the administration to the Indian Domi-

nion was reached after Major Harvey Jones had been denied assistance by the Pakistan Government and after the Council and the people had been taken into consultation.

It was no hasty decision but a calculated move to accept the inevitable. The Dewan informed the Pakistan Government of what he was doing. We waited for 24 hours to see how Pakistan would react. But there was no response whatsoever. We then decided to march in order not only to preserve the peace in Junagadh but also to forestall its adverse repercussion in the whole of Kathiawar.

Sardar Patel emphatically repudiated Pakistan's contention that the Dewan had no authority to take the action that he did. He had the assent of the Nawab of Junagadh and backing of the people. What other authority under any conception of sovereignty did the Dewan need in support of his action?

It was, however, Pakistan's practice to use all sorts of devices in order to call in question anything that the Indian Dominion did. They would cry or use threat, sometimes they would blow hot and sometimes cold. The Dewan in a more congenial atmosphere in Karachi had suddenly realised that he had not handed over the administration completely to the Indian Dominion.

But his letter is crystal clear and he cannot naturally expect us to hand over the State on a plate after all the misdeeds of himself and his other officers and the desertion of the Nawab. We have said more than once that the final arbiters on this issue are the people and it is by their verdict that we shall be guided. I can assure everybody that the verdict would be a real verdict ascertained in a truly democratic manner. We cannot imitate the methods which Pakistan utilised in forcing a decision in Kashmir.

Rampur which was the first to declare its accession to the Indian Dominion witnessed the first fruits of Pakistan's malevolence. We met this challenge resolutely and the resistance collapsed. Then they sought a foothold in Junagadh. We warned them, we begged of them, we reasoned with them but obstinacy was not conquered.

We could not naturally be blind to the consequences which this interference with our affairs entailed and the States which had acceded to us long before they took the final plunge in Junagadh. It was with this idea of safeguarding the rights of the acceding States and peace of Kathiawar that we had to take precautionary measures and send troops to Manavadar, Mangrol and Babariawad.

Sardar Patel also recounted the recent events in Kashmir where again Pakistan had intervened in the crudest and worst form that any foreign power could have done in the affairs of a neighbouring State.

"But the future of Kashmir like that of Hyderabad rests with the people. Despite the attempts of Pakistan to avoid this commitment in the case of Hyderabad and despite their attempts to avoid facing facts in Junagadh the will of the people will have its way. If Hyderabad does not see the writing on the wall it goes the way Junagadh has gone."

Turning to the general question of responsible Government in the States Sardar Patel emphasised that as one

who had done more than anyone else to preserve the true rights of the Princes he felt that Princes could survive only as trustees of the people.

"Let them not heed any false or fraudulent advice which interested persons engaged in the pursuit of selfish ends might offer them. Instead let them carry the people with them. Princes and people belong to one family and their best and mutual interest lies in remaining as a family rather than behaving as foes. But at the same time it was the duty of the people to prove themselves worthy of the great responsibility which a democratic regime entailed."

He recalled that Cochin had seen recently the farthest advance yet made on the road to responsible Government but how despite full co-operation of the Ruler, the responsible Government in the State had come to grief.

Sardar Patel had a special word of advice to say to Hindus and Muslims of Kathiawar. He recalled how in the past Muslims of Kathiawar had contributed to the League propaganda of two-nation theory and how they had taken part in League politics. "But I have forgotten the past which is dead and gone. Gone if only they will treat with us as such. But if they still feel an attachment to the two-nation theory and look to an outside power they have no place in Kathiawar."

"It was to put an end to this dual loyalty that we agreed to create Pakistan so that those who prefer to abide in the faith can find a place where they can pursue it. In India there is no place for such persons. If they stay in India it can only be as loyal citizens, otherwise they have to be treated as foreigners with all the attendant disabilities. They should live in India like brothers and in harmony with non-Muslims."

He enjoined upon the Hindus to follow Mahatma Gandhi in his creed of non-violence. He recalled how recent disturbances had disgraced India in the eyes of the world and it was for them to win back their lost reputation by correct behaviour and noble conduct; at the same time he deplored the tendency to get panicky.

"If we have to die we must die like brave men. As human beings with a sense of human dignity we cannot die crying."

Sardar Patel made a moving reference to his intimate contact with the late Ruler of Rajkot, Raja Lekhaji Raj, and the historic fact which nine years ago Gandhiji undertook in furtherance of responsible Government in the States.

"It is, therefore, a great source of satisfaction to me and a real pleasure that the Thakore Sahib was good enough to write to me only this morning that he issued instructions to his Dewan to implement the agreement, which had been reached between me and the late Ruler on December 26, 1938 in the circumstances, the speed and drama of which had baffled even the then Resident, Mr. Gibson. By this action the Thakore Sahib has demonstrated a high sense of public duty and has kept up the pledge given by his brother."

He wanted Hindus and Muslims to forget the past and to live happily together. "To make it possible let Muslims in India search their conscience and ascertain

if they are really loyal to this country. If they are not let them go to the country which claims their allegiance."

Finally he felt he should make it clear to the audience that there was no question of India being unable to face up to the threats which had been held out. Pakistan's actions were probably prompted by the feeling that India was in trouble and therefore fomentation of trouble in the States would make matters worse.

"I assure you that we are not going to let the grass grow under our feet. Even if all these troubles come at the same time, we have got resources which would enable us to stand up to all of them at the same time. If they are anxious to challenge us, we would be ready to accept it."

"Let no State have evil designs on us or dream of extending its hegemony. Let them not entertain the fond hope of any Jatistan or Rajasthan or Sikhistan. If they persist all these dreamers will soon be disillusioned. Instead let them realise which way their true interest lies."

"I bear Pakistan no ill-will, I wish them god-speed; let them only leave us to pursue our own salvation and stop meddling into our affairs even in places like far-off Tripura. We shall then each settle down to our respective destiny; maybe after we have become prosperous they will awaken themselves to the need for reunion in the best interest of both."

"It is neither our business nor our intention to force a reunion. We only wish to be left alone so that both can live in peace and prosperity, happiness and harmony."

Sardar Patel on Relations with Hyderabad

Sardar Patel, Minister for Home Affairs and States, told the members of the Indian Parliament that the Agreement with Hyderabad had been signed. Explaining the Agreement he said that under the settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State except Paramountcy functions were to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year.

The Deputy Prime Minister said that a permanent accession would have been "in accord not only with our cherished desire but also with the interests of both the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad," but he fully appreciated the internal difficulties in the State and consistent with our policy to secure agreement not by coercion, but as far as possible with the maximum degree of goodwill on both sides and with due regard to the overall position in India, Government felt that that an agreement, even for a limited period, would have considerable advantages over the absence of any agreement whatsoever.

Sardar Patel said: "With your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this house that this was the last phase of these negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has

been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the agreement signed this morning as well as a copy of the collateral letters exchanged between H. E. H. the Nizam and H. E. the Governor-General.

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which due to the spirit of co-operation evinced by the rulers resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representative of H. E. H. the Nizam also, at the same time I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when 15th August came no agreement could be reached.

At the same time H. E. H. the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him a extension of two months within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General with the concurrence of the Cabinet undertook to continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the delegation sent by H. E. H. and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted but owing to developments of which the House is aware the old delegation resigned and a new one was sent by H. E. H. the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one.

The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for, placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India.

I fully realise, that Hon'ble members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes. I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end.

I would also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this, as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

Finally, I am sure the House would like me to place

on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations.

Hyderabad

The stand-still agreement between India and Hyderabad has been signed after protracted negotiations. The agreement is in exactly the same form as the one previously agreed to with the Chhatari delegation. The Majlis Ittehadul Muslemin of Hyderabad took exception to this form and by violent demonstrations, prevented the Chhatari delegation from going to New Delhi after consultations with the Nizam. Nawab of Chhatari then resigned. Others who figured prominently in negotiations on behalf of Hyderabad were Sir Mirza Ismail during whose Premiership the negotiations were initiated; Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to Nizam; Nawab Ali Yar Jung, former Minister for Constitutional Affairs in the Nizam's Government and Sir Sultan Ahmed. Sir Walter Monckton and Sir Sultan Ahmed withdrew from the Negotiation Committee following strong opposition to the trend of the negotiations voiced by the Ittehadul Muslemin. Earlier, Nawab Ali Yar Jung resigned his office for similar reasons. The delegation was led by Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung when the agreement was signed. Government of India's representative had fourteen meetings with the various delegations during prolonged negotiations.

According to the Agreement, the Nizam will have no power to appoint diplomatic Agents in any foreign country or any country of the British Commonwealth.

The Agreement shall not impose any right on Indian Union to station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

With regard to the Nizam maintaining an Agent-General in London, it is pointed out that Hyderabad had an Agent-General even before August 15. He can appoint such officers wherever he desires but they will not have any diplomatic status or functions and their work will be confined to matters of trade and commerce, that is, trade interest on behalf of Hyderabad. They will have to work in co-ordination with Indian Trade Commissioners and with Indian Diplomatic Officers. In other words, they will work under Indian Supervision.

The following is the text of the Agreement:

Agreement made this twenty-ninth day of November, 1947 between the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Whereas it is the aim and policy of the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to work together in close association and amity for the mutual benefit of both but a final agreement as to the form and nature of the relationship between them has not yet been reached; and whereas it is to the advantage of both parties that existing agreements and

administrative arrangements in matters of common concern should, pending such final agreement as aforesaid, be continued:

Now, therefore, it is hereby agreed as follows:

Article 1. Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matters of common concern, including External Affairs, Defence and Communications, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before the 15th August, 1947 shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam.

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any right on the Dominion:

(1) To send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order.

(2) To station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

Article 2. The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purposes of this agreement to appoint agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

Article 3. (i) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountcy functions or create any paramountcy relationship.

(ii) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to create in favour of either party any right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this agreement would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

Article 4. Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangements hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by those arbitrators.

Article 5. This agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year.

In confirmation whereof the Governor-General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures.

Mir Osman Ali Khan,
Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar,
Mountbatten of Burma,
Governor-General of India.

Nizam-Mountbatten Correspondence

An exchange of correspondence between Lord Mountbatten and Nizam took place on the day before the agreement was signed. The following is the correspondence:

The Nizam in his letter to the Governor-General regrets that a final agreement "as to the eventual nature of the association between Hyderabad and the Dominion

of India" has not been reached and says that short of accession either to India or to Pakistan he has been ready to negotiate with the Government of India "upon any other basis." He hopes that within the period of the duration of the agreement "both Governments will be able to turn their attention more fully to the problems of administration without constant preoccupation with the question of constitutional relationship."

There is also the question which has been much discussed between my delegation and the representatives of your Government about diplomatic and trade representatives for Hyderabad abroad. I am prepared to execute the agreement on the understanding that the Government of the Dominion will take no objection to the maintenance of the Hyderabad Agent-General in U.K. or to the appointment of similar representatives in any other country. I shall be prepared to arrange for the complete co-ordination of the work of these representatives with the diplomatic and commercial representatives of the Dominion of India in such countries and to inform you in advance of any representatives whom I may decide to appoint. I am confident that your Excellency's Government will be equally ready to co-operate with mine in regard to the import and export trade of Hyderabad.

There are several matters which have been outstanding between us for some time and which I should like to see cleared out of the way as soon as the agreement comes into force:

(1) No paramountcy functions remain to be exercised nor was the Hyderabad Residency retained except as a house for the British Resident when there was one in the past. In these circumstances I should be glad if your Government would now hand it over to Hyderabad. Suitable arrangements can be immediately made about the treasury and your treasury officials.

It is of course manifest that my rights in regard to such matters as currency, coinage and postal rights are in no way impaired by the Standstill Agreement. I should be glad if Your Excellency would give me an express assurance that the rights to which I have just referred continue undiminished.

I should like to take this opportunity of suggesting that, in relation to passport the Dominion of India should agree, as a matter of convenience in a question which is becoming urgent, to the Chief Secretary of my Government or some other appropriate officer issuing passports to Hyderabad subjects which would be countersigned by the Dominion.

I am sure that in entering into this agreement both our Governments intend to do all they can to prevent subversive movements and propaganda in the territory of the other.

I know well Your Excellency's interests in all steps taken to abate communal antagonism. It may therefore be of interest to you to know that in conformity with earlier declarations on my part, I propose to issue a firm in the immediate future expressing my firm resolve to protect the lives, rights and interests of all my subjects alike, irrespective of caste or creed.

MOUNTBATTEN'S LETTER

The following is the copy of a letter from His Excellency the Governor-General to H. E. the Nizam, dated the 29th November, 1947:

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Exalted Highness's letter dated 29th November and the agreement. While my Government and I note that Your Exalted Highness has no intention of acceding to Pakistan we very much regret that you should have been unable to execute an Instrument of Accession with India. Both my Minister for States in his statement of July 5 and I myself in my speech of July 25 to the representatives of the States have made it clear that it is the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain the sovereignty of the States and to work with them as full partners in the administration of the three subjects proposed for accession. My Government cordially reciprocate your hope that, given goodwill on both sides, the working of the Standstill Agreement will provide a basis for a satisfactory long-term solution. Placed as Hyderabad is, its interests are inextricably bound up with those of India; and my Government hope that before the present agreement expires, it will be possible for Hyderabad to accede to the Dominion of India.

My Government will be prepared to discuss with your representatives as soon as possible the question of handing over the posts, telegraphs and telephones; and also the future strength and equipment of the Hyderabad forces.

As regards the supply of arms and equipment the Dominion Government will be able to supply for legitimate requirements.

My Government have no objection to your maintaining an Agent-General in London and appointing similar representatives elsewhere, if necessary. In this connection they are very glad to have your assurance, to which you will appreciate that the Government of India attach great importance, that the activities of such representatives will be fully co-ordinated with those of the representatives of the Dominion of India and will be confined to matters properly relating to trade and commerce.

The Government of India are certainly prepared to co-operate with Hyderabad fully in regard to its import trade.

As regards the points raised in para IV of your letter, my Government have authorised me to say as follows:

1. My Government gladly agree that the residency buildings at Hyderabad will be returned to your Government as soon as alternative accommodation promised by you is made available for our treasury and officials employed there.

2. My Government take the necessary action in regard to the early supply of arms and ammunition for which an indent has been received from your Government.

3. My Government will help your Government in securing the vehicles that they require.

4. It is the definite intention of my Government that the troops at present stationed inside Hyderabad territory should be progressively withdrawn according to an agreed programme, and that the withdrawal should be completed by the end of February, 1948 at the latest.

5. On the points remaining to be settled regarding the retrocession of jurisdiction, these can be discussed with my Government by your representative as soon as he is appointed.

6. I am authorised to assure Your Exalted Highness that your rights in regard to currency, coinage and postal matters will in no way be impaired by the Standstill Agreement.

7. My Government will take up the question of passports mentioned in Para VI of your letter. They are fully prepared to assist you in this respect.

8. With reference to Paras VII and VIII of your letter the Government of India desire to assure Your Exalted Highness that it is their earnest desire to promote communal harmony and to maintain peace and security, and they will co-operate wholeheartedly with you to that end.

9. I enclose the agreement duly signed by me.

India and Hyderabad

The full text of the Agreement signed between the Government of Indian Union and the Government of Hyderabad can hardly be understood even after going through the correspondence between the Nizam and Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India that has been published in the press as annexure to it. It does not explain why the Nizam has felt himself unable to agree to "the eventual nature of the association" between the two States. The ruler of Hyderabad has "not been prepared to contemplate accession to either dominion..." why, he has not cared to elaborate. Perhaps, the Hyderabad delegations, flying to and fro between New Delhi and Hyderabad, have done it. And the Government of India has for the present to be content with the negative satisfaction that his "Exalted Highness has no intention of acceding to Pakistan." And in view of the fact that "placed as Hyderabad is, its interests are inextricably bound up with those of India", Lord Mountbatten expresses the hope that "before the present Agreement expires, it will be possible for Hyderabad to accede to the Dominion of India."

This, as we have said, is negative satisfaction. We know the mind of the ruling class in the State of Hyderabad, and this has been described by the editor of the *Calcutta Statesman* from impressions gathered during a recent "conducted" tour. The writer makes much of Hyderabad being a relic of Moghul traditions, forgetful of the fact that the founder of the Asafjahi dynasty was one of the Mughal Viceroys who actively helped to disrupt the Mughal empire. Since then Hyderabad has been the focal point of all the disgruntled elements of Muslim society in India. Under the protecting wing of the Muslim rulers of the State they felt no need to help the evolution of a composite Nationalism in the country where men and women of various faiths and cultures have been brought by history to live in peace and amity. For a long time we have been convinced that from the hot-house of the State have issued many of the separatist conceits and ambitions one of which has sought escape in "Pakistan". It is not for nothing that the first attempt to rationalize the "Pakistan" slogan was made by a Muslim professor of the Osmania University

of the State. The up-rooting of populations was visualized by him in his pamphlet on the subject written in 1938. This historical background should be understood by us in India when we consider the delaying tactics of the Nizam.

The Standstill Agreement has simply postponed a decision that will be preceded a year hence by the same deputations and confabulations. During this period the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslemin, the Union of Muslim organization in the State, will have opportunity to strengthen its forces and resources to sustain the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan in his dubious politics. We have seen how the Majlis stopped a deputation from proceeding to Delhi, how it forced the resignation of two of the Nizam's Prime Ministers, Sir Mirza Ismail and the Nawab of Chattari. This demonstration of power could not have been staged if the Nizam had not looked on it with benevolent eyes. The Majlis has not made any secret of the purpose it proposes to maintain and consolidate. It asserts that the sovereignty of the State is vested in the 20 lakh Muslims of the State, and that the Nizam is merely a symbol of this fact. The majority in the State, numbering about 130 lakhs, have acquiesced in this arrangement just as we did in the regime established at the Battle of Plassey. The Majlis would like to continue the old order of things which goes against the interests and outrages of the sentiments of the majority. This it seeks to secure by practising the gangsterism that the Muslim League National Guards have made familiar to us. It has set up various devices to intimidate the people; its organizers have been assured help by high quarters not excepting the Police as we have had experience in Calcutta and Noakhali-Tipperah.

Against this terrorism the State Congress have been maintaining an unequal fight. Their Civil Disobedience Movement, trying to keep it within the bounds of non-violence, is no match for the organization that has laid down certain lines of activity in the pursuit of its "Direct Action." These are indistinguishable from gangsterism, as our readers will see from the selection made below from these directives:

(i) To create panic in the people;
(viii) Majlis volunteers should watch the State Congress houses . . . ;

(xii) In order to oppose the army of the boundaries, the volunteers should co-operate with the Hyderabad army, and all the Congress and Hindus who help the Indian Union, should be finished by constitutional or unconstitutional means;

(ix) Lists of Congress workers in the districts and Taluqas and also of those who have gone out and are conspiring with Patel have been called;

(xxvi) The houses of Hindu capitalists should be burnt, their wealth should be secured by every means and handed over to the Committee of Action;

(xxiii) Possession of the lands of the Hindus in the Districts and Taluqas should be taken, and in case of opposition they should be crushed, and every help will be given by the Centre on its being informed;

(xxix) The Hindu banks should be plundered and the volunteers should be helped with it;

(xxvii) Arabs and Pathans should be sent to the Marathawada so that the traitors should be crushed.

Here is a family likeness to what the Muslim Leaguers did in Calcutta, in Noakhali-Tipperah, in the Punjab and in the N.W. Frontier Province. The Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslemin of Hyderabad is patterned after the Muslim League. It upholds the irresponsible and frankly communalist policy of the Nizam. The Standstill Agreement changes nothing. It simply prolongs the torture of the Hyderabad people.

After the Agreement

The Nizam is not sitting idle after the Standstill Agreement has been signed. He wanted time and this he has gained. He has made only one commitment, that he would not join Pakistan, which, landlocked as he is, he could not do. The day after the signing of the Agreement, two news of importance have seen the light of day. One comes from Hyderabad saying that the Nizam's Council of Ministers has been dissolved. It has been announced that a new Interim Government will be formed consisting of four nominated members, four Muslims and four Hindus including two popular ministers in the present Government. This gives one-third representation in the Council of Ministers for a community who form 88 per cent of the population in the Nizam's Dominion.

The second news comes from the London Correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard*. He wires that despite the Standstill Agreement between India and Hyderabad, the Nizam's frantic efforts for procuring arms and ammunitions remain unabated. The Nizam seems to be exploring every possibility to evade vigilance of Sardar Patel.

The following is the despatch:

With the connivance of a British armament magnate and expert, who has associates and friends in Lisbon, the Nizam's agents are securing military supplies via Portugal and the Portuguese port of Goa, I learnt on high authority today. It is understood several consignments have already slipped through the 45 miles of Indian territory that separates Hyderabad from the Portuguese possession.

Many consignments are being made ready for shipment from Lisbon; some are already on their way to Goa, and a long-term flow of these war-making materials is being arranged under the guidance of this very able Britisher who was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire in 1941 and had received his Knighthood "for services in reorganising supply of munitions during the 1914-18 war."

This gentleman, after starting his business career in a Scottish agricultural concern, came to London where he became the chairman of one small armament company and director of a big bank in which an ex-Viceroy of India now plays an influential part. Early in 1942, *Times* published about him: "... His direction of reorganisation and expansion of munitions production in India, Australia and New Zealand has already made a valuable contribution to the present-day war effort. He has had moreover the advantage of long contact with industrial organisations of U. S. and Canada." During the last war he travelled with a Government mission "some 55,000 miles, inspected some 700 factories and held some 500 conferences in South Africa, India, Burma, Malaya, Hongkong, Australia and New Zealand."

The Nizam's so-called "Agent-General" met yesterday afternoon three British pressmen; it is understood he did not admit these transactions *via* Lisbon, but asserted "in any case the Standstill Agreement allowed Hyderabad to procure arms and ammunition for the Hyderabad police force."

There is no doubt that officially inspired and encouraged individual businessmen of Pakistan are also actively associated with these acts of Hyderabad. When the Pakistan High Commissioner's Office in London denied *Daily Graphic's* story of Pakistan's "semi-official mission to Britain to buy fastest and latest jet-fighters with which to equip its Air Force," but added that "perhaps individual traders might be buying for commercial purposes," the question was asked: "What could be the 'commercial use' of jet-fighter planes, and how could ordinary traders buy military planes without permits from Governmental authorities concerned?"

Weekly Blitz's editor told the Indian journalists that the American General Clay had told him that India was divided because American administration considers Nehru and his colleagues to be "Communists" and thus Truman and Churchill readily agreed to the Mountbatten Plan in order to create a buffer between India and Russia. He therefore opined that solution of Indian and world peace problems lies in the re-union of India and Pakistan.

Mr. A. D. Mani, Editor of *Hitavada*, supported this view while he outlined his experiences during his sojourn in the U. S.

Nankana Sahib

This year the Sikhs were not allowed by the "Pakistani" authorities to visit Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak on the day on which they celebrated the anniversary of his birth. The Government of the Indian Union pleaded with the Sikhs to accept this fiat in consideration of the abnormal situation prevailing in the West Punjab. But the memory of this insult will rankle in the hearts of all Sikhs, prince and peasant, and they will not rest till the Nankana Sahib is made free to them. The Radcliffe Award has put it out of bounds to them, and we can enter into the feelings of our Sikh brethren as they faced the situation. A "Sikh statesman" writing in the columns of the *Liberator* (New Delhi) of December 10, 1947, has put the matter in its proper light in course of a query:

Can he (the Muslim) imagine for a while his own plight if the doors to the Mecca are shut against him, and he be debarred from the sight of his Holy place?

A way out of this difficult problem must be found, otherwise there cannot be any peace in the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Government of the former cannot sit idle while the Sikhs suffer from this insult and outrage. The article we have referred to suggests a solution that the Nankana Sahib be constituted into a "sovereign independent State" on the analogy of the "Vatican City" in the heart of Italy. He quotes from W. A. Munro's *Government of Europe* to indicate the different aspects of the problem. We quote the relevant portion below:

The new State established by the treaty of 1929,

and to which name Vatican City has been given, includes an area of about a hundred acres only. It comprises the Vatican and the Lateran places as well as numerous small additional tracts of territory, with a present population of about five hundred. Thus Vatican City is the smallest among the sovereign States of the world. But it has all the appurtenances of civil sovereignty, with the right to send and receive ambassadors, with its own coinage and postal system, its own laws and courts. In addition some other tracts (such as the Villa of Castel Gondolfo), not included in Vatican City, are given the status of extra-territoriality, that is, they are removed from the jurisdiction of the Italian Government and placed under the civil control of the Holy See. All this territory is declared to be neutral and inviolable, and freedom of intercourse with other States is guaranteed at all times, including countries which may be engaged in war with Italy. On the other hand, the Holy See has undertaken not to embroil itself in international combinations or take part in international conferences 'unless all the parties in conflict appeal unanimously to its mission of peace.' This means that Vatican City, although a sovereign state, will not seek admission to the League of Nations.

Maladministration in Bhopal

An appeal to the State Department of the Indian Union Government to take a general survey of the internal administration of Bhopal State, which has acceded to the Indian Union, has been made recently by a number of Muslim leaders of Bhopal and the appeal has been published as a joint statement issued by them. Among the signatories to the statement are Mr. Tarzi Mashriqui, President of the Bhopal State People's Conference, Mr. Abdul Bari Khan, Senior Vice-Chairman of the Bhopal Municipal Board and Mr. Shakir Ali Khan, a leader of the State People's Conference. The signatories say, "We draw the attention of the State Department of the Indian Union and the All India States People's Conference that a general survey be taken of the internal administration of the Bhopal State which is most autocratic and hostile to the rights and liberties of the eight lakhs of working and middle class people in the State."

The Muslim leaders have also appealed to Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel to send a personal representative to Bhopal and investigate allegations against the State Government "with particular reference to the direct and indirect assistance given to communal organisations as also the application of a Public Safety Act which is mainly directed against the State People's Conference."

In conclusion, the signatories say, "We also hope that the Nawab will see the signs of the time and not let his Government indulge in artificial and wanton misdeeds to suppress the will of the people, restore their civil liberties, repeal the Public Safety Act and constitute a popular and representative Ministry in the State."

The Nawab of Bhopal, one of the pillars of the Pakistan movement, proved his sense of reality when he melted away from his party and acceded to the Indian Union. He is a realist and he ought to have sense enough to retrace his steps back towards democracy.

As Others See Us

The Tory Press in Britain have left us in no doubt with regard to their attitude towards the emergence of India as a State "free of British control." They have generally been against this liquidation of the British empire. But even some of them have been growing conscious that their dupes in "Pakistan" are not proving themselves quite equal to the task of building up a State that can serve as a check to the aspirations of Indian Nationalism. The *Yorkshire Post*, the organ of Anthony Eden, Deputy leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, front-paged in its issue of 17th November last an article by Alan Moorhead writing from New Delhi that "the Indian Dominion is beginning to feel its strength" and that there is a "much calmer atmosphere" in New Delhi where the Government, its leading members, argue that "the Pakistan Government by their truculent attitude are forcing this crisis on themselves." And how are they, the Qaid-e-Azam and his entourage, facing it? Alan Moorhead says that he "cannot exaggerate the mixture of apprehension, bitterness and truculent fatalism which is prevailing in the atmosphere among the Pakistan Government Departments in Lahore."

This evidence of an observer ideologically sympathetic to the upholders of separatism in India enables us to understand the psychology of the frantic cries of the Qaid-e-Azam, and of his two lieutenants, the Premiers of the N.-W. Frontier Province and of East Bengal. The former, an abettor and helper of the raiders on Kashmir, has attempted to stir up feelings in countries where the Muslims are in strength by an appeal with the slogan of "Islam in danger." The Premier of Eastern Bengal, more restrained because of his geographical position away from any *Darul-Islam* area, finds it difficult to resist the temptation of joining in the war-whoop. In a recent broadcast from Dacca, Khwaja Nazimuddin appealed to the Pakistanis in his area to be ready to meet the emergency created by the "enemy", the Union of India. Herein he echoed the Qaid-e-Azam in his vituperative references to the country and state where he was born two and seventy years ago. Alan Moorhead's interpretation of developments in India should open the eyes of the Pakistani leaders to the seal of the real "enemy." Another observer with more knowledge of Indian affairs upholds the story featured by Alan Moorhead in the British press.

The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore reflected the mind of the higher bureaucracy in India, civil and military, during the British regime, and it has been a consistent opponent of Indian Nationalism and all that it stands for. The management of the paper for reasons of their own have elected to stay at Lahore and cater to the needs of the new State of Pakistan. The conductors of the paper have been witnesses to the gangsterism that has been let loose over West Punjab and all the attendant horrors of anarchy. It appears that they could not stand it any longer than the third week of October last. Then they burst out against the failure of the West Punjab Government to give "some overt proof of ability to govern." The Ministers were "inexperienced", the "bureaucracy" that was there to help and advise them has

not been much of a help. The following quotation from an article in the *Civil and Military Gazette* described better than anything we can say the condition of things in Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's domain:

At the moment the province is being ruled not by Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot and his colleagues but by police constables and *goondas*. New heads of departments find that the organisation has collapsed. Magistrates and petty officials are discovering in absence of broad lines of policy that it is impossible to implement orders which are ill concerted and not unoften mutually contradictory. And the public is being ground between the upper millstone of ignorance and inexperience and the lower one of corruption and self-aggrandisement. Meanwhile ministers don't know how to do things or how to get them done and the all-too-brief course of "cramming" conducted by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan during his recent visit to Lahore has yet to show results. At the moment, West Punjab Ministers are doing little in public either to allay disorder or to rehabilitate morale which is at the lowest ebb in recent history. Our advice to them would be to govern or get out except that the political horizon is at the moment almost bare of pretenders to their portfolios who offer hopes of better things.

This was written in the third week of October. And in the last week of November we find a mob at Lahore defying the Lahore magistrate's order, preventing depositors, Hindu and Sikh, from taking out their deposits from the vaults of banks. During a month no improvement in conditions of decent government has taken place in the *de facto* capital of "Pakistan."

British Hand

During the whole period of British rule we have had experience of the trickeries which intensified antagonism between the communities in India. And we have no reason to believe that the enemies of India's freedom amongst the Britishers would not leave a trail of poison as they withdraw from this country. They would be feeling justified by the traditions of "Real Politik"—ever on the look-out to exploit situations for the supposed good of their own country. The following letter written by W. N. P. Jenkin, Deputy Inspector-General of the Punjab C.I.D., to a Secret Service address in London reveals the hidden hand of "the enemy" to the Indian Union. It has to be remembered that when the letter was written there was a British Governor in the Punjab.

The letter appeared in the columns of the *Hindusthan Standard* wired on the 4th November by its own correspondent from Cawnpore in the United Provinces.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Punjab Club, Lahore,
8th July, 1947

My dear Liddel,

I have received your letter No. 5F. 205/India 5/DOG, dated the 18th June, 1947.

It is now settled about Pakistan, but otherwise the situation is extremely fluid. Pakistan's final shape has not yet been decided, and the forms its Governments will take are indistinct. It is a foregone conclusion that Jinnah will be something like a Dictator, and that a chosen band will have power. But just what position each one will hold is yet to be decided. In the circumstances, the time has

not come yet to make an approach or to sound the right persons, for it cannot be said yet who they are going to be.

I think the Liaison Officer line is the right one to go on. I do not say it is the best; but Ahmed knows it is the arrangement which found favour when relevant matters were being discussed in Delhi. Ahmed is said to be of some importance in Pakistan and he might be curious if there was a departure from earlier ideas. It might be harmful if this happened.

It is possible that the Boundary Commission will make the Muslims rather more disgruntled than they are now. Even if this should happen, I think that they will welcome the help link-up with British security would afford them. I do not think I would find it difficult to raise the issue when the right time comes, or perhaps, as an alternative, suggest who should do so. I am half inclined already to stay on in India for a month or two and see how things are going. If it will help you, I will decide to do so. Will you please let me know—and also if you can arrange a quick means of communication between us? I believe that there is somebody in Lahore as the High Commissioner's representative. Could he be a channel for signals between us?

I have not brought Bennett into this matter because it would not serve a useful purpose to do so. He is definitely PNG with the Muslims and I fear they would look with suspicion and antagonism on anything with which he was connected. At some stage, however, I would like to discuss the whole business with the Governor, if I have your sanction to do so.

I am interested in Pakistan and I think you will remember that I discussed certain possibilities with you when you were in Lahore. The thoughts I had then have gone, of course, with Dominion Status. However, I still have a feeling that this part of the world is going to be interesting, if nothing more. In the circumstances, I would consider an offer if it were made to me. At the same time and in this connection it would be futile for me to think of staying out here if I was not going to be welcomed by Pakistan. I have friends among the League leaders and some of them have urged me not to go. Recently however, I have been the head of a new control dealing with the disordered situation and I have been hitting out pretty hard. This has been resented by Muslims and Mamdot has recently withdrawn his co-operation in important matters on this score, while I have been the recipient of many more threats than tokens of friendship. At the same time I am still being sounded as to whether I would be prepared to take the post of Pakistan's Director of Intelligence. Which suggests that I am not on the black list! However, this point about personal suitability is another one which will be clearer in the very near future.

Kashmir and Pakistan

The *anschluss* attempt on Kashmir having misfired, the Pakistan authorities are now attempting to use another weapon taken from the Nazi armoury, namely, false propaganda. Force and stratagem having been foiled for the time being, through the quick and powerful reaction of the Indian Union, the Premier of Pakistan is now attempting to substitute a saint's halo for the mailed gauntlet of Mars. Assuming an air of injured and patient innocence, he issued a statement on the 16th of November from Lahore, calling for U.N.O. intervention. This effort at enlisting the sympathy of the outside world could be

regarded as naive had it not been so pregnant of dangerous possibilities. It is a typical Pakistani statement, mendacious and charged throughout with *suppression veri*. Pakistan's active complicity with the Kashmir raiders and with the plotters in Junagadh and Hyderabad are now proved facts and as such no amount of distortion of truth should fool an intelligent observer. The Premier of Pakistan seems to think that brazen lies can be substituted for truth without fear of detection even to-day and that he can white-wash the foul and brutal atrocities perpetrated by the Pakistan-aided raiders by words of mouth.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan proposed that "the whole dispute be brought before the bar of international opinion—and the U.N.O. be asked immediately to appoint its representatives in Jammu and Kashmir State in order to put a stop to fighting and to the repression of Muslims in the State. To arrange the programme of withdrawal of outside forces, to get up an impartial administration of the State till a plebiscite is held and to undertake the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State on the question of accession."

"I have seen the Press report of the speech made by the Deputy Prime Minister of India at a public meeting at Rajkot on November 12 and his subsequent speech at Junagadh in the course of which he made unfounded allegations against Pakistan, tried to justify the acts of aggression committed by the India Government in Manavadar, Junagadh and Kashmir and threatened Hyderabad with similar aggression. I do not propose to emulate Mr. Patel by indulging in vituperative, invective or boastful threats. My firm and undeviating objective, as also the objective of the Pakistan Government, is to eliminate by peaceful and honourable means all existing causes of friction between the two Dominions and to establish conditions which would enable ourselves and our Indian neighbours to live in friendliness and amity.

I believe that a true understanding between the two countries can be based only on a clear and dispassionate appreciation of the facts of the present situation. It is with a view to promoting such an understanding that I propose to restate the position of the Pakistan Government in respect of the States over which the present disputes have arisen.

Hundreds of States, including a State such as Kapurthala which had a Muslim majority in the population, acceded to the Indian Union but in no case did the Pakistan Government interfere in any way. Junagadh was the first State to accede to Pakistan and at once the India Government started on a campaign of vilification, threats and economic blockades.

When these weapons did not succeed in intimidating the Junagadh State a "provisional Government" of Junagadh was set upon Indian soil and its first act was to occupy the Junagadh State property in Rajkot which is the seat of India Government's Regional Commissioner.

By infiltration tactics and other aggressive means the "provisional Government" proceeded to violate the territory of Junagadh with the help of troops, many of whom

were drawn from the Indian Army. Conditions were created in which it became impossible for the Junagadh administration to carry on. Finally on the alleged request of the Dewan the administration was taken over and Junagadh was occupied by the armed forces of India.

The indisputable legal position is that in view of the State's accession to Pakistan the Dewan had no right to prefer and the India Government had no right to accept the so-called invitation to the India Government to take over the administration of the State.

In spite of the gravest provocation we have refrained from any action which should result in armed conflicts. We could, with full justification and legal right, have sent our forces to Junagadh but at no time since the accession of the State was a single soldier sent by us to Junagadh and our advice throughout to the State authorities was to exercise the greatest restraint. Manavadar, another State, which had acceded to Pakistan and Mangrol and Babariawad have also been occupied by Indian troops.

In the Kashmir dispute too we have repeatedly urged a peaceful settlement by negotiation. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir have suffered grievously under the Maharaja's Government. Thousands have been killed. Muslim women have been abducted in large numbers and over a hundred thousand Muslims have been driven out of their homes into Pakistan in cruel and inhuman manner.

This destruction of Muslim life, honour and property is still continuing by armed mobs with the help of the State and India Union forces with the set purpose of eliminating the Muslim population from the State, and thousands of refugees are pouring into Pakistan.

Dogra troops and gangsters from the State have made numerous incursions into our territory in West Punjab. We made repeated attempts to persuade the Kashmir Government to discuss these questions with us but they were determined to join the Union of India against the will of the people of Kashmir by a *coup d'etat*. The India Government in direct and clear repudiation of the principles on which they had questioned the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan and without any reference or any consultation with the Pakistan Dominion whose security is vitally affected by events in Kashmir, occupied Kashmir by military force and have since the very first day of their entry into Kashmir been engaged in putting down the Muslims there by force.

Pakistan territory itself has been twice violated by the Indian forces. Bombs have been dropped in our territory in the vicinity of Kohala bridge and our police posts at Ghari Habibullah in the Hazara district has been machine-gunned by the Indian air force.

Immediately after the unwarranted occupation of Kashmir by the Indian Government a conference between the two Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister was arranged at the instance of the Qaid-e-Azam on October 29. At the last minute this conference was postponed as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru fell ill. Another conference was then arranged for November 1, but this also did not take place because Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could not attend it.

On November 1 the Qaid-e-Azam met Lord Mountbatten and put forward the following proposals for the consideration of the Government of India.

First, to put an immediate stop to fighting. The two Governors-General should be authorised by their respective Governments to issue a proclamation forthwith giving 48 hours' notice to the opposing forces to cease fire. We made it clear that we had no control over the forces of the provisional Government of Kashmir or the tribesmen engaged in fighting but we were prepared to warn them in the clearest terms that if they did not obey the order to cease fire immediately the forces of both Dominions would make war on them.

Secondly, both the forces of the Indian Dominion and the tribesmen should withdraw simultaneously and with the utmost expedition from the State territory.

Thirdly, the two Governors-General should be vested with full powers by the two Dominion Governments to restore peace, undertake the administration of Jammu and Kashmir under joint control and supervision.

These were eminently reasonable proposals. We made them at the risk of incurring the hostility of the Frontier tribes whose feelings had been intensely aroused over the atrocities committed on their brethren in Kashmir.

The day after these proposals reached the India Government, the Prime Minister of India instead of sending a reply officially gave a vague and evasive idea of his solution of the Kashmir question in a broadcast, merely harping on the slogan of plebiscite, but disregarding everything else. After waiting for some days I sent a reminder. The India Government's official reply showed that they were not prepared to accept any of our suggestions. On the contrary, it was categorically stated that they would first drive out all the so-called raiders by force of arms. And as a recent telegram showed, they are not even prepared to have discussion until this has been done.

We have made repeated efforts to have a conference with the India Dominion to bring about peaceful settlement but on one pretext or another the India Government with the might of military power behind them have flouted the idea. The attitude of the India Government indicates that they are determined to force a military decision on Kashmir and to reduce the plebiscite to a farce by eliminating Muslim population by the cruel methods which are now in operation. Indeed it now seems extremely doubtful if there will be any attempt at all to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

Speaking to Pressmen at Srinagar on Nov. 10, during Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to that place, Sheikh Abdullah is reported to have observed that there may not be a referendum at all. While this Quisling who has been an agent of the Congress for many years struts about the State bartering away the life, honour and freedom of his people for the sake of personal profit and power, the true leaders of the Muslims of Kashmir are rotting in jail. His statement reveals an uneasy realisation that despite all the repression the verdict of the people of Kashmir will go in favour of accession to Pakistan.

There is not the slightest doubt that the whole plot of the accession of Kashmir to India was pre-planned. It

cannot be justified on any constitutional or moral grounds. It is quite clear now that what the India Government are after is permanent occupation of Kashmir. They can maintain this unjust occupation only by liquidating the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir who are now suffering military repression in its worst form and who are struggling for their freedom and indeed for their very existence against heavy odds.

The India Government's whole conduct is based on 'might is right' and on the belief that Pakistan is unable to fight them. If the India Government is allowed to follow its imperialist land-grabbing policy this will have repercussions not only in Asia but throughout the world.

The fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations is to prevent might prevailing over right. The whole dispute should, therefore, be brought before the bar of international opinion. We are ready to request the U.N.O. immediately to appoint its representatives in Jammu and Kashmir States in order to put a stop to fighting and to the repression of Muslims in the State, to arrange the programme of withdrawal of outside forces, set up an impartial administration of the State till a plebiscite is held and to undertake the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State on the question of accession. We are prepared to accept a similar solution of the dispute regarding Maravadar and Junagadh."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan says in the preamble that his intention was to bring the whole situation before the bar of international opinion. He forgets to state that this peaceful attitude on his part was preceded by a completely different one, when his government covertly supported, on a lavish and thorough scale, a gigantic filibustering expedition, equipped with modern arms and transport vehicles, with the definite objective of annexing Kashmir by force. Having been foiled in this attempt he is now assuming an attitude of injured innocence. Regarding Junagadh his speech is full of mis-statements. If the Indian Union had acted as the Pakistanis had done in Kashmir, then the Junagadh drama would have come to a far quicker finale. And incidentally, Junagadh was not the first State to accede to Pakistan. He further calmly omits the aggressive moves of Junagadh with regard to the minor States in its locality, whom it tried to dragoon into subjugation to Pakistan by force.

He is very anxious that the forces of the Indian Union should withdraw immediately. But in the same breath he states clearly that "we made it clear that we had no control over the forces of the provisional Government of Kashmir or the tribesmen engaged in fighting." He forgets to add that about fifty thousand tribesmen equipped with modern arms were allowed to enter Kashmir after traversing about two hundred miles of Pakistan territories, and if the Indian forces withdrew these lawless tribals would have the entire country at their mercy as they would infiltrate into every corner of the State.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has no words of condemnation for these filthy and bestial raiders. Indeed he uses the term "so-called raiders" in his speech. He forgets

to state that thousands of women Hindu and Muslim have been raped and abducted by these lawless barbarians and they have befouled every corner of the State to which they could penetrate. Having failed to obtain an *anschluss* by force Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan now wants to attain his objective by forcing a Hitlerian plebiscite. He abuses Sheikh Abdullah, who is the only Muslim leader in Kashmir with any record of sacrifice, and calls him a Quisling and forgets the days when he and his entire League prospered by acting as Quislings to the Imperial Government of India.

The Government of India must realize that false-propaganda flourishes in the absence of reliable news. The truth must be given to the world, without incitement or venom.

Frontier Premier Instigates Afghans against India

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, the Premier of the N.W. F. P. called Sardar Patel a war-monger in a broadcast from the Peshawar station of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service.

The Premier accused the Indian Government and the Indian National Congress of saying one thing but doing another. He said Indian leaders were proclaiming loudly that the minorities should stay where they were and that every encouragement should be given to the displaced persons to return to their homes.

He said absolute peace now prevailed in the Frontier Province and despite the provocative incidents in Kashmir there has been no trouble of a communal nature. Nevertheless he regretted to observe that agents of the Government of India in the North-West Frontier Province were advising the Hindu minority to leave the province.

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan criticised the tone of Sardar Patel's recent speech at Junagadh, which he said was full of spite and hatred for the Mussalmans. Sardar Patel's explanation about the entry of Indian troops into Junagadh and Kashmir, he said, was ludicrous. He said Sardar Patel has stated that Indian troops had been invited into Junagadh by the people of the State: "But may I ask whether the Kashmir Muslims had invited them to go to Kashmir? Has Sardar Patel any answer to the question why the Indian Government is following one policy in Junagadh and quite another in Kashmir?"

The Frontier Premier was glad to observe that many Red Shirts had realised the futility of adopting an anti-Government policy and had decided to join the Muslim League and come under one flag. The Frontier Premier appealed to those who were still outside the League to be aware of the machinations of the enemies of Islam and to realise the gravity of the dangers ahead and come forward and join the Muslim League in order to strengthen the Muslim resistance to all kinds of onslaught.

The Frontier Premier warned "some fifth columnists in the Muslim League itself to mend their ways and not commit acts which might ultimately prove harmful to Pakistan." Otherwise he would have to use force against them.

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan expressed delight at the arrival in Karachi of the Afghan King's personal envoy,

Sardar Nojib Ullah Khan and hoped that embassies would be exchanged between Kabul and Karachi in the near future. Khan Abdul Qayum Khan reiterated his earlier declaration that every threat to Pakistan was also a threat to Afghanistan and *vice versa*. The two Islamic countries had to stand or fall together. He reminded the Afghans of the decision taken at Somnath after the occupation of Junagadh by Indian forces. It was to restore the idol which an Afghan King, Mahmud of Ghazni had smashed 900 years ago. He said this exposed the mentality of those holding the reins of the Government in Delhi. The idol was deliberately restored to symbolise the prevailing hatred in India for Islam.

This statement was broadcast two days after the Pakistan Premier's statement issued from Lahore. The broadcast comes after bad news began to pour in from Kashmir. It is now thoroughly proved that the raiders organised by Pakistan, did not think it worth while to wait for an "invitation from the Muslims of Kashmir" and, after their entry into the State, under the leadership and guidance of Pakistani commanders, did not make much discrimination between Hindus and Muslims, or even the European nuns of the Baramula Convent, as objects of loot, murder and rape. Sheikh Abdullah has told the world that "they even dishonoured the Holy Quran and converted mosques into brothels."

We do not know what effect these crude lies would have on the Afghan Government. But in any case, it displays Pakistan's weakness all round. The Indian Union must not abate its determined effort at putting down the forces of evil, let loose on Kashmir through Pakistani machinations, on any consideration. Truth and right will prevail in the end, and Pakistan's attempts at intervention and incitement may recoil on its own head.

South Africa

The latest numbers of the *Indian Opinion* (October, 1947) of Phoenix, Natal, give us a picture of life and labour in South Africa where about 3 lakhs of men and women of Indian parentage earn their livelihood today. The country of which Field Marshal Smuts is Prime Minister is not a great country so far as population goes. There are about eight millions of native South Africans, the majority of them Bantus; there are two and a half million Europeans who constitute the ruling race whose determination to hold on to political power, by means of unfair discrimination against the majority of the land, forms the crux of the problem that has brought South Africa before the world's eye as the betrayer of the principles and policies of the United Nations Organization. But this condemnation has not affected in the least their principles and practices. When we remember that these were patterned after the words of the old Charter of the Church in Transvaal that "in Church and State" there could not be any equality between whites and non-whites, we are not surprised with what has been happening in South Africa. Field Marshal Smuts has maintained a theatrical attitude of pained surprise that the world should misunderstand and misjudge him and his people. In a recent speech of his made to his United Party rally on September 12 last he brought in Providence to adorn his tale—Providence Who had "decided that

the two races, white and black, would remain in the Union for all time," and his statesmanship was directed towards evolving "a certain measure of co-operation between the two races." He laid down the conditions of this co-operation, however.

....The native is needed in South Africa. The farmers need him. Industry needs him. It would be fatal to allow enmity to develop. The great mass of the non-Europeans were prepared to make their contribution without contesting the European right to leadership.

The world has not yet realized the full effects of the misuse of this "European right to leadership" over its affairs. Otherwise, the Anglo-Saxon leaders of the United Nations Organization would not have been allowed to defeat the contentions of India, submitted by Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, that this issue of racial and colour discrimination cannot be left on the caprices of a ruling junta in any particular country on the plea that it touched on the sovereignty of the member-States of the organization. The "one world" morality would have no meaning if South Africa's pettifogging arguments are accepted as valid. The United States and Britain have sinned against the spirit and Charter of the U. N. O. by the lead they gave towards sabotaging the Indian case. The same spirit animates the argument of the U.S.A. delegate with regard to the South-West Africa problem: he said that there was no "legal obligation" on South Africa to submit the draft of a Charter for a trusteeship for this area instead of the mandate under which South Africa had ruled it. Mr. Foster Dulles held forth on the "moral power" of the U. N. O. to which South Africa would have ultimately to submit. This argument appears to be of a piece with that advanced by Mr. Lawrence on behalf of the South African Government. With a view to understand it, we reproduce here the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the U. N. O. at its last session mildly critical of the attitude of South Africa to the problem of Indians resident there:

The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and having considered the matter, is of opinion that: "The Union Government's discriminatory treatment of Asiatics in general and Indians in particular on the ground of their race constitutes a denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms and is contrary of the charter; the Union Government's policy in general and the enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, in particular have impaired friendly relations between the two member states, and unless a satisfactory settlement is arrived at immediately, these relations are likely to be further impaired."

The General Assembly therefore considers that the Union Government should revise their general policy and their legislative and administrative measures affecting Asiatics in South Africa so as to bring them into conformity with the principles and purposes of the charter, and requests the Union Government to report at the next session of the General Assembly, the action taken by them in this regard.

Mr. Lawrence is said to have pleaded ignorance of "the implications of the General Assembly's resolution";

he asked for light on these. But he appears to have overreached himself when he asked: "What are the human rights" which his Government are said to have denied to the coloured peoples of South Africa; he demanded a "definition" of these. He sought to confound the assembled delegates by instancing the denial to women of franchise right, of right to hold public offices, of guardianship over children, in many countries, and appeared to suggest that the discrimination against coloured peoples in his own country should be condoned in view of such denials in other progressive countries. The defenders of South Africa are said to have sought to exploit sentiment with regard to prejudice against the Negro prevalent in the U.S.A. And they have found a handle in the division of India on credal considerations, in the proposed partition of Palestine to justify the "bi-racial pattern" of their rule. With British and American support, the South African Government appears to have been able to evade a straight vote on their policy of racial conceit and arrogance. They and their supporters have done it with eyes open to the prospect that their tactics will "fatally undermine" the U. N. O. Those who have voted for South Africa must be presumed to understand the implications of the words of Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the Opposition in South Africa, addressed to the delegates to the Congress of the Nationalist Party on September 17 last:

"... if non-Europeans were granted increasing educational facilities, social security, arms, as General Smuts has done (during the war), and the right to organize in trade unions—that was dynamite under White supremacy."

Partition of Palestine

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization have passed the resolution that Palestine should be divided into two States—one Jew and the other Arab. Jerusalem remains an *enclave* under international supervision. Britain, the mandatory Power that has ruled the country for about 25 years, has refused to be a party to implementing this resolution, and the two great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, differing in every conceivable political matter, have agreed in this resolution and thrown their weight on the side of partition. This has caused confusion to many an upholder of the Arab cause who has been banking on the hope that as the United States has been in favour of the Jews, the Soviet Union would line herself up behind the Arabs. Naturally enough the Arabs have taken up arms, and are openly declaring that all the Arab States would support them in what ultimately would be a Crescentade, a fight of the Muslim against the Jew. The Arabs of Palestine number more than 1,200,000 as against 600,000 of Jews, of whom 90 per cent arrived there after the promise of a "National Home" for the Jews was made in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. During the last 25 years the tax-payers of Britain had to spend more than 150 million pounds in this desert land, in a futile attempt to implement that promise. And the Labour Government in Britain has had to decide upon withdrawing from Palestine, in order to stop further loss of British money and British lives.

The Security Council of the U. N. O., the supreme executive of the organization, have appointed a commission of five of the little member-States—Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and Philippines—to supervise this partition business. The Secretary General of the U. N. O. has handed over the world's most difficult job of trying to enforce partition and maintain peace in Palestine when Britain withdraws. An American Negro, Dr. Ralph Bunche, has been appointed with the hope that being a "coloured man" and an "expert" on Palestine, he will be able to be impartial. But this arrangement is not likely to stop trouble. The Arab will fight and to millions in the Muslim world, he will be in the right. The Jew will fight with the zeal of a revivalist who has for two thousand years been dreaming of the return to Zion and to all that is associated with the names of Abraham and the "prophets." It is a strange case, this of a race returning to the homeland of its fathers and the "holy land" of its faith after two thousand years. During this period of their "Dispersion" men and women of a kindred race professing a different faith have been in possession, Palestine has become their "home-land" and "holy land" also. And there is no law in the human code that appears to justify or compel the Arabs to accommodate the Jews. So, the war drum has started to throb in Palestine and the battle-lines are being arrayed. And even the wisest among the United Nations Organization cannot visualize how the immediate future will shape itself. On behalf of India, the plan for some sort of a Federation of a Arab and a Jewish State was proposed. The "Pakistan" delegation is reported to have favoured it. The U. N. O. could not but have been amused by "Pakistani" eagerness for partition in India and for federation in Palestine. The Indian proposal does not appear to have been seriously considered. Britain has announced that she will withdraw her forces and administrative organisation by August 1, 1948, if not earlier. The next few months appear, therefore, to be pregnant with alarms. The leadership of the U. N. O. is on its trial.

Labour in the U.S.A.

The following press report on the latest phase of labour-management relations in the U.S.A., as given by the *USIS*, is all the more interesting to note.

Labour problems are looming bigger in the Indian Union today. It would be interesting therefore to study the legislation regarding labour in the foremost industrial country of the world of today.

There are 15,000,000 union members today, according to a U. S. Labour Department tabulation of union-membership statements. The largest union group is the American Federation of Labour, which reports a per capita membership in excess of 7,500,000. The Congress of Industrial Organizations reports it has about 6,000,000 members. Other unions, called 'independent' or 'unaffiliated' are estimated to have 1,750,000 members.

Union organization has greatly improved the status of the worker. The average work-week in 1880

was 63 hours; in 1900 it was 56 hours. Today the average work-week is 40 hours, with overtime premium pay for hours over this figure. Factory workers' average weekly take-home pay has increased. In 1939, the average was \$23.77; in February, 1947, the average was \$46.08.

The first labour organizations were not favoured by the public or by the courts. However, later unions such as the American Federation of Labour, founded in 1881, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, organized in 1935, grew to be dominant unions in the United States. The AFL organized labour on a craft basis, a union being composed entirely of wage-earners engaged in a particular trade. The CIO organized all of the workers in a particular industry.

The Wagner Labor Relations Act, passed by Congress in 1935, furnished the impetus for the rapid growth of these labour organizations. In six years, union membership trebled. The Wagner Act gave workers the legal right to join labour unions to bargain collectively. The Federal Labor Relations Board was established to settle questions about the methods to prevent unfair labour practice in plants and to arrange for elections to determine what union in an industrial plant should be the one to represent the workers.

During the war years, the National War Labor Board was established to halt the vicious cycle of rising prices and rising wages. The Board found that prices had advanced fifteen per cent by May, 1942, and declared workers eligible for a similar wage raise. Later, wages were officially held to the September 15, 1942, level. As a wartime measure, the labour unions agreed not to strike and largely limited their wage demands within the bounds of the nation's economic stabilization program.

On June 23, the United States entered upon a new phase in labour-management relations. On that day, after intense debate and a presidential veto, Congress overrode the veto and enacted into law the 'Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947,' also called the Taft-Hartley Act, after its sponsors.

This act is aimed at regulating the position of unions. It outlaws the closed shop, jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts; restricts the union shop, prohibits unfair labour practices by the unions as well as by management, makes unions responsible for breach of contract, and tends to limit union political activity.

Under the Act, unions must register with the expanded National Labor Relations Board or lose the benefits of most of its services, such as protection against unfair employer's practices. Unions must provide information regarding the compensation, etc., of the three principal officers, on dues, the way officers are chosen, strikes are authorized, money is collected and spent.

Regarding politics, unions are forbidden to make contributions in any national election. Moreover, no union may operate under the Act unless each officer

files an affidavit stating that he is not a member of the Communist Party and does not advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

The strike regulations require a sixty-day notice between union and employer before seeking to end or change a contract. During this period a newly created Federal Mediation Service is called in. National strikes which threaten the national welfare can be put down by the United States Attorney-General by injunction, for eighty days. If the dispute is not settled within this time the strike can be resumed legally. In that case, Congress would be given a full report and possibly recommend legislation.

The National Labor Relations Board has been enlarged to a five-man panel. This Board acts as a labour court while the administrative work passes to a new General Counsel, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. He decides what labour cases are to be prosecuted.

Bhai Paramanand

The death of Bhai Paramanand removes from India's life one of the most forceful of personalities that were thrown up by the Arya Samaj. With a brilliant educational career, he chose the life of a missionary of the Arya Samaj early in his youth. In the pursuit of this mission he visited South Africa, South America and the United States. Something like the experience of racial and colour arrogance in the ruling classes, as happened in the case of Gandhiji, must have afflicted Bhai Paramanand, and dragged him into politics. When the first World War broke out, we found him helping the organization of the Ghadi Party, recruited from the Punjabees, resident in the United States and Canada, to fight for the freedom of India, taking advantage of Britain's adversity. He got implicated in conspiracies all directed towards enlisting German and Turkish help in this effort. When he returned to India, he was tried for this offence and sentenced to death. It was commuted to transportation for life and he was sent to the Andamans. He was released in 1920. He joined the non-co-operation movement with its slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity. During this period Bhaiji appeared to have passed through certain experiences that transformed his whole look-out. He became a consistent supporter of Hindu Sangathan, the self-organization of Hindus, to strengthen their powers of offence against anti-national forces. For reasons that are not wholly clear he seemed to think that the Muslim communalist was the more immediate enemy. And against him he devoted all the energies of his body and mind for 25 years and more. He failed to defeat him. But the persistence of his fight constituted the glory of his life. A difficult man to get on with, his leadership of the Hindu Mahasabha movement was so consistent that it created many difficulties in the path of success. He fought against every compromise with what he regarded as "appeasement" of the Muslim.

NON-VIOLENCE FOR MODERN MAN

By BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY, M.D.

As a man of science and as a medical man, I have had ample opportunities of studying "Man" at close quarters, during health and sickness, in the East and in the West. I had also the rare privilege of observing men in groups, at the meetings of the United Nations Organisation, representatives of fifty-seven States of the world. I confess that my mind was filled with sadness and distress as I noticed that, in the so-called United Nations Organisation, men work in an atmosphere of misunderstanding, prejudice, suspicion and distrust. Selfishness, greed and lust for power reigned supreme. And I asked myself, "What is wrong with the world?" The world today has missed something. It is at crossroads, wondering which would be the correct path to follow, and who or what would be the correct guide out of the prevailing darkness, so that another war may be avoided, so that the future of our children and grandchildren may be secure and happy.

It seems to me that, while, in theory, the democracies and the totalitarian systems of administration profess to work for the "people," they have forgotten the "individual" and have installed institutions and groups in his place. The needs and the care of the individual have been drowned in those of the groups, and while every attempt has been made to develop science and technology in the interests of groups and institutions, the social concepts of such progress have never been stressed, so that man today is a chained victim, instead of a free soul—"a soul who sees himself in all and all in himself." This is the position in a nutshell.

DEMOCRATIC IDEAL LOST

We have been told that both the two world wars were fought to save "democracy" for the world—a democracy which would ensure sanity, freedom and progress of its people; a democracy which would, in the words of Gandhiji, develop in the individual "the impulse to be loyal to the best in himself"; a democracy which, while professing to have faith in freedom, would not deny freedom to any one; a democracy which could solve the moral problem of today, the problem of decent relations between individuals and communities and countries. To those who profess that such a democracy exists, Gandhiji would say, "Turn the searchlight inwards." And then we notice that confusion, greed, lust of power, selfishness, stalk the horizon.

A student of psychology and physiology knows that the human body works as a perfect machine on a system of checks and balances. The glands of internal secretion and their hormones activate and inhibit one another, the sympathetic and the parasympathetic systems of nerves guide and control each other, the mind controls the bodily functions, as much as they, in their turn, nourish the mind and make it function

It is only when there is an imbalance of this mechanism that disease prevails. Even so with the body politic. It can only function properly if a cultural balance prevails analogous to the biological balance in nature.

The West in achieving marvellous progress in science and technology, has neglected to emphasize development of the social and moral concepts of such progress, so that today this very progress has become a psychological barrier to understanding and goodwill among men. The West failed to realize that abnormal and unbalanced growth of one phase of human endeavour may result in "gigantism," but it leaves the whole system weak. The West failed to realize that a given scientific advance, say the development of the atomic bomb, may raise more problems than it solves.

The much vaunted modern democracy, so developed and such as we see in the West today, has to meet a great public challenge. Is it democratic for a few big States to decide the fate of small ones? Is it democratic for the major powers to seek their own security at the expense of the security of the smaller powers? Is the Big Power veto democratic? Is it right to stop the urge for freedom in or deny freedom to any country which yearns for it? Is "might is right" to be the guiding principle of democracy? Is it compatible with ideas of democracy for any such State to admit immigrants and then treat them as pariahs, denying to them democratic freedom? Is it democracy, if impelled by fear or prejudice, it denies or limits the franchise or other privileges to a portion of the community? Is it not a fact that democracy should function as an organic unit? Weakness or disease in one part of it, however small, will weaken or destroy the whole fabric as much as a weakness or a festering sore in one focus, in the human body, leaves it prey to disability and death.

Due to this cultural imbalance referred to above, certain attitudes have developed, in groups, in human society, e.g., the attitude of the believer in democracy toward the believer in totalitarianism, the attitude of those who have achieved scientific and technological progress toward those who are backward in these. Such attitudes give rise to individual or group delusions, e.g., the delusion underlying the doctrine of the white man's superiority over the colored peoples, the doctrine of the absolute national sovereignty, the doctrine of the imperialism practised by various countries in the world. The tragedy is that any group effort to resolve such group delusions results in creating more delusions.

To make matters worse, nations and individuals today, during war and in peace time, have developed the technique of "psychological" warfare, where open avowed propaganda is avoided but a whispering campaign and other subversive techniques are resorted to,

creating more delusions and implanting a fear and suspicion among the adversaries. It is a known scientific truth; however, that such warfare darkens the minds of those against whom it is used, and equally of those who use it. It is almost impossible to delude others without developing delusions oneself.

It is clear that the prevalence of such widespread delusions makes people insane and paranoid, and these illusions of persecution, of prejudice and suspicion raise their ugly heads. Without the prevalence of such temporary insanity, one cannot explain how, during war, people usually kind, unselfish, considerate and endowed with many ethical virtues, plan, with absolute coolness, schemes for the annihilation of fellow men whom they loved and honored before and perhaps would again love and honor after the war is over; how, during war, mutual esteem, confidence, sanctity of promises given, are all forgotten by those who claim a high place in human society.

What is the solution? It has been suggested that growth of trade and commerce unhampered by barriers and restrictions might restore the equilibrium and create mutual confidence and goodwill, and that peoples of the world would, for their own interests, desist from disturbing such an equilibrium. But history tells us that most wars have been fought for economic reasons; control of oil and mineral deposits, ability to dump cheap products of one country into another, are the common causes given.

ARMAMENTS NO SOLUTION

Then again it is suggested that the development of newer and more destructive types of armaments, through progress of science, is an antidote for war and a guarantee for peace. It is said that if all the great nations are armed cap-a-pie, it will guarantee peace because the knowledge of the havoc and holocaust that can be caused by modern weapons will act as a deterrent. And yet the history of all wars is an eloquent testimony of the fact, that, in spite of the knowledge of the possession by the belligerents of powerful destructive weapons, in spite of the knowledge they possessed of the price of victory or the penalty of defeat, fighting continued.

To these problems the East has a solution to offer. The Indian, the Buddhist view, has been that one should never attempt to combat delusion by other delusions, that one can condemn delusions but not the deluded, who must not be punished or reproached for his delusions; the salt of repent must not be rubbed into the wound of his error, he must be left to find his own way to truth. Gandhiji is prepared even to put moral pressure on the deluded one, but he is convinced that victory won by violence, even against the forces of delusion, is really a defeat—the delusion of the sword may not be opposed by the sword.

I am free to confess that the West will not accept this solution. Their argument would be that if, during the last war, the West had not mobilized a greater violence against Germany and Japan than they prac-

tised, and killed their madmen, there would have been nothing left but delusions in the world and no weapons would be left to combat it, not even the spiritual ones. But let me ask in all seriousness—in combating Nazism, has not the West been infected by it to a certain extent; in suppressing delusions violently, have not more delusions been engendered?

Therefore, I would repeat again, the only way to dispel delusions and to remove suspicion, hatred and fear in your opponents is not to give them grounds or occasions for such delusions, and they will soon cease to fear, suspect or hate one another. A prominent American writer has declared: "The time may be near—if it has not arrived already—when we must seriously consider whether it is not the best thing for the democracies in the West to disarm, even unilaterally and to declare to the world that they would never, under any circumstances, resist aggression by force, whether the evils which armed resistance, even successful would bring on us, would not be worse than any possible consequences of surrender."

GANDHIJI'S APPEAL RECALLED

In these words one can almost hear the message of Gandhiji, that apostle of peace and humanity, the greatest prophetic soul living in the modern world. In 1940, he made a public appeal to every Briton to lay down arms, to invite Hitler and Mussolini to take what "earthly possessions" they wanted but never to yield their souls or minds. He asked Britons to refuse allegiance to them. Let me use Gandhiji's words explaining this message:

"If the enemy rob you of your earthly possessions," said he, "you will yield, because earthly possessions have nothing to do with your souls. This does not make you a bondsman or slave of Hitler or Mussolini. But you cannot yield your soul to the conqueror because your conscience forbids you to do so. Nor will you yield your mind and succumb to temptation and be caught in the snares of greed and honeyed words, nor should you agree to owe allegiance to the enemy, because you cannot bow to the supremacy of the victor. You will not help him to attain his object. Thus will you maintain the dignity of your soul and your self-respect."

In his fight against British imperialism in India, he depended on "non-violence and truth" which he terms "eternal principles." To him both these terms are co-terminous and complementary. One can only follow "truth" through "non-violence," i.e., through a process of adjustments, compromises and understanding. Every scientific worker in a laboratory implicitly follows this process. A new discovery today does not forcibly suppress but takes into account the truth found yesterday. A newer discovery tomorrow cannot ignore the truth discovered today.

Non-violence is not a mechanical process. In pursuing it, the central attitude of life of the individual and his environments are completely altered, and his personality is changed also. "One does not

become non-violent," says Gandhiji, "simply by saying that he is so. It must be in his heart. There is then an upwelling of love and pity towards the wrongdoer which express themselves somehow and check the wrongdoer."

According to him, non-violence is self-acting. In my country today, non-violence under the guidance of Gandhiji acted well in Bengal and Delhi; it failed to suppress violence in the Punjab. But to my mind this only proves that the stock of non-violence is not sufficient to check violence; even as in the human body, if infection proceeds unchecked, it only proves the insufficiency of protective substances and antibodies. It does not disprove the fact that antibodies do counteract infective agents. Under such circumstances the devotee has to perfect his technique of non-violence. But to Gandhiji, non-violence is not merely a political technique, nor even an ethical doctrine, but a way of life.

FAITH AND ACTION

Bruce Atkinson, in a recent publication, has stated that the world needs today a man of faith and of action. He quotes Abraham Lincoln in this connection and considers Gandhiji as a spiritual leader only, a man of faith. If action means military maneuvers, Atkinson is right. But Gandhiji's fight against the British during the last twenty-five years and more, his whole public life, has been nothing but a record of action on the non-violent plane. History has recorded numerous instances of men of great faith, saints and prophets, who have preached this doctrine of non-violence because they had faith in it. But Gandhiji is the only leader of public thought and action who has tested the application of this doctrine on a mass scale and in public affairs, and obtained through it independence of his country, in his lifetime. History must accept him as a man of action who successfully conducted a non-violent campaign against a powerful opponent.

While developing this technique, Gandhiji, starting with the usual weakness of an ordinary mortal, weighed down with fears and temptations, passions and prejudices, succeeded in changing his whole personality by years of rigorous concentration on a few simple emotionally significant ideas, years of strict self-discipline and intensive self-training. He has developed within himself a peace of mind, arising out of a total integration of all the elements of his personality, with a tremendous controlled reservoir of energy which he calls "soul force." Few men at the age of seventy-eight will trudge along, alone, for weeks, barefooted, on village paths, in order to promote communal harmony and to bring a message of hope, courage and goodwill among the warring communities. This energy he imparts to those who follow him. He trains them by action and by deeds, and not merely by precepts and dogmas. His individuality is so developed, he is so self-sufficient, so far as this type of non-violent warfare is concerned, that often he takes decisions and acts alone.

He started alone on the famous Dandi march in 1930, when he walked hundreds of miles to reach the seashore, where he intended to establish the rights of the poverty-stricken masses of India to manufacture salt out of sea water for their own consumption, which was being opposed by the authorities. He gave open and due notice to the Government of his intentions and started alone. Some laughed, some scoffed at the puerile idea but thousands soon followed him and the tremendous force released by this movement amazed, stunned and thwarted the mighty British government.

For Gandhiji, in a non-violent fight, "means" are bigger than the end. He does not believe in the dictum, "End justifies the means." "If the means are truthful," says he, "honest and non-violent, the end must be likewise. You cannot achieve an iniquitous end, you cannot commit a theft through truth and non-violence."

ALSO A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY

But Gandhiji's non-violence is not merely a negation of violence, physical or mental. It has many positive facets. To an abuse heaped on him, a devotee of non-violence does not hurl back an abuse in return. He restrains himself, because he knows that whenever one wants to return one evil by another, he could only do so by violence, which increases the evil. Violence can only be met by superior violence. Such a superior violence necessarily means restriction of freedom to others—freedom to think, to speak, to judge for himself, to maintain his dignity and self-respect. A denial of such freedom, by violent methods, hampers the growth of the individual; recognition of such freedom in others removes suspicion, misunderstanding and fear. A non-violent man, therefore, gives patient hearing to his opponent, reasons with him respectfully and, if needs be, combats enmity by non-violent resistance. In dealing with men, particularly those of different cult or way of thinking, he does not injure them but endures injury for himself, serves them without fear or unnaturalness, and thus the non-violent, non-co-operation technique succeeds.

The urgent need of the present day is to develop the individual, the Man. Modern individualism rests on what he "has" and not on what he "is". Gandhiji concentrates not on "taking" but on "giving," "doing" and in "being." Individualism for Gandhiji is the "maximum of freedom from external circumstances for the individual and the maximum development of his inner qualities. Therefore Gandhiji is a free man inside out." He calls upon every individual to be a free man by following his principles and adopting the "non-violent" way of life. He has declared that non-violence is the only salvation for mankind in the present juncture and a solution for the many baffling problems facing the world. Non-violence alone can create a bond of understanding between the victor and the vanquished, between the strong and the weak, between the big and the small, between the East and the West. To an American enquirer who asked him

'why he considered that democracy could only be saved through non-violence,' Gandhiji gave the following reply :

"Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest will have the same opportunity as the strongest. No country in the world today shows any but patronizing regard for the weak. And it is to save such democracies that wars are being waged. Why is there any war if it is not for the satisfaction of the desire to share the spoils? India is trying to evolve true democracy, i.e., without violence. Our weapons are those of Satyagraha—expressed through hand-loom (*charka*), the village industries, primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, a non-violent organization of labour. If occasion arises, such a democracy will offer non-violent resistance to evil. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak, the aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiments can and will."

ASKS MUTUAL RESPECT

I have tried, feebly and perhaps imperfectly, to place India's message, Gandhiji's message of "non-violence and truth" as I understand them, before a Western audience. I have been encouraged and emboldened to do so because, I have felt, after my extensive tours in this country during the last few weeks, where I met the American people, big and

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small, in towns and in Villages, that, temperamentally American people resemble ours. We have similar range of emotion and imagination, and we are both sensitive. I leave the understanding of this thesis to this temperamental kinship.

The world is tired of violence and there is a small voice in each one of us which asks, "When shall it all end, and how?" I suggest that we start today and take every step to restore the dignity and self-respect of Man, in every country and clime among the coloured and white races. Restore to him his individuality and let him be free even as Gandhiji is free, through living a life of "non-violence and truth."

The present tangle can only be solved when free men and peoples restore to the world mutual self-respect, esteem and regard in the sincerity of opposing creeds and faiths. This only will remove distrust, jealousy and hatred, and restore the cultural equilibrium of the world. Thus only shall we avert another war. Then only shall we realize the dream of Wendell Willkie, namely, the establishment of "One World" of peace and progress, in which the progressive democracies of the West will, with enthusiasm and deliberation, include, "on the basis of cultural equality, those which they, in their supercilious ignorance, consider to be the political backwardness of Communistic Russia or the technological backwardness of Asia."*

* Address at the second session of the New York Herald Tribune Forum on October 21, 1947.

SOUTH ASIA'S OPPORTUNITY

By HAROLD R. ISAACS*

IN South Asia the nationalist dreams are coming true. India is virtually free of the British Raj, although at the price of tragic division. Burma is becoming an independent republic. In Indo-China and Indonesia, France and Holland are fighting bitter, brutal wars against armed peoples. But these are rearguard battles. The Republics of Viet Nam and Indonesia already exist. Their vitality far exceeds that of their former rulers. The end of the old colonialism is a fact acknowledged even by the colonial masters. The new British policy of adaptation and the French and Dutch wars are all essentially salvage operations in which the outgoing rulers are trying to rescue what they can of the old strategic and economic advantages of colonialism. But this salvage attempt is doomed to be self-defeating. Through the muck of conflict and violence, a new pattern is already discernible in South Asia. Despite enormous social and economic handicaps imposed by centuries of backwardness and foreign rule,

these countries are at last winning their political independence. They are becoming, in some measure, masters of their own fate.

But this great historic change is subject to a gross historical paradox. The nationalist dreams of the decades have taken too long to come true. The subject countries have had to wage the battle for nationhood because it is the only means of finally ridding themselves of foreign rule. But they are reaching their goal in a time when nationhood, as such, is a blind alley. Nationalism is triumphing in Asia in an epoch when on a world scale nationalism is bankrupt. The colonies are winning the chance to substitute national economy for colonial economy when national economies, as such, are dying diseased things. They are winning national independence when independence alone no longer nourishes growth. The new nations of India, Pakistan, Burma, Viet Nam, and Indonesia will never enjoy freedom in the 19th century sense of unbridled national sovereignty. It is the stubbornly prolonged existence of nationhood in that sense which lies at the heart of the present crisis in human affairs. This is the dilemma of all the states on earth, from the smallest to the greatest. It is all the more acute for the new nations

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falteringly taking shape out of the debris of colonialism. It is now not a question of national communities but of a world community, not national economies but a world economy. The newly-independent countries of South Asia will as nations be no less stifled than they were as colonies. They can thrive not in a national order but only in a world order.

But there is no world order in sight. It is scarcely necessary to labor this point. The long history of wars between nations—in which Asia's colonies were pawns and victims—has reached its penultimate conclusion. From struggle for pieces of the earth, we have come to the eve of the final conflict for the earth itself. The globe as a whole has become the minimum unit of necessary social change, the smallest possible compass for a viable social order. The recent great war did not decide the issue of human progress but the identity of the main protagonists. It eliminated Germany and Japan as contenders for world power. It brought Russian national power and American national power to the final confrontation. The globe is crushed in helpless agony between these two super-nationalist entities and the future must wait upon the resolution of the conflict between them. The irony is that in so far as they represent different social and economic systems, the issue is fraudulent because neither is pregnant with any decent promise for mankind. The one offers capitalist anarchy, the other totalitarian thralldom. Between such a thesis and such an antithesis, the peoples of the earth are caught in a condition of permanent war. The immediate prospect is paralysis. The ultimate prospect, if the direction is not changed, is mutual destruction.

It is at such a juncture in history that the colonies of Asia are finally emerging as nations. They need a world order in which to grow but there is no world order in prospect. What, then, happens to them? What do they do? What can they do?

II

The leaders of South Asia have to carve an answer for themselves out of the realities that face them. These begin with a definition of South Asia's relation to the world power conflict. South Asia is in no way exempt from this struggle. We know now that there may be fringes of global conflict but there are no havens from it. Northern Asia—China, Japan, Korea—is already a Russian-American battleground. The lofty mountains that divide the continent north and south cannot, as we saw in 1941-45, serve as a barrier against the pressures of total war. South Asians have to consider the possibilities of the future in plain power-political terms.

If continental northern Asia passes largely into the Russian sphere, the present status of South Asia will change. If, for example, Russia's strategic frontier should move to the Great Wall and thence southward to the Yellow or Yangtze Rivers, South Asia would begin to form part of the outlying glacis of "security" in which Russia systematically seeks domination or effective control. India and Southeast Asia would

become, far more than now, objects of rather intense Russian interest. By the same token, South Asia would shift from low-priority to high-priority status in Anglo-American calculations. The Anglo-Americans could then foresee a day when they might want South Asia to provide against Russia the defenses it failed to supply against Japan. These factors are already actively present in the shaping of British policy in the area where Britain acts, in effect, as America's deputy. It is not too difficult to imagine a coming time when we may be hearing as much about the North-West Frontier as we have heard, for example, about Iran, or to imagine the discovery of similarities in the strategic significance of the Aegean peninsula and the peninsulas of South-east Asia. It could come to that.

But the important thing is that it has not come to that yet. This is South Asia's one great present advantage. This is the source of South Asia's opportunity. For the time being at least, it is not a primary theatre in the present phase of the Russian-American conflict. No country in South Asia faces the tragic plight of a Korea, bisected by a Russian-American strategic frontier, or of a China already split by a civil war that only thinly masks the underlying Russian-American struggle. Right now the countries of South Asia have to contend directly not with the two Great Powers but with the weakened and retreating imperialisms of Britain, France, and Holland. This is a tremendous asset if they know how to make use of it. It means they are presented with a gift of time, a crucially valuable interval of uncertain duration. In a very real political and moral sense, these countries are not bound to either of the two great power blocs. They have the chance, therefore, to work against the portents of disaster. They have the time to try to raise a new voice, speaking in new accents, in world councils. They have time, at least, in which to work for survival.

This is South Asia's opportunity. The ability to grasp it will be determined by South Asia's relation in the coming period to its former imperialist masters, to the United States, and to Russia. It will be determined above all by the immediate internal development in each of its countries and by the relationship they establish among themselves.

III

In the first place, South Asia can recognize no further claims upon it by its former masters. Its fight against imperialist rule anywhere and everywhere in the region must be carried through to its conclusion.

For one, two, and three centuries, the colonial powers yoked these countries to metropolitan needs. They bled them at the beginning for a large part of Europe's primary capital. They drew from them over the decades returns which repaid their investments many times over. The former colonial powers are today at the end of their tether, enfeebled and bankrupt. The ex-colonies now certainly are under no obligation to offer up their resources and their labor to save their onetime masters from collapse.

As for alleged "cultural" bonds, it hardly seems necessary to dwell seriously upon the argument that the West has been a civilizing influence, that some touching bond of pupil to teacher still links slave to former master. The colonies are, in fact, left with a legacy of economic and social backwardness, of dislocation owing to a war not of their making, of illiteracy, internal divisions, and the deep psychological and moral scars of racial subjection. Let it be flatly understood: the day of the masters is done and the slaves owe them nothing.

The present object of the colonial powers is to retrieve what they can of the economic and strategic advantages they formerly enjoyed. For these, under heavy nationalist pressure, they are now willing to offer political concessions. The British, with a flexibility of which their confreres are evidently incapable, have finally yielded to the nationalist demand for full independence. They are gambling on the hope that in the looser frame of their commonwealth or even on the basis of direct treaty relations, they can still enjoy some of the advantages they formerly had within the tighter structure of empire. The proposed French "Union" and Dutch "Commonwealth" are, for their part, transparent devices for yielding some of the forms of political power while preserving the essence. They are so transparent and actually concede so little, that their creators are having to try to cram them down the throats of their recalcitrant ex-subjects. Hence the spectacle of the present French and Dutch efforts to divide and crush the nationalist oppositions and, through pliant puppets, to retain control of their colonial realms.

Any success they have will profit them little. It will not work. Effective new relations between the South Asian countries and their former rulers will have to be based on unqualified independence for the ex-colonies. The climate of these relations will be unavoidably influenced by the legacy from the past. It will hardly be improved by the ferocity with which Holland's American-trained commandos and France's ex-Nazi mercenaries are trying to force Dutch and French wishes upon their insurgent subjects. Despite this, the nationalist leaders of Viet Nam and Indonesia have up to now displayed a remarkable, and even excessive, willingness to compromise. They have tried to adapt their demands for full independence to the terms of "union" and "commonwealth" offered by the French and the Dutch. They signed agreements in good faith, in the belief they were conceding only in matters of form. But in each case, events have shown that the former rulers have had no intention of acknowledging the reality of independence. In each case, the French and the Dutch have resumed the use of brute force to bring their subjects to heel.

Indonesia and Viet Nam will from now on compromise at their own peril. South Asia will allow them to compromise only at its peril. As Nehru has so explicitly stated, South Asia shall not be free until the last imperialist troops are expelled and the last

vestiges of imperialist rule wiped out. In the present operations, the French and Dutch are enjoying only a transient and limited military superiority. They are acting out of desperation and profound weakness. They are economically and morally bankrupt. They cannot sustain these wars of reconquest, if the resistance continues. Time is on the side of the nationalists. If they can keep up a war of attrition, they must in the end prevail. All of South Asia must help assure their final victory.

IV

This raises, in its sharpest and most immediate form, the question of South Asia's relations with the United States. The European powers were able to regain access to their Asiatic colonies only by virtue of the American victory over Japan. They forced their re-entry with Anglo-American help. The weapons now being employed against the nationalists of Viet Nam and Indonesia are in large part American weapons. The ability of France and Holland to continue waging these wars is due in no small measure to American loans, injected at intervals, like shots of adrenalin. That they can wage these wars at all without effective world protest is due in no small degree to American toleration of their acts. The matter can be framed in a question that answers itself: is it conceivable that France and Holland could wage war upon their colonial subjects if the United States really wanted to prevent them from doing so?

South Asia has been learning that between American professions and American acts there is a deep gulf in which every progressive impulse is interred. On the formal record, in diplomatic notes and ceremonial public declarations, the United States has spoken for honest self-determination, the four freedoms, and international co-operation in the making of a brave new world. In South Asia, as elsewhere, many people identified American policy with these objectives. In the past two years they have learned that American policy is what America does, not what America says.

At best it might be said that the United States piously hoped that changes would occur, but in a framework of sweetly reasonable compromise. When this was not forthcoming, the United States failed to stand behind the forces of necessary change. In the showdown in South Asia at the end of the war, it supported not the nationalists but the colonial powers. It sententiously deplored the use of force and urged all the parties to negotiate, but in practice it helped the imperialist aggressors. Nationalist appeals to Washington, written under strafing and bombing by American lend-lease planes, under fire by American lend-lease artillery, under attack by troops accoutred with American equipment and brought from Europe in American vessels, all went unheeded. The story of this shoddy alliance of the early post-war months has been told elsewhere in some detail.* Since then, American acts have followed the same pattern.

* See my *No Peace for Asia*, Macmillan, 1947

Washington has been diplomatically indignant at French and Dutch stupidity in failing to make less costly settlements. But the French and Dutch have not been prevented from using their meagre resources, periodically replenished by American loans, to wage their colonial wars.

On the few occasions when colonial issues have been discussed before bodies of the UN, the United States has usually expressed its sympathy for nationalist goals and then generally voted with the colonial powers. When the issue of Holland's attack on Indonesia was placed before the UN Security Council by India and Australia last July, the United States played the role of half-bystander, half-advocate of the Dutch. It helped prolong the deliberations. When after four weeks it was finally agreed to send military observers to the spot to report on compliance with the UN ceasefire order, the American group was delayed four more weeks in getting there. All the while, Dutch forces were "mopping up" and cutting the territory of the Indonesian Republic into segments.

The official American reasoning seems to be that South Asia is not very important because it is not directly involved in the Russian problem. France and Holland are necessary to the building of a Western European bulwark against Russia. Hence they have to be shored up, even if it means giving *de facto* support to wars for colonial restoration. This goes by the name of realistic expediency. In fact, it testifies to the remarkable myopia that blocks the official American view of the world political scene. Official America seems unable to distinguish between real cause and real effect or between political assets and political liabilities. It seems wholly incapable of seriously applying democratic principles, in their profounder sense of individual and popular self-determination, to the making of policy. These principles are reserved, in holiday phrases, for ceremonial use only. In *realpolitik*: thus conceived, they have no part. Hence American support of France and Holland in Asia. Hence American reliance upon the corrupt, reactionary and tyrannical regimes of Greece and China in the blind drive to erect what are regarded as defenses against Russia.

In a world that groans for lack of dynamic change, the United States has assumed the role of defender of capitalist conservatism. It looks with suspicious disfavor even upon the "socialists" of Western Europe, despite the fact that some of these are "socialists" capable of waging colonial wars! It looks askance at the nationalists of South Asia because they are upsetting apple-carts, because they are obliged by their own most urgent needs to be boldly radical. Within its own heaving economy, America remains at the mercy of its cash-and-carry capitalism. It is adrift in anarchy, clinging to its blind economic strength like a madman clinging to his delusions.

That is why in world politics it acts like a muscle-bound idiot. It is dissipating its greatest political asset; the belief of millions all over the world that America stood for democratic change, for an end to

an outworn and crumbling *status quo*, for a world order in place of world anarchy. It has surrendered to the Communist tools of Russian totalitarianism the role of catalyst in an age of change. The American people will have to pay heavily for this prodigal failure to bring to life a dream that might have been true. And so will the rest of the world.

From these facts, South Asia must draw harsh conclusions. It will have to count on its strength alone to finish the job of defeating imperialism. Once that is accomplished, South Asia will be able to "do business" with the United States. It will be able to hawk some of its resources in the dollar-dominated world market. It may even usefully attract some American capital. But it will be able to operate advantageously only if it first acquires full control of its own major economic assets. Even then, the advantages will be limited and sporadic. Some capital goods may be acquired and some few gains may be made. But no large-scale and rationally-planned reconstruction will be possible.

In terms of its broader political orientation, South Asia has to keep clear of the American world camp. The United States is not offering leadership in the creation of a new world order. It has chosen so far only to lead in the defense of a system that no longer works. Its destination along this road is the ultimate collapse. South Asia cannot wholly prevent itself from being dragged along. But it can try to avoid being pulled over the precipice.

The Russian model for the world order is totalitarian statism under Russian world leadership. Its method is the aggrandizement of Russian national power, at whatever cost to other peoples. Does this offer an alternative leadership that South Asia can follow?

Russia too, a little farther back in recent history, represented an immense dream for much of Asia. It supplied the example of a successful revolution in a huge, backward country. It stood for a new kind of dynamic internationalism. It scornfully repudiated the Czar's extortions from China. It lent support, direct and indirect, to the national movements that surged across Asia in the aftermath of World War I. But that Russia was buried long ago, in the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1927, in the concentration camps, dungeons, and cemeteries of the Russian secret police. Its internationalist voices were stifled by the gunfire of its executioners. Its internationalist policies were replaced by an intensely narrow nationalism. For its own ends it manipulated popular movements abroad and by its attempt to win a breathing space for itself in the 'thirties, it brought on the crushing defeats in Germany, Spain, and France that were the prelude to World War II.

Today's Russia is the super-state, one of the two great national powers contending for world primacy. It is a monolithic, totalitarian, police state. Its control of the whole national economy is vested in an all-

powerful and self-perpetuating bureaucracy which is the new ruling class. It has stifled all dissent and for its dissenters has created a vast system of forced labor in which literally millions are enslaved. This is the Russia which was allied with Hitler and with him plotted the division of the world's spoils. This is the Russia which was then allied to the West, which has invaded and absorbed huge territories, looted foreign industries, created pliant governments in its cordon of satellite states, and which has extracted territorial and military privileges from China. This is the Russia which stands today not for any kind of socialism but for super-state sovereignty as the prime weapon of power.

To this Russia, the colonies are simply pawns in the power struggle. It uses colonial issues to needle its Western rivals and to provide justification in reverse for its own depredations. Its sole criterion is the Russian national interest. Hence it is just for Russia to take the Kuriles, to hold Port Arthur, or to pressure Turkey or Iran but unjust for the United States to fortify its Pacific islands or bases in the Arctic. Where it is conjuncturally convenient to its purposes, Russia turns a colonial issue into a skirmish. Such was the Ukraine's move against Britain in the UN two years ago on the issue of the war in Java. But where it does not suit Russian purposes, other colonial issues are left severely alone.

Russia has, for example, remained officially silent on France's war against Viet Nam. Where France will fall in the power lottery is not yet clear. French strategic outposts in Asia might yet prove a Russian national asset. Hence Russia's satellite Communist Party in France guides itself accordingly. It has been remarked earlier that the United States could halt the colonial wars if it wished to do so. Similarly, the French Communist Party could stop France's war against Viet Nam. Not a gun, or a ship, or a man could move eastward from France if the French Communist Party willed it so. Instead, in the earlier stages of the conflict, French Communists tried to get the Vietnamese to check their revolt until Russia's wishes could be ascertained. When fighting broke out, the French Communists took a stand not unlike that of the United States. They have deplored the war. They have editorialized against it. In the French Assembly, Communist deputies abstained from a vote on war credits. In the cabinet, the Communist ministers voted along with the government. They have advocated "negotiations." But they have taken no preventive action.

Russia's professed concern for self-determination does not prevent it from turning all its satellites into servile tools, each one becoming in the Russian image a police state which imprisons and executes its dissidents. Russia is a great national power in a race for world mastery. It bids for the world not with a new freedom but with a new tyranny.

There are to be sure, some grounds for political affinity between South Asia and totalitarian Russia. Even some Indian industrialists have in the past been

beguiled by Russia's demonstration of what ruthless dictatorship can accomplish in the industrialization of a backward country. The Communist program for destroying feudal and quasi-feudal land relations has not yet been matched by any other political program capable of achieving the same end without making it part of a totalitarian system. And destruction of feudal land relations is the prime political task in all Asia. In China, even though the Communists have turned their radical agrarianism on and off like a spigot in accordance with Russia's changing policies, the revolutionary impulses of the peasants are placed at the service of Russian totalitarianism.

There is in Asia's backwardness and thralldom a deep reservoir for new kinds of tyranny. In each newly-independent country the question of internal power remains unresolved. Each is subject to the pull of reaction at both ends of the political and class spectrum. India could re-furbish the British concentration camps in the Andamans. Viet Nam could enlarge the French penal colony at Poulu Condor. Sufficiently frustrated by prolonged and unrelieved crisis and in the face of failure by its progressive leaderships, South Asia could indeed take the path of tyranny.

It could come to that. But here, again, the important thing is that it has not come to that yet. South Asia can try not to be dragged toward new catastrophes by American capitalism. But neither is it compelled to take the road, behind Russia, toward a new 20th century Byzantium in which economic progress is equated in a new way to human slavery. In this indecisive interim, while the titans spar and skirmish, South Asia has the chance not to take sides. It has the chance to gather together its own resources for survival. It even has the chance to begin to build a world in some third image.

VI

The reference here throughout has been to South Asia as a whole. This is imposed, and by no means accidentally, by the nature of the argument. All these general considerations affect the area as a whole. They transcend all the obvious and formidable particularisms in the different countries. By the same token, the great opportunity that now confronts South Asia is not India's opportunity, nor Burma's, nor Viet Nam's, nor Indonesia's; it is *South Asia's* opportunity.

Consider South Asia as a physical fact. It embraces perhaps a fifth of the world's surface. It contains some of the richest resources in the world. Of some, like rubber, tin, jute, hemp, rice, it has the world's larger share. It has iron and coal and oil. It has great forests. It has rich land. Its people number more than half a billion, one-fourth of the world's population. So defined, South Asia is one of the major areas of the world, capable of immense production. The colonial system imposed upon it a grotesquely distorted economy in which its people could multiply but never thrive. In a rational world order, it could multiply its own and the world's wealth many times.

It is deprived of that chance for now. But it still must edge its way in that general direction. This means that South Asia must make the leap from a state of colonial subjection to a new and dynamic kind of internationalism. Its countries have to find a way, even now before they are wholly shaped themselves, to function as a coherent political unit. That is their first and only defense against the anarchy of the rest of the world.

This is not soaring vision. This is hard politics. These countries cannot long enjoy their triumphant nationalism for it will soon crumble to pieces in their hands. Each has enormous unresolved internal problems. But it would be the utmost folly for any progressive South Asian nationalist to think that these problems postpone or preclude any regional organization. On the contrary, the existence of these problems is part of the pressure that dictates some such unity.

What kind of unity? There are blocs and blocs in the world. Each has a form that corresponds to its purpose and to the character of the countries that compose it. South Asia too must form a bloc, but a bloc like no other in the world and serving a purpose no less unique. South Asia has no interest in tying itself together in a string of knots to fly at the tail of some big power's kite. Nor will its needs be served by a loose mechanism like the Arab League, uniting bitterly rival feudal cliques on the strength of a few common political aims. South Asia must, within the limits of its own possibilities, aim at something that resembles what the world as a whole must become. It has to aim toward a federated union, a regional regime democratically functioning and with power to plan and to act.

No attempt can be made here to blueprint all the imponderables of such a union. These depend to such a profound degree on the social and political character of the regimes that finally emerge in command of the new South Asian nations, on the boldness and vision and clarity of the best of South Asia's leaders. They have to pool their interest and their wisdom to give such a union its ultimate shape. Meanwhile, there are certain common purposes already obvious, already dictating common action. Out of such action, the machinery of union can begin to be built.

The first of these is the need to bring to an end the colonial wars in Viet Nam and Indonesia. None of the new regimes in South Asia is so narrowly nationalist as not to recognize this fact. But they have to act. They can form a South Asian Council, which will sit in permanence in Delhi or Bangkok. This council can devise and direct the steps that can be taken. French and Dutch communications across South Asia can be stopped. Arms can be shipped. On an unofficial basis even volunteers can be recruited. On the diplomatic front, no chance should be lost to cite France and Holland before the rest of the world. The action already taken on Indonesia must be followed by similar action on Viet Nam. Such action in the UN cannot be counted on for practical results in the war zone. But it can have considerable political effect

and link South Asia to many of the smaller nations in other parts of the world. In the face of a bold diplomatic offensive, the Great Powers will be compelled to veer and tack to meet it. Accompanied by a vigorous propaganda campaign, especially in the United States, such an offensive would not be without result.

Other functions could be assumed by the South Asian Council. It can undertake a master inventory of the economic resources of the region. It can recommend master plans for food production and food transport and for mutually beneficial reconstruction projects for which material is available or can be secured. It can plan mutual educational programs. It can pool facilities for training technicians. It can devise the framework of a customs union and for rationalising all transport and communications in the area. It can, indeed, move toward closer union and wider areas of common action just as fast as the participating members are prepared to go.

Any union, of course, is a product of its parts. Common action is by itself no virtue. It can be employed by the most reactionary forces and employed for the most reactionary purposes. The present world political jungle abounds with examples. The South Asian Union advocated here would be a union whose aim is to embrace neither tyranny nor anarchy but to seek some new combination for the secrets of progress. It would have to be composed of states militantly and dynamically trying to break with the bonds of the past. They would be vigorously demolishing the obsolete and oppressive systems of land tenure. They would be abolishing usury, rationalising the marketing of rural produce, introducing modern farming methods. They would be establishing rational control over industry. They would be waging all-out war on illiteracy and preventable disease. They would be based on broad, democratically organized and freely functioning popular mass movements, rooted in the people and in the broadening of popular liberties. They would be vigorous, radical, revolutionary states trying to apply the best of socialist thinking and methods to the real problems of liberation.

Does South Asia contain these elements, or enough of them to prevail over landlordism and religious and political reaction? That remains to be seen. An organism that does not grow atrophies. Maybe it is far too much to hope that healthy bodies can still grow in this paretic world. Perhaps it is true that the effective political elements in this world can combine only to spawn monsters. Maybe it is a kind of desperate optimism to think that this might not yet be true of South Asia. Here, at any rate, is the challenge and the opportunity.

The proposition does not start from zero. The bare logic of events has given the idea of South Asian unity currency among all kinds of nationalist politicians. It is already widely discussed throughout South Asia and is already being projected in many different forms. It is part of the thinking of Nehru and even more so of the Indian Socialist Party. There are

strong socialist currents in the leadership of both Viet Nam and Indonesia. This is already a sizeable political bloc within the present guiding circles of South Asian nationalism. There are also, to be sure, Moslem conservatives, bourgeois reactionaries, princes and landlords, and religious fanatics. The issue lies between them. If some modified kind of socialism can still triumph in South Asia, if the best of South Asia's leaders are bold enough to work for it, they can create something new under the sun.

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If it is impossible for them to break through the bounds of narrow nationalism, then all of it is impossible. The triumphant nationalisms will each assume some new form of grotesque frustration. Each country of South Asia, pursuing its own course, will beat its brains out against the walls of world-wide futility. Far from possibly becoming a new dynamic factor in determining the fate of the world, the countries of South Asia will simply share its fate as passive victims.

OBJECTS BEHIND THE INVASION OF KASHMIR

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

IMPORTANT facts about the timing and tactics of the invasion of Kashmir, composition of the invading hordes, their equipment and leadership and reported complicity of Pakistan with the invaders are now well-known matters of history.

The cloud of controversy, charges and counter-charges about the invasion has somewhat distracted attention from the object behind this most singular invasion of the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu by organised marauders. In a communique, dated 30.10.47, the Pakistan Government states :

"In the opinion of the Government of Pakistan, the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union is based on fraud and violence and as such can not be recognised," and that the use of Kashmir troops first to attack Muslims in Poonch and "later massacre of Muslims in Jammu, inflamed all the more Pathan feeling and made the raid on Kashmir inevitable."

What the Pakistan Government did to hasten and facilitate the inevitable is another matter but here is a declaration of the object of the raid made on behalf of the raiders by the Pakistan Government. The attack on the Muslims in Poonch and the massacre of the Muslims in Jammu inflamed the Pathan feeling and without waiting for Pakistan, the new bulwark of Islam on this side of the Hindukush, to take suitable action to obtain redress, the Waziris and Mashuds from a distance of 250 miles and the Afridis equipped with all modern military paraphernalia swooped upon Kashmir violating Pakistan territory. Their object was to avenge the attack on and massacre of Muslims in Poonch and Jammu.

Some details as to how the oppressed and massacred Muslims in Poonch and Jammu were avenged in the Kashmir valley have come to be known. The Head of the Emergency Administration in Kashmir has invited observers from all countries, especially Islamic countries, to come and see for themselves

"what the invaders have done to destroy the home of those very Muslims for whose deliverance they pretended, they were coming in the name of Islam as friends from Pakistan."

Again,

"This invasion has left deep wounds on our hearts. Our beautiful land lies despoiled with hundreds of villages and precious paddy of thousands of maunds reduced to ashes. Prosperous Pattan is nothing more than a heap of smoking ruins and beautiful Baramula has been freely looted by filthy hands."

To the above may be added the latest report that goods looted in Kashmir are being carried away in 500 trucks supplied by friends.

That besides the declared object there are other more weighty objects behind the invasion is coming to be known to the public little by little. Light is thrown on these objects by the disclosures made on the one hand by the Kashmiri leaders and on the other, by the attitude of the British Tory Press. It is rather unfortunate for the sympathisers with the *jehad* against the Kashmir Government by tribesmen that Muslim leaders of Kashmir, who are accredited representatives of their people, have come forward to make a number of disclosures about the undeclared objects behind the *jehad*.

In an interview to the *Hindustan Times* on 5.11.47, Sheikh Abdullah said that the inroad by raiders into Kashmir was the outcome of internal complications which Pakistan was unable to solve and the attack had been engineered to divert the attention of the people of Pakistan from pressing internal problems.

"The Government had to justify the establishment of Pakistan founded on the hymn of hate, by bringing peace and plenty to the people, for negative slogans could no longer provide emotional food for the Muslim masses. This called for a policy of reconstruction which the Pakistan Government could not formulate and, to avoid pessimism in the people, it had launched a policy of jingoism to keep up public enthusiasm."

Again,

"A counter move, preferably aggressive, was needed to kill the Pathanistan movement in the Frontier launched by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Pakistan could not afford to feed the Pathans from

their central carthoquer like the British; so by helping the tribal people to plunder Kashmir Pakistan hoped to solve the economic problem of the Pathans for the time being."

Sheikh Abdullah added that Kashmir had been made a scapegoat to make Pakistan strong and successful.

At Amirkadal a speech was delivered by Maulvi Muhammad Sayeed Magoodi, General Secretary of the National Conference. In this speech he analysed the genesis of the invasion and said that with the establishment of Pakistan,

"Movements for *Asad Baluchistan* and *Asad Pathanistan* began to grow stronger, and what is more, tribesmen whose indifference to Indian politics was bought by the old British Government with bribes and hush money to the tune of four crores of rupees (in 1947) began to grow impatient giving constant headache to Pakistan leadership, particularly to the Frontier League Government. All these difficulties are pregnant with a grave danger to the stability of the newly founded Pakistan itself. What was the solution? The invasion of Kashmir was the ready though a short-sighted solution of all these problems. The invasion has for the time being isolated non-communal movements for *Asad Baluchistan* and *Asad Pathanistan*."

Again,

"Tribesmen have been promised rich prospects of plunder and loot in the famous valley of Kashmir. Indeed their evil designs go farther. They are all out to settle lakhs of their tribesmen in the lovely valley of Kashmir. This has naturally proved a strong lure to these barbarous hordes, dwelling in the barren hills of the tribal areas where they live a life of poverty and semi-starvation."

It is evident that the leaders of the Kashmiri people do not want the tribesmen in their country either as deliverers or as settlers. More than that; they are fighting to repel the attack on their country by the *jehadi* tribesmen and they are condemning Pakistan for having let loose these looters on their country.

The attitude of the British Tory Press also throws light on the undeclared objects of the invasion. The Tory attitude may have two reasons behind it; it may be that the diehard section think that Pakistan has a real claim to Kashmir and they think that they can still afford to play in the role of arbitrator. Pakistan's claim to Kashmir is based on the fact that 78 per cent of the population of the valley are Muslims. This claim holds good, it is to be supposed, though the Ruler and the majority of the people may repudiate the claim. Now, that the tactics adopted to assert the claim have not succeeded, Tory circles have suggested a division of the territories of the Maharaja.

The London representative of a Calcutta newspaper reports on 5.11.47 that "Tory circles in the Houses of Parliament give tacit support to Jinnah's tactics in Kashmir." The *Economist* discourages the idea of holding a referendum and puts forth a suggestion for the solution of the tangle:

"A solution might be to separate Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh remaining with the former and Gilgit region with the latter."

Tory India experts want Jammu and Ladakh to remain with India and Kashmir and Gilgit to go to Pakistan. After the success of Sheikh Abdullah's administration the objection to referendum is not unexpected. Now one comes to the second reason behind the Tory attitude. How the case for partition is being built up may be noted.

The London representative of a paper writes that a warning was conveyed by the Pakistan Governor-General to Mr. Attlee through a Conservative M.P. that

"If the British Labour Government does not come to the aid of Pakistan against India, Russia would 'in accord with Pandit Nehru' rule the Indian sub-continent."

The *Sunday Observer's* special commissioner has told the British public that

"Pakistan would remain within the British Commonwealth, Pakistan leaders are pro-British and anti-Soviet and Britain would gain by supporting them against Indian leaders."

He also throws out a hint that a third party might step into the Indian imbroglio. This hint is made clear by the *Times* which, referring to the report of the occupation of Gilgit by tribesmen writes:

"*Gilgit is so close to the Afghan border with the Soviet Russia just beyond that the inflammable potentialities of the situation are clear.*"

It is by holding up the old Russian bogey in the context of preparations of the third world war that Pakistan hopes to secure British support for its scheme of annexation of Kashmir. Again, it is this bogey which is responsible for the extraordinary suggestion for division of the Kashmir territories after relinquishment of power by the British Government in British India.

It may be mentioned in this connection that before the Amritsar treaty was concluded between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, in the Lahore treaty between the Lahore State and the British Government both the high contracting parties jointly recognised the independent sovereignty of the Maharaja in the territories formally transferred to him by the later Amritsar treaty. Of these territories Baltistan, Ladakh and territories under feudal chiefs included in the Jammu province had been acquired by Maharaja Gulab Singh by conquest before 1840. Kashmir was thus encircled several years before it was transferred to him by the treaty of Amritsar. It was sold by the British Government before the Sikh power had collapsed and when it never thought that it might collapse so soon. The naive candour of the suggestion coming a century after the treaties of Lahore and Amritsar and after withdrawal of the British from India for the partition of the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu acquired by conquest and purchase would be refreshing but for its mischievous potentialities.

To return to the Russian bogey which is behind it. The Russian bogey is associated with the question of the possession of the strategic post of Gilgit. After the whole matter is carefully considered a doubt arises whether the British have ever sincerely believed that the Russian menace might really come from that side or their intention was simply to deprive the Hindus of the only strategic post under their control by making use of this bogey.

Gilgit is about 239 miles from Srinagar and it takes about 23 marches to reach it, the route starting from north of the Wular Lake via Bandipur. The distance is shortened by 8 miles by a second route from Gurez. Along the route there are four passes, the Rajdingan Pass (11,800), the Kamri Pass (13,160), the Hatu Pir Pass (10,000) and the Dorikun Pass (13,500), the last a few miles below Burzil, which have to be negotiated. The road is closed by snow for six months, from the middle of November to the middle of May. From Jagrot to Minawar, the road is difficult even for unloaded ponies. The Indus has to be crossed between Bawanji and Gilgit.

Beyond the Gilgit village and fort the Maharaja's territory extends for about 25 miles to Gakuja which is owned by the Raja of Puniyal, a tributary to the Maharaja. Huper is the last point after which begins the territory of the Yasin Chief. From Gilgit to Yasin the distance is about 80 miles.

Between the Afghan and Russian territories and Gilgit intervene the territories of the Rulers of Yasin, Mastuj and Chitral. The 15,380 feet Darkot Pass has to be negotiated before the Baroghil saddle (12,460) where the watersheds of the Oxus and Indus meet, is reached. Down this saddle the road goes to Sarhard on the Oxus from where through the Wakhjir Pass one turns to the Chinese Pamir. The road to Wakhan strikes off from the main valley of the Mastuj river. From Chitral one enters Badakhshan and Kafiristan by a number of passes. From Chitral one enters Badakhshan and Kafiristan by a number of passes. A very difficult route passes from the westernmost Hunza valley to the Tagdumbash Pamir.

In descending from the upper Hindukush, the road from Chitral, Dir, Swat and through the Malkhand Pass to Hazara or through Kunar, Bajaur, and Swat looks more attractive than the very difficult route through Chitral, Mastuj, Yasin and Gilgit between which and the Kashmir valley lie rolling masses of enormous rocks with snow-capped ridges rising to more than 25,000 ft. and glaciers. Gilgit is not closer to

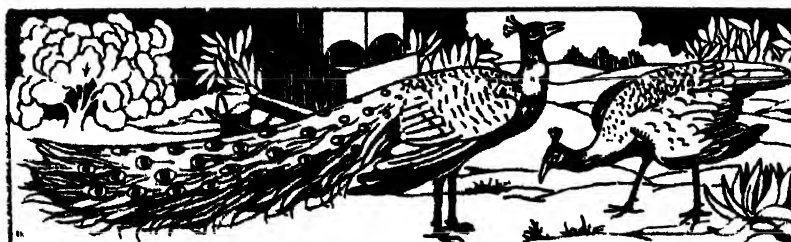
the Afghan border 'with Soviet Russia just beyond' than Chitral, Mastuj and Yasin which together with Hunza and Nagar are reported to have joined Pakistan and which form a block as safe from the British point of view as the tribal belt which lies between Afghanistan and N.-W. F. Province. Inflammable potentialities in so far as Gilgit is concerned evidently arise from the fact that Gilgit is owned by the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir.

Pakistan holds all the strategic posts in the north, the Khyber, Kurrum, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan. The accession of Yasin, Mastuj and Chitral gives it the control of the passes in the Hindukush, leading to the Afghan, Russian and Chinese territories. India can hardly be expected to give up the only strategic post in the north at Gilgit which is to serve her a small window for keeping a watch on Central Asia and completely cut itself off from its northern neighbours. How this strategic post can be used against Kashmir is proved by the reports of occupation of Gilgit by tribesmen from Swat and adjoining parts of N.-W. F. Province and tribal areas and by the latest report that the raiders have infiltrated into Kashmir from the north as far down as Astor. The report adds:

"The possibility of raiders infiltrating into the valley of Kashmir even during winter months is not altogether ruled out."

The Durrani, who occupied Kashmir, planted small colonies of tribesmen there. Kashmir has just escaped the danger of occupation and mass colonisation through India's intervention and a repetition of the W. Punjab tragedy for 22 per cent non-Muslim minority has been prevented. The majority of the people of the State of Kashmir and Jammu are Muslims but the Kashmiri, Balti and Dardi Muslims of the State are in race, language, tradition and culture quite different from their fanatic, Mollah and Pir-ridden co-religionists of the N.-W. F. Province and tribal areas.

Kashmir will have to keep a strict watch not against Russia, Afghanistan and China but against those whose undeclared objects of invasion have been exposed by the Kashmiri leaders. She should quickly develop her life line, the Pathankot-Kathua road, north of Amritsar, and India should keep open the small window set in the walls of the northern mountains opening out to the Central Asian hills, plateaus, deserts and steppes.



THE INCOME AND STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE RURAL POPULATION IN BENGAL

A Regional Approach

By PROF. KARUNAMOY MUKHERJEE, M.A.

THE present study is confined to the period between 1908 and 1944 and covers the thrice-surveyed district of Faridpur alone. A complete census of the economic conditions of the cultivating and non-cultivating population of the district was made by Major J. C. Jack, I.C.S., as the first Settlement Officer, between 1906-1910. The Revised Settlement and Survey operations were carried on during 1940-42, when family budgets of about 3,000 agricultural units were collected. The author of this note has re-surveyed the district first-hand during 1944-45 with a view to showing the kind of results—social and economic—that are likely to be obtained through the statistical method of random sampling. The questionnaire is not reproduced here; again, the results of enquiries affecting only 592 families alone are utilised in the following paragraphs.

THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES

The district comprises an area of 2,821 sq. miles with a population of 2,888 thousand as per census of 1941. Of these, only 36 thousand persons live in towns, the rest are rural inhabitants. The numerical proportion of different communities is—Muslim 64·8 per cent, Scheduled Caste 18·2 per cent, Caste Hindu 16·2 per cent and others 0·4 per cent. The occupational distribution of the population in different periods has been as follows:

TABLE I

	1908 ¹	1931 ²	1941 ³
Agriculture	78%	70·39%	73·3%
Rent-receivers	3%	6%	6%
Industry, Trade,			
Transport, Fishing	11%	15·2%	12·5%
Liberal Arts,			
Domestic Service			
Unproductive	8%	8·1%	7%
Others	..	·42%	1·22
Total	100	100	100

PROGRESSIVE DERANGEMENT OF ECONOMIC LIFE

The economic condition of the people of the district appears to have sharply and progressively deteriorated between 1908 and 1944. The figures of the following table as percentages of the total number of families in the district, will prove this contention:

1 Compiled from Chapters II and III of *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* by J. C. Jack (1916) and *Jack's Final Report on Settlement Operations in Faridpur (1904-14)*.

2 *Vide Census of India, 1931, Vol. V.*

3 *Vide Census of India, 1941, Vol. IV.*

TABLE II

Classification of the living condition of families ⁴	Major Jack's Economic Survey ⁵		Mr. Burrow's Enquiry ⁶	Revised Settlement Operations ⁷	Author's Sample Survey ⁸
	Non-				
	Agri-	agri-			
	1908	1908	1927	1940-42	1944
In comfort	49·5%	47%	34·1%	27·8%	4·7%
Below comfort	28·5%	27%	18·2%	28·2%	5·9%
Above want	18·0%	20·4%	22·9%	20·6%	17·2%
In want	4·0%	5·6%	24·8%	23·4%	72·1%

From the above it follows that considerable inequality in the distribution of wealth prevails, and that after the famine the proportion of families which are very poor has become unduly large.

JACK'S ESTIMATE OF INCOME OF DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PEOPLE

Jack has estimated the average annual income of different classes of people of the district as shown in the following table:

TABLE III

	Average Annual Income of different classes ⁹			
	In the population as a whole		Amongst cultivators only ¹⁰	Amongst Non-cultivators only ¹¹
	Of families classified as living	Per family	Per head	Per head
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
In comfort	365	65	60 ¹⁰	80
Below comfort	233	43	43	42
Above want	166	32	34	31
In want	115	26	27 ¹⁰	24
Average of all classes	282	52	50 ¹¹	58 ¹²

4 The standard is adopted from Jack's *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 73 and pp. 145 et seq.

5 *Vide Op. cit.*, p. 93.

6 *Vide Burrow's Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1927), Vol. IV (Evidence) of the Report.*

7 Unpublished figures supplied to the author from the Settlement Office at Faridpur.

8 592 families alone are included here.

9 Jack: *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 154.

10 The averages are, however, shown as Rs. 50 and Rs. 20 in the 'model' budgets for comfort and extreme indigence. *Vide Ibid.*, p. 93.

11 The average annual income per cultivator family (consisting of 5·6 persons) was Rs. 230. *Vide Ibid.*, p. 79.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF AN AVERAGE AGRICULTURAL FAMILY

As the district is mainly agricultural, it will be useful as well as interesting to compare the income and expenditure of an average agricultural family in different periods, with a view to ascertaining, as far as possible, the changes, if any, in their material condition. We should hasten to add, however, that the material condition of life is not capable of being fully interpreted in terms of cash income and expenditure. But it will have to be remembered that other things being equal, a higher income or a larger monetary expenditure does indicate an improvement in the standard of living. Among these "other things" price is an important factor; so also is the degree of availability of the common objects of enjoyment, and so on and so forth. Statistics are not available on the second factor. Again, prices of all the commodities sold or purchased by an average family, especially of manufactured goods, are not available covering the region with which we are concerned here. The prices of the main agricultural products in the respective periods are, however, given. But in the absence of further statistical material needed, our comparison of income and expenditure of an average cultivator family over a term of years, must necessarily be imperfect. The following table shows the variation in figures of income and expenditure in different periods :

TABLE VI

Year	Total estimated gross out-put in maunds		Harvest price in Rs. per maund as given in Season & Crop Reports of Bengal		Total probable cash receipts (gross) in Rs.	
	Jute ¹² (Net)	Rice ¹³	Jute	Rice	Jute	Rice
1908	25.6 lakhs	85 lakhs	8.0 ¹⁴	3.5 ¹⁵	205 lakhs	297.5 lakhs (Net)
1928-29	35.1 lakhs	105 lakhs	8.25	6.6	251 lakhs	695.6 lakhs
1933-34	21.7 lakhs	93 lakhs	3.25	3.6	70 lakhs	337.1 lakhs
1942-43	28.7 lakhs	102.5 lakhs	8.8 ¹⁶	4.5 ¹⁷	253 lakhs	461.0 lakhs

From the study of the figures of the table above, it seems surprising that the income in 1928-29 (which substantially means 1928) is shown to have at all fallen in comparison with the income derived in 1908. The difference of incomes shown in columns II and III of table V above seems to be absurd and is impossible to explain. The diminution of income in 1933 and its increase in 1942

TABLE IV
The Income and Expenditure of an Average Cultivator family (in Rupees.)

Head	Jack's survey	Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry ¹⁷		Revised settlement operations ¹⁸
	1908	1928	1933	1940-42
Income	280 ¹⁹	207	105	417
Expenditure	250 ¹⁹	198	118	465
Surplus+ & Deficit—	+30	+9	—13	—48

Reducing the number of members of the family to the uniform figure of 5, we get the above table rewritten as follows :

TABLE V

Income	250	152.2	77.2	260.6
Expenditure	250	145.6	86.8	290.6
Surplus+ & Deficit—	0	+6.6	—9.6	—30.0

From the table above it will be seen that in comparison with 1908, the family income in 1928 and 1933 fell by 39 per cent and 69 per cent respectively, but it rose by 4.2 per cent in 1940-42. With reference to the respective periods in view, the differences in the prices and the total gross output of jute and paddy—the only two important agricultural products of the district, that is, the only two important sources of income for an average cultivator family—are shown in the following table :

are, however, capable of rational explanation and with some degree of approximation.

FAMILY BUDGET OF AN AVERAGE CULTIVATOR FAMILY

The expenditure side of a model family budget of an average cultivator family in the district in two different periods (1908 and 1942) is illustrated in the following table :

12 The average annual income per non-cultivator family was Rs. 293. Vide *Ibid.*, p. 80.

13 The average cultivator family consisted of 5.6 persons, as noted in foot-note 11 above.

14 The average non-cultivator family consisted of 5 persons.

15 The figure of income is for a family of 5.6 persons.

16 The figure indicates a family of 5 persons living 'in comfort' as distinct from a family living 'in indigence', whose annual expenditure has been calculated as Rs. 100. Vide 'Model Budget' in *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* by J. C. Jack, p. 59.

17 The family referred to consists of 6.48 persons. Vide table VII, p. 8, *Bulletin on Faridpur*, 1934.

18 The average family consists of 8 members.

19 Figures are compiled from Jack's *Final Report and Season and Crop Reports of Bengal* of the respective years.

20 Seed requirements of cultivators in the respective current years are ignored. Calculations are made from *Season and Crop Reports of Bengal*.

21 Vide Jack's *Final Report*, p. 35. Paddy priced at Rs. 2.2 is converted into rice at Rs. 3.8 per maund.

22 Figures supplied from District Settlement Office, however, show the prices of jute and rice during the period to have been about Rs. 7 and Rs. 4.2 to Rs. 5 per maund respectively.

TABLE VII

Items of expenditure	Amount spent annually by a family in comfort	Amount spent annually by a family in extreme indigence	Amount spent annually by an average family
	1908 ²³	1908 ²⁴	1942 ²⁴
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Rice	120 0 0	60 0 0	266 0 0
Other articles of food	25 8 0	8 8 0	61 0 0
Kerosene	2 0 0	1 0 0	5 0 0
Tobacco, betelnut, etc.	5 0 0	1 12 0	10 0 0
Clothes, etc.	25 0 0	9 0 0	32 0 0
Utensil & furniture	4 0 0	2 8 0	2 8 0
Petty house-repairs	5 0 0	1 8 0	5 8 0
Erection of new house	8 0 0	3 12 0	5 0 0
Purchase of cattle	8 0 0	1 8 0	5 8 0
Purchase of boat, cart, etc.	1 0 0	—	3 8 0
Rent	25 0 0	4 8 0	5 8 0
Taxes	1 8 0	0 12 0	1 6 0
Domestic festivals, etc.	5 0 0	3 12 0	19 0 0
Wages of household servant	—	—	10 0 0
Purchase of seed, fodder, etc.	—	—	2 8 0
Payment of agricultural wages	—	—	15 0 0
Interest paid on debt	—	—	0 2 0
Education	—	—	9 0 0
Medical treatment	5 0 0	1 8 0	—
Total ²⁵	250 0 0	100 0 0	458 8 0 or 286 9 0 for a family of 5 members

From table V it will be noticed that (except in 1928) the budget of the average cultivator family is always without any favourable balance, the scale weighing mostly on the side of deficit. To keep a family of 8 members (or 6·5 adults), as represented by column 4 of table VII barely physically fit, the quality of rice needed per annum would alone be about 5 maunds on the basis of daily subsistence as laid down by the Famine Commission, viz., an average of three-fourth seer per head per day. This is roughly about

23 Vide *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 59, by Jack. The reference is to the 'model' family budget prepared out of 2000 representative family budgets of cultivator families collected by Jack. The family consisted of 5 persons.

24 The average family consisted of roughly 8 members. The budget is the model arrived at out of enquiries made into nearly 3000 agricultural families of the district in connection with the Revised settlement and survey operations in the district during 1940-42.

25 It has been claimed that the statistics of col. IV have been prepared on the basis of normal pre-war prices. The prices of some of the main agricultural products in the district in terms of the said "normal pre-war prices" are given in the following table side by side with their prices per maund in 1908 :

	1908	1942
Paddy	Rs. 2-8	Rs. 4-3 to 5-4 or Rs. 2-11 (mean)
Jute	Rs. 8	Rs. 5-13 to 7-15 or Rs. 6-14 (mean)
Cereals	?	Rs. 5-6 to 6-8 or Rs. 3-15 (mean)

what the family of the said size actually consumes as will be seen from the expenditure of Rs. 266 under head, rice, at the prevailing price of about Rs. 4-10 per maund. Having only 3·7 acres of land²⁶, the family cannot apparently grow even its own requirements of rice. Salt, oil, kerosene, spices and clothes have to be purchased even if it be assumed that the family has always its own milk, fish and vegetables. Rent and taxes have to be paid ; and cost of social ceremonies, medicines, erection and repair of houses, litigation, interest on debt, etc., has to be met. Had it not been for the fact that most families derive some additional income from subsidiary sources like the sale of surplus milk, fish, vegetables and poultry, sale of live-stock, wages earned by rendering agricultural labour, plying boat or carts or ploughs on hire, small-scale trading in paddy, jute and sundry, other agricultural crops, and the sale of products of cottage industries like mat-weaving, pottery, bamboo work, etc., living condition would certainly have been worse and the extent of indebtedness much greater.

FAMILY DEBTS

Jack mentions that in the district of Faridpur, indebtedness is a "most important factor" affecting the prosperity of the cultivator²⁷. The total amount of borrowing, as it stood in 1908, was Rs. 14,359,494 or 23 per cent of the net earnings of the agricultural classes. The debt per average family in the district in 1908 was as follows :

TABLE VIII

	Debt per average family of—		
Year	All classes	Agricultural classes	Non-agri-cultural classes
1908	Rs. 59 ²⁸	Rs. 121 ²⁹	Rs. 258

The debt position has varied in different periods and the direct money burden of the debt has continued to increase from period to period, as is shown in the following table :

TABLE IX

	1908	1927 ³⁰	1923 ³¹	1933 ³²	1944 ³³
Debt per average family	59 ²⁸	135	146	217	..
Debt per average indebted family	121 ²⁹	214	..	262	290

26 According to the economic enquiries made during Revised Settlement Operations of the district (1940-42), the size of holdings of an average agricultural family was 3·7 acres.

27 Vide Jack's *Final Report*, pp. 36-38.

28 Vide Jack : *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 99. The reference is to the average of all families, not debted and indebted.

29 Vide *Ibid*, p. 98. The reference is to an average indebted agricultural family.

30 Vide Paragraph VII of the Notes on an Economic Survey of the Talma village, 1927, by L. B. Burrow, the then District Officer of Faridpur in his *Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Report (Evidence)*, Vol. IV, p. 489.

31 Vide Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry Bulletin on Faridpur, p. 8.

32 Vide *Ibid*, p. 4.

33 Author's Sample Survey of 592 families in the district.

THE POETRY OF W. B. YEATS

By N. N. BANERJI, M.A.

As the 19th century draws its close with the pale converging streams of decadent and semi-decadent poetry and prose in the higher spheres of creative activity, and the cultivation of the "style" for its own sake with Wilde, Ernest Dowson, George Moore and Arthur Symonds and in the lower sphere, the doctrine of action and mystical imperialism rattled forth in the schoolboy jingoism of Rudyard Kipling, W. B. Yeats towers above all others as the greatest poet of his age. Yeats was unique in his generation in deliberately rejecting the scientific approach and the stoical scepticism which it fostered. The Irish Literary Revival coincided with the growth of the Irish Nationalist Movement, although Yeats himself turned away in scorn from the conflicts and passions of his time to the dim twilight lands of Celtic folklore, to theosophy, astrology and crystal-gazing. In his early youth he was deprived of his religion by his father. He substituted this by a mixture of Celtic legend, Hindu philosophy and sheer superstition which stood him well.

His early verse drew largely upon Irish myth and folklore as upon the verse and the theory of the French Symbolists. It is peopled with supernatural figures out of Celtic legends and with images of fantastic creatures, like the boar without bristles signifying winter and death, and the hound with one ear who pursues the deer with no horns signifying sexual desire. His verse took flame from the intellectual fire of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, but Yeats was too wise to lapse as Shelley sometimes did into flat allegory. His study of the symbolic books of Blake and of the philosophy of the Hindu mystics helped to nourish in other ways his faith in the miracle-working image, the living invigorating symbol which the poet takes from his people and from the genius of his native place. Many of his later poems express a philosophy which developed out of the doctrine of the Oriental sages. The symbols here differ from those of the early lyrics: the sun and the changing moon, the hawk's blind logic and butterfly that is the soul, the gyre and the tower, replace the rose and the graves and the Druid imagery. These are difficult poems for one unprepared to accept Yeats's archaic system, with its Zodiacal signs and the Byzantine remoteness. But they are instinct with a vitality which saves them from dry abstraction, and they are rich with a wisdom found nowhere else, unless it be in Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. The thoughts which fill them are thoughts of Blake:

Energy is eternal Delight

The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom

Improvement makes strait roads; but crooked

roads

Without improvement are roads of genius,

One law for the Lion and the Ox is oppression.

A dreamer and a visionary, he has confessed that he does not always understand his own imaginings, nor always interpret them in the same way. If the poet is puzzled about the meaning of the poem, it is

not surprising that his reader should be so, when like Yeats he deals with medieval magic and Indian philosophy. He gives emotional credence to ideas which his reason rejects. Hostile to reason, though marked by nimble wit and an acute intelligence Yeats's genius cannot interpret this age to itself. But the very body of myth and symbol which has stood like a cloud between him and his more tough-minded contemporaries has lifted his poetry to a height to which burdened by brute fact and confused by the disorders of the moment they could not climb.

He has drawn sustenance from a native tradition which satisfied his ineradicable mysticism, and from a native landscape which has offered to his more active imagination the equivalent of what the Lake landscape offered to Wordsworth.

The mystic has been defined as one who believes in the spiritual apprehension of truths beyond the understanding whereas the metaphysical poet blends the sensuous with the mystic charging his creations with warmth and pictorial quality. If he is a mystic, as is not seldom the case, his work is the very utterance of the intellectual love of God. If not, it still expresses an intellectual love, but this time a love of all that makes man lament his mortality. Both notes are sounded in the poetry of Yeats.

His poetry is great because, to employ a distinction as valuable as it is venerable, it is the product not of Fancy, but of Imagination. Hardy is an imaginative poet but in Yeats the modifying, unifying energy is more powerful, ranges more easily back and forth between the physical and the ideal world. One finds it in his early love lyrics, overwrought though they are with elaborate symbol and dim with cloudy metaphor. One finds it more clearly at work after the poet tired of the rich romantic colouring which he had first used, began deliberately as he tells us, to remodel his style trying to make verse that should be

as cold

And passionate as the dawn.

The poem called *The Fisherman*, in which he describes his altered mood in the changed manner, is a consummate example of that coldness, as of a bare stone, and of that passion, as of a lighted sky. Much of his poetry of his middle and old age is thus cold and passionate, a conjunction of attributes which is incredible until one examines the work in which they exist together. The union of opposites is what makes Yeats a metaphysical poet, in the sense that Donne is such. He has not Donne's curiosity about current ideas. He has Donne's energy and his wit, his intensity and his self-awareness. He is like him, too, in having yoked together two parts of a personality which almost seem two selves: the mystical and the practical, the attentive Platonist and the active patriot. For if the wealth of Celtic mythology and Irish folklore consoled Yeats for the barrenness and the sordidness of modern

urban life, he recognized early that his dream of a free and united Ireland would bear no fruits unless it were manured by practical politics.

He has been a scrupulous craftsman and that is a great advantage with him, whether he is turning a savage epigram, whispering a love song, naming over to himself friends and enemies among political martyrs or dreaming a waking dream in a haunted tower, he writes a poem utterly self-contained. He is neither a sentimentalist nor a rhetorician, so that even when one

cannot accept his vision of reality one is persuaded into a willing suspension of disbelief by the force of his art. His claim to greatness lies both in the vigour and integrity of his personality and the high skill with which he expresses his response to life. But it is something beyond these—a combination of energy and vision and technical competence that allows him to ply unhampered between the two worlds denoted by Santayana as the realm of matter and the realm of essence.

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THE KEW GARDENS Foundation of Rubber Industry

By PHYLLIS LOVELL

With wide, gracious lawns set with a vista of tall trees, and the most lovely profusion of bed, border and rookery, flower nearly all the year round, the "Wonder Garden of the British Empire" lies a few miles out of

285 acres of woods and lawns. They sit on the grass perhaps beneath a tree that came as a tiny seedling, from China or Asia, but which has now become inured to Britain's climate. They learn the names of flowers



The east end of the main museum, built in 1857, was borne by the India Office.

London, on the River Thames. Officially it is named the Royal Botanic Gardens, but Londoners call it simply "Kew Gardens."

Kew Gardens, a few miles away from London, is dear and familiar to the British. They take their children to spend happy days wandering through the

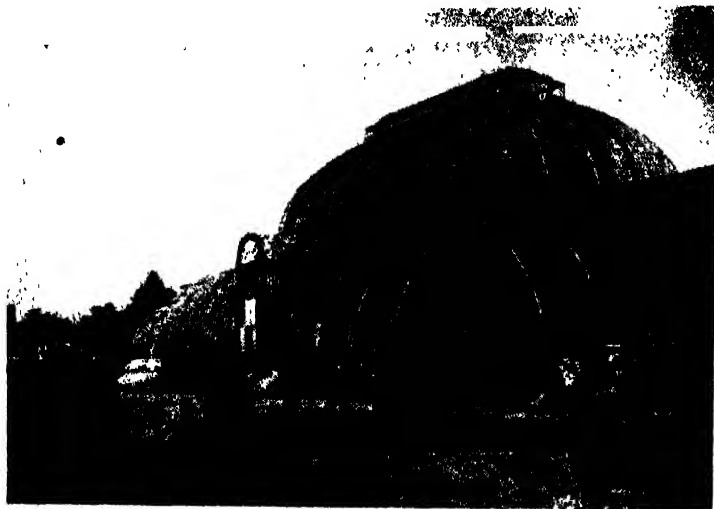


Exhibits in one of Kew's museums show economic uses of various kinds of fibres, leaves and yarns.

they hope to grow in their own gardens, and marvel over the exotic blooms and perfumes in the great hothouses.

To Kew Gardens comes also the student. Four museums set in the grounds show the many domestic

and industrial activities which result from the study of botany. Huge logs of beautifully grained wood from every continent are arranged side by side with a finished article—a screen, a table—even pictures fashioned by the skilful use of different shades and colours of woods.



Pah. H at Kew, with the rose-garden in the foreground

Scientific research developed during World War II is featured there. A potato is surrounded by dozens of test tubes, each containing a different product made from the vegetable, from the simple dehydrated version for kitchen use, to industrial alcohol. And one showcase, the glass always smeared by the rubbing of small hands and noses, contains coconuts—now no longer imported into Britain—and the various processes which lead to the making of enticing sweetmeats.

Much scientific research has been carried out at Kew Gardens. It was as a result of the work done there that bread-fruit and quinine were introduced generally to the British Empire. The same experts cheapened the production of tea, making it a popular drink instead of a luxury, and developed the cultivation of cocoa, cloves, bananas, camphor and sisal hemp.

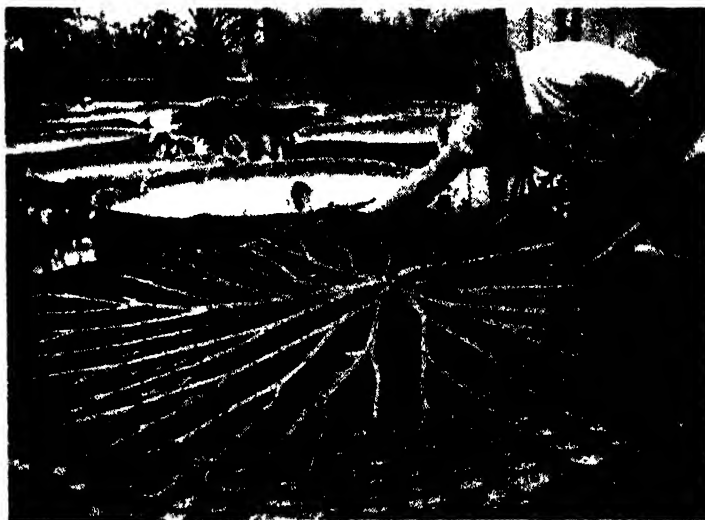
But perhaps the most historic and far-reaching enterprise in the history of the Royal Botanic Gardens was a dash half across the world which led to the foundation of the modern rubber industry.

Para-rubber trees grew in South America, but production was small and prices high. It was seen that the climates of Ceylon and of Malaya were ideal for the development of rubber. It was in the 1870's

and difficulty was to get the plants from one side of the world to the other at a time when transport was slow and cumbersome. The seeds of the Para-rubber tree lose their vitality in seven weeks, and, if planted after that, will not grow.

Henry Wickham, one of Kew Gardens' experts at that date, went out to South America, collected 70,000 of these seeds and began his famous journey back to England. It was a journey full of adventure and of mishap, but he arrived just in time. The glass-houses in the Gardens were stripped of their other plants and flowers, and the whole staff were set to the task of sowing the precious seeds. Two weeks later 1,700 rubber plants were growing at Kew. It was from these plants, sent out to Ceylon and Malaya in 1873, that has developed the industry which has since provided huge quantities of cheap rubber for the world.

Today, Kew Gardens still plays a part in Britain's industrial and economic life. When Japan over-ran the main rubber-growing areas in the Far East and the Allies



The most popular exhibit in the tropical department is *Victoria Regia*, the giant water lily from Guiana

were confronted with an acute shortage, it was to Kew Gardens officials that Britain's experts turned for help. Vitally important work has been done there, where the great industry was first initiated, in finding alternative supplies and substitutes for rubber.

Valuable work has been done also in producing drugs from British flowers and plants and in developing home-grown foodstuffs for cattle and poultry. Before World War II these commodities were all imported from abroad, and the research done in this

direction has been of tremendous help in saving much needed shipping space.

It was the Kew Gardens experts who discovered the important health-giving Vitamin C in the hips (or berries) of rose bushes, when shipping could not be spared to bring to Britain's shores the oranges the British used to eat all the year round. Now their children have regular supplies of a pleasant, sweet rose-hip syrup. The home production of vegetables has been increased by fine strains of seeds developed at Kew Gardens. And from the common stinging-nettle, a weed found everywhere in Britain, a high-class paper, particularly useful in the construction of electrical equipment, has been developed, while its leaves have

been made to yield a much-needed pigment, supplies of which formerly were always imported.

For a long time Kew Gardens has been the training centre for students who become botanists and skilled, specialist gardeners. After their training many of them work in other countries, and spread the knowledge they gained in this pleasant garden by the River Thames.

But for the people of Britain Kew Gardens means primarily that it is a centre of gentle beauty, where parents sit among the trees and flowers they love and let their children wander freely across the grass. A place of escape and peace, apart from the hurry of life in the metropolis.

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THE SHRINE OF SRI VITHOBA AT PANDHARPUR

By M B S. RAO

THE 'fast unto death' undertaken by Sri Sane Guruji is an epoch-making event in the history of the Harijans of Maharashtra, which in its wake has brought the famous shrine of Sri Vithoba at Pandharpur into limelight. Starting his career as a teacher on obtaining his M.A. degree, Sane Guruji was for many years known for his versatile Marathi writings advocating the uplift of the masses. Since 1930, he has been an

Sri Vithoba and Rukhmai whose images are installed therein. Sane Guruji made a tour round Maharashtra to rouse the conscience of the upper-class Hindu society and to persuade the Badves or temple authorities to throw open the doors of this shrine to the Harijans. In November last year, he was about to start a hunger-strike to achieve this purpose, but was pre-
vailed upon by his followers to postpone the ordeal

for six months. Failing, however, to see any change of heart in the Badves even after six months, Sane Guruji started on the morning of the first of May his epic 'fast unto death' before the temple of Vithoba. His unshakable resolve and the certainty of his death if the fast was prolonged at last induced the Badves to announce publicly their readiness to throw the temple open to the Harijans. They made a declaration to this effect on the 10th of May before the District Court under the Temple Entry Act of 1938, and on the night of this memorable day at eight o'clock Sane Guruji ended his great fast to the immense relief and joy of Harijans and other suppressed classes of Maharashtra.



On the banks of the River Chandrabhag

important figure as a Congress Socialist worker and has undergone incarceration more than once. After his release in 1945, he devoted himself to the service of the Untouchables and other down-trodden classes of the province.

The shrine of Pandharpur is the holy of holies to the masses of Maharashtra, and a galaxy of poet-saints have sung the glories and praises of the divine couple

lying in the Southern Maharatta country on the bank of the Chandrabhaga River in the Sholapur district of the Bombay Presidency, Pandharpur is situated 33 miles from Kurdwadi on the Bombay-Madras line of the M. & S. M. Railway and is easily reached by the Barsi Light Railway.

Pilgrims flock to this place on the *Ekdashi* days of the months of Ashad and Kartik to pay their

homage to the deities of Sri Vithoba and Rukmini. Sri Vithoba is an incarnation of the God Vishnu, one of the trinity Gods of Hindu Mythology. And there is a legend behind it which is interesting. The worship of Sri Vithoba started during the 14th century and originated with the Saint Pundalik. This saint was in his early days a rebellious youth who neglected his duty towards his old parents. But later in life, coming into contact with a great sage he took to the service of his old parents as the noblest act to attain salvation or *moksha* in life. So taking his parents in a *kavadi** he went on a round of pilgrimage to all the holy places of India. The story runs that once whilst Pundalik was busy bathing in the Chandrabhaga River, the God Vishnu pleased with his parental devotion paid him a visit. Being busy attending to his parents Pundalik

many days ahead they start in batches called *Varis* led by a *Bhuva* or Holy Man; and travelling by day and resting by night in the villages on the wayside they reach this holy place. Whilst trudging this long distance they pray and sing *Bhajans* to the accompaniment of cymbals and dancing and lessen the weariness of their journey.

The *Yatras* last for five days each time. And on these days of fasting and prayers all the rest-houses (or Dharmashalas) and shady spots on the banks of the river and nearby fields are occupied by the pilgrims. And on the *Ekadashi* day the pilgrims observe complete fasting with the name of the deity of Sri Vithoba on their lips. From dawn to dusk on this great day of fasting and prayers all the paths to the Chandrabhaga River and the shrine of Vithoba are crowded to their full. And as they meet at various crossings the great crowd swells and a din of noise is created due to the beating of the drums, blowing of trumpets, ringing of cymbals accompanied with songs and cries of "Jai, Jai Vittal" to which the pilgrims dance in emotion. And all along the paths are picturesque old buildings where the local residents and their pilgrim guests wait, occupying all places of vantage to watch and pray as the batches or *Varis* pass bearing palanquins of the images of Vithoba's feet singing *Bhajan* songs as they dance to the ringing of cymbals.

Taking their purifying baths at the river the pilgrims pay their homage to the river-god by

throwing their offerings of coconuts and coins in the river-bed and performing certain rites. After this they visit the shrine of Sri Vithoba to worship Him. Entering the inner precincts of the temple is a great problem on the days of *Yatras*. For, you will have to wait in two queues, one being for men and the other for women. And when your turn comes you are escorted by the controlling police into the temple. Offering your *dakshina* or cash offerings to the *Badve* or priest you garland the image of Sri Vithoba and fall at His feet and pay your homage to this deity, thus finishing the great purpose of your visit.

The pilgrims during the five days of the *Yatra* spend their time in meditation, in singing *Bhajans* and in hearing *Kirtans* of the lives of the past devotees of Sri Vithoba amongst whom are a galaxy of noble saints and educationists. They also visit the various memorials raised to the noted devotees of the Great Deity, whose fame has been in existence since the 14th century. These memorials are found scattered around Pandharpur and are preserved in safety to the very present times. The pilgrims after



A palanquin Bhajan party

threw a brick to the divine guest asking him to wait till he finished his duties to his old parents. And when he came to worship Him, Vishnu blessed him. And it is the belief from that time that Sri Vishnu is standing there and blesses his devotees on every *Ekadashi* day. From that time he is known as Vithoba, as *Vit* in Marathi means brick and Vithoba means 'one standing on a *Vit* or brick.'

On the *Ashad Ekadashi* day (June-July) the God Vithoba is said to retire with Rukmini to take a long period of rest and to return on the *Kartik Ekadashi* day (Nov.-Dec.). And these two days of *Ekadashi* are considered as the most auspicious ones when, Vithoba responds fully to the prayers of his devotees and offers them his greatest blessings. So on these two days *Yatras* are held at Pandharpur. Many days before this *Yatra*, pilgrims arrive at Pandharpur by bullock-carts, buses and special trains from nearby villages and far-off places in India. Some believe that greatest benefit is derived by travelling to this shrine on foot. So,

* Two baskets hung on either ends of a pole and carried on the shoulders.

this, break their fasts on the *Dwadashi* day that follows the holy day of *Ekadashi*. And taking a sumptuous meal which is the *prasad* (food offering) of the God Vithoba they disburse to their homes.

Now amongst the various sages that have been famous for their devotion to Sri Vithoba are many whose careers are of importance for their spiritual thoughts and philosophic insight. Of whom mention may be made of Sri Chokamela, Namdev and Tukaram. In the beginning of the 14th century there lived at Anagod near Pandharpur a pious couple Mukta Bai and Sudama belonging to the *Mhar* or untouchable community. They were noted for their piety, and being the owners of nearly half the cultivable land in this village, were considered to lead a happy life. But one sorrow troubled them very much and that

verses translated from Marathi by a writer which run thus :

"The sun, though parted by unnumbered miles.
Still on the lotus sheds his radiant smiles ;
The moon, though high and higher still she soar,
Spurns not the passion of the fond chiker.
So too, High Heaven's Lord may yet incline
Hope of the helplest, to this prayer of mine
From far the mother runs her young to save,
From far He sees and shrinks not from the slave."

These few lines which were the few available ones published, can be easily made out and are as melodious as any other poems in Marathi. But in spite of his greatness as a saint, Chokamela's death was a tragic one. Having been ordered by the governor of Bedar to build a wall around the town of Mangalvedi, Chokamela asked to help his *Mhar* mates.

Whilst the wall was being constructed a part of it fell down and crushed under it the labourers of whom Chokamela was one. For long the bones of these unfortunate ones were not traced amidst the debris of the fallen wall. But when Namdev, the tailor saint and devotee of Sri Vithoba, was inspired by a message from God, he went and removed the bones of Chokamela from the ruins and took them to Pandharpur, where, till today they are found preserved in honour within a structure constructed over them and worshipped by the untouchables.

Many of our readers may have seen the great and famous film *Tukaram* depicting the spiritual career of the great sage of Dehu who is a devoted worshipper of Sri Vithoba of Pandharpur. This sage was noted as a great poet whose *abhangs* are to this very day sung throughout Maharashtra and are noted for their spiritual thoughts on the divine incarnation of Vishnu and his devotees. Bred amidst poverty and bereavement his life was a great struggle for attaining superhuman heights in this very life and he did achieve this great aim. Of him Prof. Banade says :

"There is a sort of Hegelian dialectic (Hegel's idealism of logical argument) in Tukaram's soul. In the first stage of his career, he seems to have resolved to withdraw himself from the life of the world with a determined effort to win spiritual knowledge. This is the stage of positive affirmation. Then comes the stage of negation, the dark night of Tukaram's soul, a stage when Tukaram was warring with his own self. Finally, there is the stage of new affirmation, namely, the cancellation of the original determination and the middle negation into a final vision of godhead which supercedes both."

Beginning his career as an orphan and his elder brother being irresponsible the burden of the whole



Pilgrims cooking a sumptuous meal on the *Dwadashi* day

was that they had no issue in spite of their visit to the shrine of Sri Vithoba many times. And it is stated that once whilst Mukta Bai was conveying mangoes from their land to be offered to the Governor of Bedar, an old Brahmin accosted her and asked her to give him five mangoes as he was dying of hunger. At first the honest Mukta Bai disagreed, but when the old man said he would die at her feet if not fed, she offered him five mangoes. Taking these mangoes the old man blessed Mukta Bai with five children and disappeared. Some months after, a son was born to this pious couple who was Chokamela the Sage noted for his poetic wisdom and saintly life.

Having been brought up under the tutelage of pious parents Chokamela led a saintly life and went to Pandharpur to offer his worship to Sri Vithoba. But being an untouchable he was not allowed to enter the temple. And some of the orthodox devotees began to scoff at him, so relates Mahipati, a verse-writer of those times. But not heeding to this criticism the wise and saintly Chokamela replied as quoted in a few

family fell on Tukaram's shoulders. In the famine that raged in this part of the country he lost his son and wife. And he was married later to a girl from Poona who was a veritable shrew. Besides this, out of envy of Tukaram's fame the *Patel* or Head of the village and a Brahmin, Ramashastry by name, conspired to drive him out of the village and to throw his manuscript verses in the river. Embittered at this Tukaram sat meditating on the bank of the river for fourteen

days, on the last day of which the manuscripts came to him floating from the bed of the river. After this miracle he was honoured as a great saint, and those who had scoffed at him till then began to pray and became his disciples. After his death a tomb-like structure was built in front of the temple of Sri Vithoba in the inner side of which is a bust of the Poet Saint wearing the old type of Mahratta turban (*pugri*) still seen at Dehu, a village about 20 miles from Poona.

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U. S. NURSERY SCHOOLS

The nursery school has won for itself a permanent place in the educational system of the United States.

children experience during their early years strongly affects their value to themselves and to society."

Relating this concept to the necessary disciplines of a democratic culture, the National Education Association, in a pamphlet issued recently, says: "The initiation, growth, and development of democratic disciplines constitute an essential part of education." Such ideas as respect for others, co-operative effort, appreciation of deferred values, fair play, rational thinking, self-reliance, individual freedom and responsibility require continuous education, not waiting upon the compulsory school age of six years.

There are probably more than fourteen million children under six years of age in the United States, of whom at least half are in rural areas. Varying in national, racial, religious, economic and cultural backgrounds, they require educa-



A physical check-up on arrival each morning sets the mother's mind at rest about the health of her child

Education for children of three to five years of age is now regarded in the United States as the coming responsibility of the public education system. Recent policy statements issued by the United States Office of Education and by the National Education Association review wartime extension of educational services to young children and recommend a post-war program which will increase community responsibility in this area.

While important legislative, financial and organizational problems will require solution, the goal has been clearly set and the road charted which will ultimately bring increased protection and better educational development to the youngest citizens of the nation.

The social philosophy underlying the practice of extending educational services to children of three and



A post-luncheon nap in the sun for an hour or two is scheduled for the children

four includes the now familiar idea that "what present serves the important function of "child



The girls prefer dolls but the boys like to handle mechanics! toys



The nursery schools do not teach reading, writing and arithmetic, but the children are supplied with picture-books



The children are encouraged to learn painting which is one of the best forms of self-expression



The children are taught like grown-up band-players to play in the nursery school rhythm band

accounting"—that is, gathering and recording the basic data for each child in the community. Some schools do more than supply factual items about the community's children and plan for their entry into school; they have become a co-ordinating agency for community programs of child care.



There is a "Jungle Gym" or some similar play equipment outdoors for fine weather and indoors for rainy days at most U. S. nursery schools

In New York City, the Bank Street School, one of the earliest of this type of center in America, was started many years before the war by Harriet Johnson. Teachers' College, a part of Columbia University, has an excellent nursery school, and Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, conducts a model one in connection with its department of Home Economics.

Some schools also have been bringing together children of two to six years of age for the purpose of supervised play. These children assemble in groups at regular intervals once, twice, or three times a week under the guidance of a qualified nursery school teacher.

The public nursery school, serving primarily three and four-year-olds is the most significant development of recent years in helping to insure good medical, physical and nutritional care for young children as well as in providing a good environment for work, play and adventure. Work with and through the home and providing parent education as an integral part of the program, the nursery school has experienced an accelerated development during the war years as a means of meeting problems of child care intensified by the employment of mothers outside the home and the absence of fathers in the armed forces.

The children in the nursery school are divided into age groups and are taken outdoors alternatively on this basis. For example, the older children go out after the morning physical examination while younger ones do modelling, painting, music and so forth. They go out to play while the elder ones work on some project.

At 10 o'clock, crackers and milk are served at tables. In the latter part of the morning, there is a part of restful activity, such as singing or story-telling until it is time for the children to get ready for lunch. Lunch is a hearty meal consisting of meat, two vegetables, salad, dessert and plenty of milk. Around 1 o'clock the children are ready to rest and sleep on little canvas cots. They sleep for an hour or two, depending on their ages. They are served fruit juice and cookies before going on a "project tour" or walk to places of interest, such as those which have been subjects in their school projects.

On their return, each child does whatever activity he has personally selected. This is followed by supper 4-30 o'clock or a substantial "snack" although the child usually gets a meal at home before going to bed. Walks and outdoor play depend on the weather. The "Jungle Gym," a ladderlike affair on which young ones imitate circus animals, is in the yard and also indoors, so that it can be used in good or in bad weather. Even the tiny tots climb all over this apparatus under close supervision.

Almost no effort is made to start a child on his formal education. At some of the schools, however, there are jigsaw puzzles in which simple words are part of the picture. The same thing is also done with numerals and elementary addition. If a child has learned to read at home, he is encouraged to continue at the nursery school.—*USIS*.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for October, 1947, "The Problem of Water Fertility in Fish Culture": Page 312, column 2, paragraph 5, line 4: for "Rohu and Katla" read "Sole and Chitol." Then the line will read, ". . . such as Sole and Chitol feed on . . ."

MOTORWAYS FOR BRITAIN

By **SIR WILLIAM ROOTES, K.B.E.**

BRITAIN'S roads are but the development through the centuries of the old Roman roads, the medieval pilgrims' tracks and the coaching highways of bygone days. Through the centuries they have been relaid countless times, but their path has rarely been deflected from that which they followed in the earliest days.

It was G. K. Chesterton who wrote that it was "the rolling English drunkard who made the rolling English road." This has raised a serious problem which the British Road Federation is planning to solve. Britain's highways today, despite their excellence, are quite inadequate to carry Britain's ever-increasing industrial and passenger traffic, and the British Road Federation has already produced a plan, formulated by Britain's leading traffic experts, surveyors and landscape architects, which is designed to give Britain a new system of trunk roads, capable of meeting these growing demands.

That such a plan is essential to the well-being of Britain was foreseen no fewer than 46 years ago by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Arthur Balfour, who on May 11, 1900, spoke the following words in the House of Commons :

"I sometimes dream that, in addition to railways and tramways, we shall see great highways constructed for rapid motor transport and confined to motor traffic, which will have the immense advantage of taking the workmen from door to door, which no tramcar and no railway can do."

That Mr. Balfour should have foreseen the pressing need for an orderly road-building plan for Britain at a time when motorists were still considered daring pioneers and crazy inventors, only accentuates the greater need for that plan today, for in the 46 years that have elapsed little provision for this growth of motor traffic has been made.

This plan was originally put forward in 1938, and was sponsored by the County Surveyors Society. By its development by the British Road Federation it provides for the construction of seven new motor roads, five leading direct from London. Thus, by this plan, the capital will be linked direct by major trunk roads, which will by-pass all large towns, with Newcastle, Carlisle, South Wales, Southampton and Portsmouth, all of which are large industrial areas or sea ports.

The plan also includes the construction of three new motor roads connecting Manchester with Hull, Glasgow with Darlington, and Bristol with Sheffield. Although this only means the construction of 1,000 miles of new roads, it will bring about an immediate speeding up of motor traffic between these important centres, and greatly facilitate transport of manufactured goods from the factory to the ports.

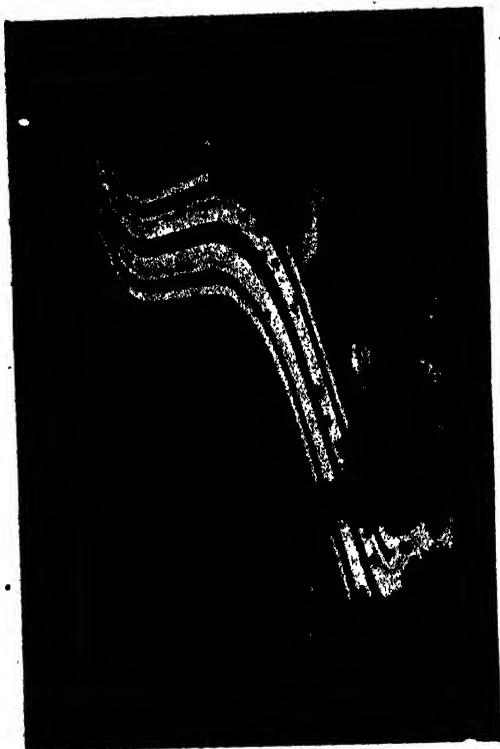
This plan, although seemingly on such a small scale, will greatly benefit producers, distributors and the consuming public, both in Britain and abroad. It will stimulate trade by facilitating faster transport; it will reduce the cost of food, essential commodities and manufactured articles by a considerable reduction in transport costs. This is proved by one fact alone, that the transport delays in the London area alone cost well over £20,000,000 a year in pre-war years.

The plan will also relieve congestion on local and other roads, and be greatly instrumental in preventing accidents which are caused by trunk roads passing through villages and towns, and by the mingling of fast and slow traffic.

That is the practical side of the plan, but it does not ignore artistic demands. Too often in the past, both in Britain and abroad, new roads have been pushed across the country without any regard for its natural beauty and scenery. The whole world has known the evils of ribbon development and the ugliness which it brings in its wake. Our plan is for the roads to conform with the landscape. They will follow the courses of streams and rivers where practicable. They will skirt the hills, following the natural folds of the land. The plan insists on the beauty of the British countryside being preserved by preserving historic towns and picturesque old villages.

The cost will be immense, but quite justifiable, for it will bring benefits to all. These major trunk roads which we have designed will be 100 feet wide throughout, and will consist of two 30 feet carriage-ways divided by a laid-out grass centre strip planted with flowering trees and shrubs. At intersections where a considerable amount of the present transport delays are caused, the crossings will be effected by clover-leaf junctions, such as are already in use in America, but not yet introduced in Britain.

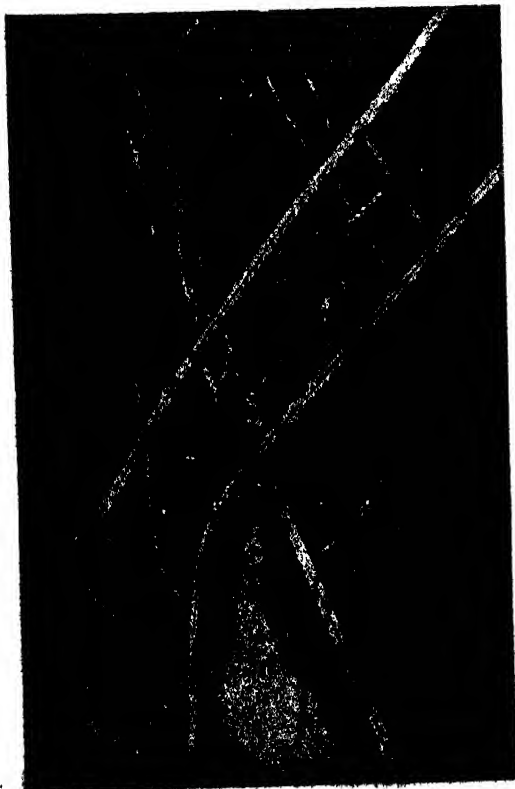




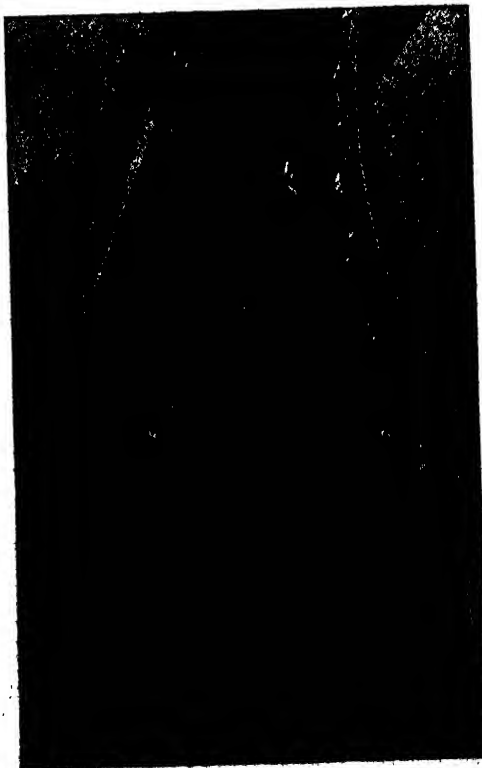
A typical road which the British Road Federation's plan intends to construct throughout Britain



The picture shows how the roads proposed by the British Road Federation's plan will follow the contours of the land, thus preventing any disfiguration of the countryside



This plan shows three of the major motor roads which it is proposed to construct in Britain



This picture shows the very thing which the B. R. F.'s plan intends to stop—a pre-war traffic jam on a major road through the country

BELWA WHERE THE RAMPARTS OF BHIM CONVERGE

By MONORANJON GUPTA, B.Sc.

In the July, 1947, issue of *The Modern Review* I have given a short description of the village Belwa where the two Copper Plates of Mahipala I and Bigrhapala III have been discovered. A study of the plates has brought out several interesting points for research. One of the most prominent points is the importance of Belwa itself.

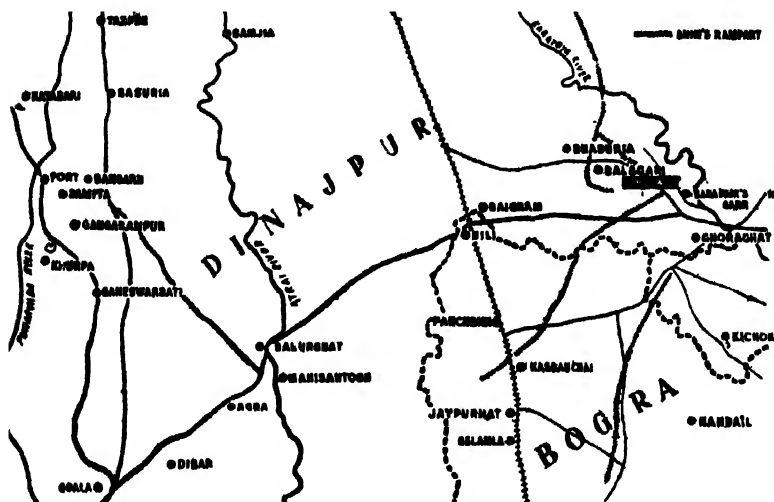
age that have already been found in this part of the country.

(c) A chain of 22 villages the names of which all end in *gari* exists surrounding the village of Belwa.

The above-mentioned points (a), (b) and (c) are clarified in the following lines :

(i) A map of the ramparts (locally known as Jangals) which now exist as low earthen embankments is given herewith. It raises the question : 'What was the importance of Belwa so that it was given such extra protection?'

(ii) According to the map, Bangarh (a copper-plate of Mahipala was found in this village), Dibardighi (Dibyak's pillar is found in this lake), Mahisantosh (many old relics are found in this village), Agra (a mound preserved by the Archaeological Department) and Belamla (Chandi, Surja and Basudeva images discovered in this village are preserved in the Varendra Research Society's museum). are situated in the west of the E. B. Rly. line. They have all been discussed before by several workers.

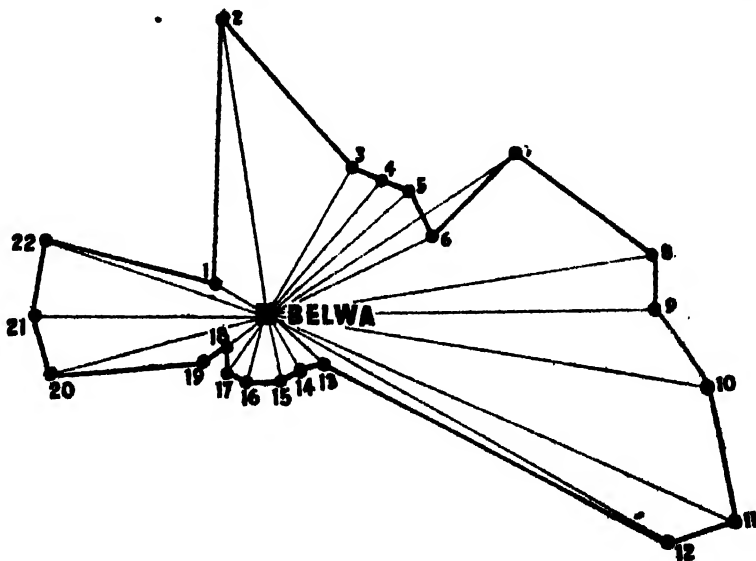


Belwa is not only the abode of Jayananda Devasarman, the recipient of the gifts from Vigrhapala III, but it appears to be the village still containing lakes and temples gifted by Mahipala I. Mahipala's plate also mentions an allowance* of land for the Kaibarta tribe. This tribe later (about 100 years after), during the reign of Mahipala II, drove the Pal Dynasty out of Bengal under the leadership of Dibyak, a Kaibarta chief of North Bengal. Dibyak was succeeded by his nephew Bhim, and Bhim's ramparts are still to be found in the districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Rajshahi.

When searching for the peculiarities of Belwa, we have come across the following facts :

(a) Several ramparts of Bhim converge in the neighbourhood of Belwa.

(b) It is link in the chain of the old relics of that



DISTANCES FROM BELWA

1. Kanagari—1 mile, 2. Balagari—5 miles, 3. Binnagari—3 miles, 4. Jigagari—3 miles, 5. Saudgari—3 miles, 6. Kasigari—3 miles, 7. Singhigari—5 miles, 8. Nikatgari—7 miles, 9. Kishoregari—7 miles, 10. Chopagari—8 miles, 11. Hijolgar—9 miles, 12. Jorgari—8 miles, 13. Puagari—1 mile, 14. Dhananjoygari—1 mile, 15. Palogari—1 mile, 16. Solgari—1 mile, 17. Nedaigari—1 mile, 18. Pachagari—1 mile, 19. Kuchilagari—1 mile, 20. Bhutgari—4 miles, 21. Deuagari—4 miles, 22. Amla gari—4 miles.

Villages east of the railway line, namely, Baigram (a copper plate and Shiva temple have been unearthed at this place), Kasbauchai (a very big Buddha metal image and 'Sree' metal image have been found here) and Ghoraghat (once a fortress of Hindu kings but subsequently taken over by Gazi Ismail and a city was built there) have also attracted attention. Belwa is a village situated between Baigram and Ghoraghat.

(iii) A plan of the village Belwa with 22 villages, names of which all end with *gari* is given. The distances of these villages from Belwa are from one mile to nine miles. This appears to be peculiar. But what is the reason? What is the meaning of *gari*? Is it a derivative of *garh* (fort)?

The old bed of the river Karotoya is very near and the *Jayaskandhabar* from which Mahipala I made a gift of this Belwa copper-plate is named Sahasaganda, situated near a big river.* Where was this Sahasaganda? Its name did not occur in any of the other plates, etc., of the Pala kings. It may be near Belwa or far from Belwa. But what is the probability? It would have been convenient for the recipient were it near Belwa. The Pala kings had made their gifts already from the following places, according to the plates, etc., discovered.

<i>Jayaskandhabar</i> near	Description of plates, etc.	Gift from kings
Pataliputra	Khalimpur	Dharmapala
Mudgagiri	Monghyr	Devapala
Mudgagiri	Bhagalpur	Narayanpala
Bataparbatika	Jazipur	Gopal II
Bilaspur	Bangarh	Mahipala I
Sahasaganda	Belwa	Mahipala I
Mudgagiri	Amgachi	Vigrahapala III
Bilaspur	Belwa	-do-
Rambatinagar	Manahali	Madanpala

The above-mentioned sites of *Jayaskandhabar* are all situated according to the copper-plates by the side of a big river Bhagirathi, and Sahasaganda is a new name. What was this Bhagirathi of old? Ramabati has been identified as a city near Gaur and the river

near it is the Padma and not the river now known as the Bhagirathi. Was the word Bhagirathi used in a broad sense meaning a big river? Could the Bhagirathi be the Karotoya in the case of Sahasaganda? Is 'garh' a derivative of 'ganda'?

Belwa is of interest from another point of view also. Baigram, according to the Baigram plate, is situated in Panchanagari district¹ of the Gupta kings, who preceded the Pala dynasty in Bengal. A part of the gifts of Mahipala I (Belwa) recorded about 300 years after, is also contained in this Panchanagari district.² What was the capital of this district which might have continued to exist over 300 years? What was the headquarters of Panitabithi (*bithi* is usually considered to be corresponding to a thana) referred to in the gifts of Mahipala I's Belwa plate?³ And after about one hundred years, during Vignarhapala III's reign, according to the Belwa plate this Panitabithi assumed the importance of a district⁴ and our Belwa Brahmin Jayananda Deva Sarma got a part of his gifts within this district. Where was this Panita? How far was it from Belwa?

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* The usual *sloka* स खलु भागीरथी पथप्रवर्तमान... being used.

1. विषय
2. पञ्चनगरीविषयान्तःयाति पुष्पकशशदुत्तरशतप्रमाण
गणेश्वरसायतग्रामपुष्करिणीषु ।
3. फणितवीथीसम्बद्ध...
4. फणितवीथीविषयान्तःयाति...



PROBLEMS OF ART SCHOOLS IN INDIA

By DEVI PROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY, M.B.E.,

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ANY cultural pursuit, initiated by progressive outlook, needs a directive to a greater ideal than what has ceased to function. It is the law of evolution, because no achievement is ever exhaustive. Art functions to this end.

What art reveals in its graphic form is a theme of expression which interprets harmony and rhythm through a pattern, discovered from the vast reserve of nature. The quest has a joy of its own in the midst of struggle, and the discovery is essentially an individual's concern.

The process underlying the quest needs patience and determination to encounter difficult problems that arise out of intriguing experiments. It is an evolution of science invented out of necessity which minimises creeping exhaustion while groping in the dark. The project is constructive provided the aid does not succumb to the fascination of dead accuracy. In the circumstances, medium and expression have to be on each other's guard and reciprocate to respective demand to reach a very high standard that an ideal claims. Co-operation of the two is, therefore, indispensable since the whole process is progressive.

Here we are faced with problems which vitally concern the educational centre of art in our country. The objective of the institutions is not only to afford facilities to advance draughtsmanship but also to encourage creative faculties by guiding the draughtsman who can harness the acquired skill to a greater cause; and that is self-deliverance, no matter which path he follows—be it traditional or occidental, so long as the deliverance is able to withstand the charge of truth and sincerity.

It is a severe test which has to pass through many ordeals. The question of effortless expression arises only then when technique works in obedience to the dictation of the artist. The result of such manoeuvres displays a playful act on the surface but in reality the achievement is the record of life's struggle.

Let us first deal with the points of ideal. The ideal, accepted by the masses is often affected by a dominating fashion.

The present fad is ultra-modernism introduced by the West. Tracing the origin, we find it is the outcome of a great upheaval within for a greater quest. The initiative is not designed to disown cultural heritage but to assert on self-acquired gains. The individual, strong enough to take the consequences of his conviction, deserves a fair trial to exercise his powers to reach the ambitious goal. He is entitled to the privilege, since he is possessed by a creative urge which seeks immediate release. Hence, he has neither time nor patience to be armed with borrowed fineries to

present his canvas with a respectable appearance. He is in the raw and he is not ashamed to be taken as what he is. The rebel has an honour of his own.

What is going on here is not a search to satisfy the inner urge but an unreserved submission to a contagious fashion. It is an amazing skill of adaptability. No one of the group seems to know the limitations of a borrowed capital nor is concerned when it is exhausted. The directive comes from vested interests which aim at a gain thrust by vicious propaganda. The result unfortunately does not help the cause for which art stands. It is tragic that a seeker of truth should have fallen a victim to the feverish passion to enter into a conspiracy of self-deception. It is an amusing project that baffles reason.

This is one aspect of the tide and the other is a blind estimation of tradition. The point needs clarification.

The manifestation of art in its true form does not confine itself with a specific limitation, as the scope of expression is unlimited and so is the pattern. Nor can it be harnessed to meet a certain objective in accordance with the masses' demand. To substantiate the point, I must say that millions and millions of people talk one language, but do they improve the language on grounds of masses following or the support of the hoary age of the medium? It does not. And why, I should make it clear. Contribution to the wealth of language, I mean pure literature, comes from an independent thinker, namely, the poet or the author.

The progress of the expressive vehicle is built up by spontaneous experiments in course of releasing tense and uncontrollable emotions by one who has the gift to convey his message home. Masses also feel but their expression is not exhaustive enough to convey their thoughts because they do not know the science of expression. The same principle applies to all other aspects of art. Development of art in any form, therefore, depends on individual contribution and not by the demand extended by sentimental appeal. In the circumstances, I do not see why traditional patterns only should be privileged to attract the attention of the artist or to put it right, the artist should be obliged to follow the dictation that comes from a patriotic motive.

Let us now examine the origin of tradition. Tradition, as such, is strictly speaking, following certain given patterns discovered by an individual. The pursuit, when accepted by unquestioning admirers, becomes a fashion within a group—call it a school if it suited better. The submission eventually paves an easy path to be followed by those who take up the

course as religion. It is a question of blind faith which gets deeply rooted on account of its virtue.

In our country it happened to be a source of perennial joy, not only to the faithful but also to those who could share the joy by contacting the beautiful. It was due to constant and closer association between religion and art. There is no denying that faith is a source of energy, but it functions so long it is not questioned or exhausted.

The case is identical with a buried treasure. The treasure might have had its intrinsic value. The same is never lost but it is not counted as equal to current coins because of its isolation and withdrawal from use.

The intrinsic value in the case of lost treasure or dead tradition serves no other purpose than a grand consolation.

Our tradition is facing this crisis. The question of revival of tradition, therefore, is not so important as is the reinforcement of the vitality of the expressive vehicle; since whatever school is followed it must be intelligible and at the same time assertive to declare what it stands for. Giving due consideration to the subjective side of art, we cannot but accommodate the present conditions of life which unfortunately do not yield to the expectations of the past. The change has come to stay and art is not divorced from its prevailing environment; therefore, there is no other alternative than to welcome the situation and make the best of it.

Religion of the masses or the artist today is not always a sincere pursuit of the divine but a struggle

for sheer existence through speed, machine and distrust. The motivating force of inspiration is, therefore, likely to be inclined towards matter of fact things, and what is achieved by this pursuit is a revelation of beauty born of chaos, struggle and hope—hope for a better living.

Let this not be misunderstood that the representation of facts of life has always a materialistic fervour. Subjects are only a means to an end which might reflect on anything according to the mood of the receptive agent.

Coming hurriedly to the conclusion, I approach the authorities concerned to consider seriously how best the guidance could be effected. Should we fall back to the tradition which is divorced from its vitality, or must we submit to a conspiracy of modern faddism jealously guarded by disguised sincerity? Wisdom bent upon encouraging childish follies as sincerity is nothing else but self-deception. This is the culture the conspirers aim at. Coming back to the revival of traditional patterns, I am afraid, such attempts would create discord simply because they do not fit in the present environment.

Grand ruins of historic importance may have a sentimental appeal but it does not provide a healthy environment to live in. A tomb of the dead with its grandeur and great architectural beauty is no substitute for a dwelling house. Therefore, it is time the authorities devised means to save the contributions of the gifted artist of today from a suicidal end.—A. I. R.

—O:

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Dr. Miss MEENAKSHI SEN GUPTA stood first among all the successful candidates in the M.B. examination, 1945, of the Calcutta University and was awarded at the last University Convocation the following medals:

- (1) Rai Dr. Soorj Coomar Sarbadhikari Bahadur Gold Medal
- (2) Midwifery Gold Medal
- (3) Dr. Mahendra Nath Ganguli Gold-rimmed Medal
- (4) Roma Medal

She was also given the certificate of Honours in Hygiene and Public Health.

She is the second daughter of Mr. B. P. Sen Gupta, Advocate, and Mrs. Sushama Sen Gupta, Principal and Secretary, Lake School for Girls.



Dr. Miss Meenakshi Sen Gupta

WALT WHITMAN

An Indian Appreciation

By A. D. MODDIE

RARELY do we find an opportunity for an appreciation of a poet in one work alone. Walt Whitman offers such a unique instance, where a poet throws his heart and soul, casts all his physical, philosophical and psychical experience with a bold, imaginative, sweeping abandon into one poem, one egoistic outburst, the "Song of Myself":

"I loaf and invite my soul."

Some may acclaim him America's national poet; some, the poet of Liberty and Democracy, the "Chant of Personality." But his powerful voice travels beyond these limited bounds, and moves the waters of age-long yet age-less, deathless, deep and vital philosophies, not merely of all time and all men, but of Time, absolute and limitless, of Being and Becoming in the universe of all existence. The poet not only stands upon a pedestal of the modern world as the champion and singer of the "Modern Man," but his genius, intuition, powers, call it what you may, also stir deep springs; springs not unfamiliar to the Indian mind which has drunk from these in millenniums past. In both aspects, ancient and modern, Walt Whitman has an appeal for the Indian reader. It pleases him to find in this democrat and rebel of the nineteenth century, something of the deep sublime wisdom, yet active, seeking, comprehending spirit of the Indo-Aryan *Rishis* of old:

"Both in and out of the game and watching and wondering at it."

Like Tagore, Whitman's basic faith, the very breath of his life, is his universality of outlook and sympathy, his immense fellowship and feeling for men and nature. He lived in a century, the most liberal spirits of which proclaimed the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and Walt Whitman affirms it in deep faith:

"And I know that the hand of God is the promise
of my own,
And I know that the spirit of God is the brother
of my own,
And that all the men ever born are also my
brothers,
And the women my sisters and lovers,
And that a Kelson of the creation is love . . ."

Not for him merely to state an empty poetic ideal, couched in beautiful words and left at that. The boundless sympathies of his prolific soul pour forth innumerable manifestations of life:

"And of these one and all I weave the song of
myself."

He looks at a babe in its cradle, and silently brushes away the flies that may disturb it. He sees the suicide sprawled on the bloody floor. He hears the hurrahs of crowds and the fury of mobs. He hears the groans of the sunstruck; or those in fits; and the ex-

clamations of women hurrying home to give birth to babes. He minds all these as a spectator.

But now he is off and plunges into the lives of others too, as an eager participant. Alone in the wild mountains he kindles the fire, cooks the "fresh killed" game, and falls asleep with his dog and gun beside him. Next, he becomes a happy member of the crew of a yankee clipper. Back again in the land of hunters, he is an observant guest at the marriage of a trapper. A runaway slave "in sweated body and bruised feet" comes to his house, and he gives him succour. He enjoys the repartee and shuffle of the butcher-boy, and follows the movements of the blacksmiths "with their massive arms,"—"they do not hasten, each man hits in his place." The Negro coachman—"I behold the picturesque giant and love him"—oxen with expressive eyes, the moose of the North, the cat on the house still, the prairie dog, the litter of the grunting sow, and the brood of the turkey hen, men from the oceans and the woods, the lunatic, the printer, the maimed, the prostitute—

"I do not laugh at your oaths nor jeer you"; the President with his great Secretaries of State, young and old, "a child as well as a man," of every hue and caste, of every rank and religion; they are all part of his being and he is part of theirs.

"In me the Caresser of life wherever moving,
Absorbing all to myself and for this song."

The wide range of his sympathies and his fellowship with all beings is startling. The most trivial, seemingly unpoetical objects find a place in his manly, humane heart, and he knows that the same law of life rules him, as it does them. The poet rises to the very heights of admiration and wonder in contemplating the works of God and Nature. He believes, "A leaf of grass is no less than the journey work of the stars." He sees perfection in a grain of sand or the egg of a wren. So marvellous is the work of God, that for him "the narrowest hinge of my hand puts to scorn all machinery"; and "a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels."

Large universal sentiments towards all God's creation is but a part of the poet's amazing conception of the limitless universe and space itself.

"A few quadrillions of eras, a few octillions of cubic leagues, do not hazard the span or make it impatient,
They are but parts, anything is but a part...
See ever so far, there is the limitless space outside of that,
Count ever so much, there is limitless space around that."

Perhaps Walt Whitman is gazing through the telescope of Galileo or Jeans, but then it might have been a verse from the mouth of any one of a thousand

philosophical thinkers in India in the past four thousand years; it might have been from the Vedanta or Upanishad, from Ramakrishna Paramahansa, or a nameless *riahi* on Kailash. The same technique of demonstrating immensity without beginning or end, by means of astronomical multiplications or minute mathematical divisions is illustrated in Svetasvatara Upanishad.

"That living soul is to be known as part of the hundredth part of the point of hair, divided a hundred times, and yet it is to be infinite."

And despite the parts, subdivisions, and variations of that immensity, the infinite, there is a unity that embraces and transcends all, a unity in Time, in Space, and in Being.

In India a man possessing a profound insight into the problems of life and death, and one who, knowing these, can rise above them with calm, dispassionate discernment, is called a *Mahatma*, a great soul. The wisdom of Whitman and the thoughts of Indian philosophers bear a marked likeness, and find common ground above the plane of mortal life, beyond the doors of death.

"The smallest sprout shows there is really no death, And if ever there was it led forward life, and does not wait at the end to arrest it, And ceased the moment life appeared."

"All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses, And to die is different from what any one supposed, and luckier."

Birth and death are no limitations to him, he proudly proclaims:

"I pass death with the dying and birth with the new-washed babe, And am not contained between my hat and boots."

And here is a piece worthy of the most subtle Hindu metaphysician:

"All truths wait in all things,

They neither hasten their own delivery nor resist it, They do not need the obstetric forceps of the surgeon,

The insignificant is as big to me as any, (What is less or more "than a touch?")

The *Mahatma* in the soul of Walt Whitman—for he is not wholly a *Mahatma* but also an average sensuous, fighting mortal—is remarkably Gandhian, not merely a sympathiser in grief, but one with the griever:

"Agonies are one of my changes of garments, I do not ask the wounded person how he feels, I myself become the wounded person, My hurts turn livid upon me as I lean on a cane and observe."

It might have been Gandhi speaking poignantly of the sufferings of Noakhali or Bihar. The very "cane" might have been Gandhi's too!

The universalism of Tagore and the deep compassion of Gandhi are happy discoveries in this "habitant of the Allegories" but yet undreamt of fruits, familiar and long stored in the Indo-Aryan mind, are to be eagerly found in the wide and variegated fields of Walt Whitman's mind and soul. What have we

here? An approach to the ancient *Dvaita* or Dualistic Philosophy of Kapila* himself? Let us read.

"There was never any more inception that there is now.

Nor any more youth or age that there is now, . . .

Urge and urge and urge,

Always the procreant urge of the world,

Out of the dimness opposite equals advance, always substance and increase, always sex,

Always a knit of identity, always a distinction, always a breed of life."

Was this the poet's unknowing reference to *Prakriti*, the creating, destroying, modifying, ever-evolving forces of nature?

"Urge and urge and urge,

Always the procreant urge of the world."

And the *Purusha*, the embodiment of all living beings, being good or evil according to the interacting forces of *Prakriti* and *Purusha*.

"Always substance, always increase, always sex," always identity and distinction, "always a breed of life." It is hard to unravel. "To elaborate is no avail," as the poet himself admits. Only a suspicion of the similarity of *Dvaita* thought is pointed out, when lo! a trace of the *Advaita* appears. The song-writer accepts "Time absolutely," and "Reality" he does not question. Above the reasonings of positive science, above the findings of lexicographer, chemist, grammarian, mariner, geologist and mathematician, above the interplay of the laws of nature, of *Prakriti* and *Purusha*, he enters to "an area" of his own dwelling, the Absolute. The supreme ecstasy of that moment, known to some others in forest or mountain, or on river bank, is not unknown to him:

"Swiftly rose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all the argument of the earth."

How near Walt Whitman approaches and gives expression to thoughts anciently familiar to us! The Law of Karma, of cause and effect, is propounded in a didactic philosophical style, rather than the language of poetry: "Every condition promulges not only itself, it promulges what grows after and out of itself." Reference to "the wheel'd universe" brings out the same imagery as the *Dharma Chakra*, or Wheel of Life. The cycle of existence, the round of birth, growth, decay, death and rebirth has been inculcated since Buddha's time. The Wheel or *chakra* is perhaps one of the commonest portrayals of Indian sculpture. How firm is Whitman's belief in his own reincarnation:

"And as to you, Life, I reckon you are the leavings of many deaths,

No doubt I have died myself ten thousand times before."

So near does the spirit of Walt Whitman approach our age-old thoughts and ideals, so many are the

* *Dvaita* or the Dualistic philosophy of Kapila described the universe as the result of interaction of two forces, *Prakriti* or ever evolving nature, and *Purusha* or the desires and actions of life.

† *Advaita*: The Monistic philosophy, as propounded by Shankara in the 10th Century, laid down the Absolute Oneness of all existence, the indivisible Truth and Centre, God.



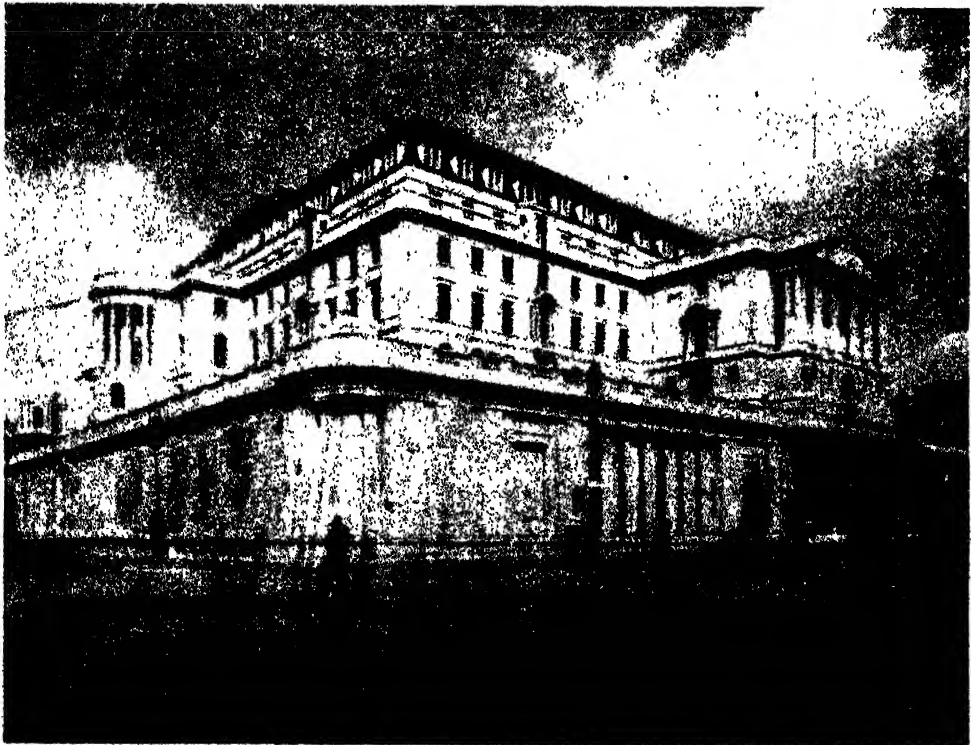
The Tower of Canterbury Cathedral in Kent where the ruins of the old monastery can still be seen



The Tower Bridge, the last of the 24 bridges across the Thames, in London



The ancient castle of Dover, one of the most important of the five Cinque ports on the south coast of England



The Bank of England, the world's leading central bank, was founded in 1694

points of contact between our old and his comparatively recent seekings to lighten sparks of recognition between the two. Yet he is a robust modern, avowedly so, with all his passionate attachment to material, and even sensual things, enjoying to the full all aspects of a free and active human life :

"Storming, enjoying, planning, loving, cautioning,—
Then bravely :

"I believe in the flesh and the appetites,

Seeing, hearing, feeling, are miracles . . ."

though in the very next line in paradoxical egoism he claims divinity "inside and out."

Sublime or sensual, divine or mortal, ancient or modern,—what is he? His own answer is that he is each and all. The many-sidedness of his character and the multi-colours of his soul both fascinate and intrigue. At one moment he speaks with the sublime detachment of a *Rishi* :

"And I say to mankind, Be not curious about God,
For I who am curious about each am not curious
about God,

No array of terms can say how much I am at peace
about God and about Death."

And a moment later, he continues with the same devoutness, but now speaks in the more matter-of-fact terms of the west. He sees God in each hour of the twenty-four, in the faces of men and women, in his own face in the glass ; and he picks up letters from God in the street, everyone of them signed by God's name. The seeker in both passages is the same. But whereas the one seems to sit in the Himalaya, the other speaks from a street-corner in an American town.

Walt Whitman, a singer of the "Modern Man," a rebel, the champion of the common and the down-trodden, the loud trumpeter of liberty, cannot fail to appeal to the modern too. In fact, he must, for he is a child of the modern mind in its multifarious aspects. He is a citizen of the city, and no more speculator in metaphysical affairs.

"Whatever interests the rest interests me, politics,
wars, markets, newspapers, schools,
The Mayor and councils, banks, tariffs, steamships,
factories, stocks, stores, real estate and personal
estate."

A proud and true patriot, he relates the tales of America's fighting heroes struggling against heavy odds, against the enemies of his country and its traditions. First, the struggle of the four hundred and twelve men, the glory of the race of rangers, matchless with horse, rifle, song, supper and courtship ; young, handsome, generous and brave. They capitulated honourably, but were foully massacred on a beautiful summer's day.

"Would you hear of an old-time sea-fight?"

He proceeds to tell of a "serene little captain," who though battered and sinking, came out the victor.

"His eyes give more light to us than our battle-lanterns."

Then the trumpeter of liberty blows his blast, to

bring encouragement, hope and inspiration to all the lowly, despised and the oppressed :

"I speak the pass-word primeval,
I give the sign of democracy,
By God ! I will accept nothing which all cannot
have their counterpart of on the same terms."

Through him the voices of prisoners and slaves, of the diseased and despairing, of thieves and dwarfs, of the deformed, the foolish, and the despised,—all find free and powerful expression. He is to them as Arjuna's* Bow and the shepherd of the flock that is lost and rejected. Behold the first Khaksar !†

"I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the
grass I love,

If you want me again look for me under your boot-
soles."

Walt Whitman's final appeal to the modern is as a rational seeker, and as one with a confident belief that the spirit of man will not rest content upon the fringes of the earth, or the boundaries of the universe. It will irresistibly pass on to seek newer worlds beyond, even when "we become the enfolders of those orbs, and the pleasure and knowledge of everything in them." Upon a hill, before dawn, as he looked at the "crowded heaven" this conviction came to him, that the spirit of man would know no resting place or frontier. It would venture into the illimitable spaces beyond opened up by the igneity, reason and intuition of the human mind.

Patriot, democrat, humanitarian, seer, "embracer of all life,"—what more could a mortal poet aspire to be. But in the grand consummation, in the depths of his being there emerges a soul of more than mortal dimensions and powers, the embodiment of things past, present and future ; and it grandiloquently proclaims :

"I am the acme of things accomplished, and I am
an encloser of things to be."

This soul speaks of itself as a "Kosmos"; no individual, mark, no matter how exalted. Far down the dim ages of the beginning, through the "lethargic mist" of Time, it sees itself emerging from "the huge first Nothing." In the arms of the Infinite, from the earliest beginnings, "Long I was hugg'd close—long and long." A child of eternity !

Still it grows and evolves, it "mounts and mounts," and now it is a veritable *Avatar*—Walt Whitman is no more—launching all men and women forward into the Unknown.

"My faith is the greatest of faiths,
Enclosing worship ancient and modern,
Believing I shall come again upon the earth after
five thousand years,
Waiting responses from oracles, honouring the gods,
saluting the sun . . ."

The *Avatar* speaks of itself as "waiting my time to be one of the supremes." It is confident of its

* Arjuna was the chief of the five famous Pandava brothers, who, in the Mahabharata, defeated in battle the hosts of the Kurus with Lord Krishna's aid.

† Khaksar : Literally means 'one with the dust' : a sect of party in India professing service to the poorest and lowest of men.

exalted mission. But wait, it wishes to say more, but a germ of doubt troubles its vastness. "There is that in me—I do not know—what it is—but I know it is in me." It is nameless, without utterance, no dictionary has it. The soul, once Walt Whitman, sleeps: it sleeps long. And now it wakes from its slumbers, resolving the germ of doubt.

"Do you see, O my brothers and sisters? It is not chaos or death—it is form, union, plan—it is eternal life—it is Happiness."

—:O

At last the *Avatar* conceives a plan, a union, a Happiness, which is eternal; above chaos and death, in *Brahmaloka**!

In this great consummation where can we now find Walt Whitman, a son of Manhattan? Search, and be encouraged in the seeking, for:

"Missing me one place search another,
I stop somewhere waiting for you."

* *Brahmaloka*: A state where the soul has ascended to be born or die no more: a heaven, a place of the gods.

THIS UNDECLARED WAR IN KASHMIR

BY DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,

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THE unprovoked invasion of Kashmir by a well-armed, well-equipped and well-organised army from the North-West Frontier Province is still being referred to as a tribal raid, though the facts relating to this invasion leave no room for doubt that it is a regular military offensive planned by the fascist war-mongers and politicians of Pakistan. It is therefore not a little surprising that the Government of India is still hesitating to take direct diplomatic action against the Pakistan Government, even though the latter has violated in a most reprehensible manner all rules of conduct recognised in international relations. The Indian Union is thus needlessly exposing its own action in Kashmir to a most vicious misrepresentation by the Pakistan leaders. The 'kid glove' diplomacy of the Indian Union Government and its idealistic and ostrich-like refusal to face the plain facts are causing a justifiable indignation all round, for the public feeling in India has been badly outraged by the manner in which massacre, loot, arson and rape have spread havoc in the fair valley of Kashmir.

That the invaders have 'missed the bus' in Kashmir is now clear, and that they are now mostly on the run is also an established fact, but the trouble is far from being over, and it will take months and months before Kashmir can be fully cleared of the invaders. While the Indian army and the Indian air force have done splendid work in fighting the enemy, yet the fact remains that the difficulties of weather, transport, communications and terrain are impeding the progress of patrol activity and mopping-up operations.

When the full story of the defence of Kashmir is written, four facts will predominate therein. The first is the heroic defence of the Kashmir State Forces without whose gallant opposition the advance of the invaders could not have been slowed down. The timely decision of the Government of India to accept the accession of Kashmir and stand by it in its hour of mortal peril is the second factor. If this decision had even been slightly delayed, Srinagar would not have escaped the fate of Baramulla. The third factor is the leadership of Shaikh Muhammad

Abdullah, head of the emergency administration in Kashmir, who has worked wonders in rallying the saner elements in his country. The last but not the least among the factors is of course the unity and patriotism of the people of all communities. Through their sufferings and sacrifices has emerged almost overnight a popular militia which is going to be the backbone of national defence hereafter.

While there can be no two opinions about the gallantry of the defenders, the complicity of the Pakistan leaders in this undeclared war is clear beyond all possibility of doubt in the same way. Firstly, the way this invasion has been organised and executed reflects a specialised and thorough planning, no less than a trained military leadership which could never have been available to mere tribal raiders. Secondly, the large invading army could not have penetrated into Kashmir through several hundred miles of Pakistan territory without official assistance. Thirdly, the huge resources which the invading army is known to be using could not have dropped from the skies, and they could have been supplied only by official agencies. Fourthly, the official and semi-official statements and speeches of the Pakistan leaders with regard to Kashmir are so bellicose, provocative and transparently one-sided that one can easily see which way their sympathies lie. Fifthly, the connection subsisting between the so-called Azad Kashmir party and the Muslim League of Pakistan is too obvious to be mistaken any longer. Sixthly, the propaganda carried on by the Pakistan Radio in favour of the invading army and against the Kashmir Durbar and the Indian Union clearly betrays Pakistan's complicity in this treacherous attack on Kashmir. Seventhly, the capture of some of the invading troops with their equipments and belongings has led to the discovery of evidence which would serve to reveal Pakistan's hand in the invasion. Eighthly, the disclosures made by certain arrested prisoners equally confirm Pakistan's war guilt. Lastly, the gross misrepresentation by Pakistan of India's action in meeting the enemy attack is so palpably false and mischievous that one cannot help noticing its war mentality which has given rise to this mad adventure of violence and rapine.

A number of theories have been put forward to explain Pakistan's coup against Kashmir. The home front of Pakistan is said to be so perilous that the authorities needed some popular and glorious diversion to catch the imagination of the disgruntled masses. The Azad Pathanistan movement in the North-West Frontier Province has also been a very disturbing feature which could be countered only by a campaign of loot and massacre directed against a Hindu state. The Muslim League population of Kashmir seemed an inviting element on which to base an aggressive design on the Hindu ruler of Kashmir. The strategic position of Kashmir further makes it invaluable to Pakistan. Its accession to the Indian Union is considered to be detrimental to the security of Pakistan. Besides, the growing Muslim disillusionment with the actual results of Pakistan called for a quick and sensational achievement which might drown all discontent and reinforce the public morale. The attack on Kashmir may also have been engineered as a step preliminary to an eventual offensive against India as a whole. It was an easy affair to stir up the cupidity of the tribal people by raising before them the prospects of unlimited loot and plunder. The fanaticism of the tribesmen of the border country could be easily inflamed in the name of religion and with the cry of a religious crusade against the Hindus of Kashmir. Acting on the principle that possession is nine points in law, the politicians of Pakistan may also have believed that a forcible coup would procure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan.

Though it may not be difficult to account for Pakistan's military adventure in Kashmir, one cannot find the least shred of justification, much less an apology, for this. Far from being apologetic, the Pakistan leaders have put up an attitude of injured and sanctimonious innocence and have threatened an appeal to the UNO against what they call India's unjustified violence and *coup d'état*. The patience and forbearance with which the Government of India have put up with these wild accusations and malicious threats are almost angelic in their generosity. The Government of India has not only not returned the accusations, but has also not issued notes of warning on a diplomatic level against what is a deliberate complicity in a shameless assault without declaration of war. There is yet no threat of even economic sanctions to bring Pakistan to its senses. There is yet no mention

of an appeal to the UNO against an undeclared war of a truly Nazi fashion. The hollow pretence put up by the Pakistan authorities that they have nothing to do with this invasion still goes officially unchallenged, and the Indian Union authorities are yet apparently basing their diplomatic attitude on the flimsy assumption that the fight is not with Pakistan, but with unauthorised raiders from the N.W. Frontier. A lack of firmness at this juncture is bound to be harmful to the ultimate interests of India. It is high time that the Pakistani bluff is called, and the world is told the whole truth about the machinations which have led to the rape of Kashmir.

This undeclared war in Kashmir is, however, not an unmixed evil. With all its inhuman savagery, it has come as a timely and useful corrective to the growing sense of smug and idealistic complacency in India after August 15. It is a warning which no sentimental slogans can obscure, and it is a portent which even the blind can see through. The army of a free India has had to fight for the first time without European leadership, and it has acquired an experience which would be invaluable in future. The virtual reconquest of the whole of Kashmir which this invasion has entailed is going to strengthen the military defence of India in the long run. It will surely frustrate the sinister designs that Pakistan may have entertained against India. The brutalities committed by the invaders have so horrified even the Muslims of Kashmir that all their former sympathies for Pakistan seem to have wholly disappeared. The failure of the invasion is bound to strengthen India's internal situation. It has been a good warning to the pro-League elements in states like Hyderabad. Pakistan's frustration is so complete that it will take a long time to get over the aftermath of failure and disappointment. The loyalty of the Pathans to Pakistan is bound to be adversely affected, and the move for Pathanistan will gain an added impetus from the turn of events in Kashmir. The prestige of India has gone up considerably, and the manner in which it is fighting to restore order in Kashmir has evoked the admiration of all disinterested observers.

If this undeclared war in Kashmir forced India to be alert, it served a useful purpose. It has in any case taught a valuable lesson that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.



EDUCATION IN INDIA Its Past, Present and Future

By P. NARASIMHAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

EDUCATION AS A VITAL HUMAN NEED

MAN is human, only because he has a reason by which he can educate himself above the level of brute creation. The sages of the Upanishads declared, *Vidyaya amritam asnute*. 'By knowledge and education, man reaches his true and immortal fulfilment.' The *Vidya* which is the duty and the birth-right of man is not mere religious knowledge but an enlightenment of the whole life, physical, mental, and social as well as spiritual. Education is not a remote or a special need of a few gifted individuals but a vital and universal need of humanity. In the age-old traditional teaching of India, the main purposes of life are classified and set out in the ideals of *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*; the right of social life, economic life, happiness and spiritual good. From yet another view-point, human life has been set out in that teaching in three or four stages,—disciplined education in youth (*brahmacharya*), the practical life of a citizen and householder (*garhastya*), and finally the life of self-renouncing service (*Avadhuta*, *Vanaprastha*, etc.). Education continues throughout life. Only its emphasis may be said to shift from one aspect to another according to the ages or capacities of the individuals. But the main aspects of education are the same for all. They are intrinsic to man as such,—man as an individual and social being. These common aspects are the objectives of all education. Professor A. N. Whitehead would define them in the following words: "The life of man is founded on technology, science, art and religion. All four are interconnected and issued from his total mentality." The full personality of an individual is made up of his professional life, his scientific knowledge, his emotional and creative life, and last but not least, his inner anchorage of ideal standards and values. Education does not consist solely in the reading of books, intellectual pursuits or scholarship, but comprehends the full equipment of a human personality which is able to meet the varied needs of outer and inner life. Anything less than this falls short of the full scope and standard of education. The Director of the Department of Education at Oxford, Dr. Jacks, therefore, urges that education if it is to be truly worthy of the name should be *total* education,—total i.e. comprehensive of all sides of personality, all age-levels, and all grades of society and capacity.*

ITS NATIONAL NEED

When we pass from the stand-point of personal life to that of the nation, the need of education becomes not a whit less vital. As a wise Chinese proverb has it, "Plant grain, if you are planning for a year; plant trees, if you are planning for ten years; plant men, if you would plan wisely for a hundred years."

In modern times, among European nations, the value of education has been emphasised with tireless repetition. A British statesman of Victorian England, referring to the conditions of the time, said, "Upon the education of the people of this country, the fate of this country depends." As still further proof,—if proof were needed,—we have the phenomenon of the British Parliament's enactment of the Education Act of the year 1944 at the time of the World War.

Education is the lamp by which the individual and the nation live and guide their foot-steps. The ideal of every patriot, philanthropist, religious reformer and political leader should be a wide and well-balanced system of education. It is the first essential of individual and national well-being.

THE PAST IN INDIAN EDUCATION

It is recognised on all hands that there is an urgent need in our country for a reformed and modern system of education. Our present educational system, like so many of our other institutions, lags behind modern standards. For one thing, it is still too bookish, theoretical or academical, and predominantly cultural in its methods and content. There is too little of practical and professional training, particularly in the application of the sciences to the service of man. The vast achievements of the modern world during the last two hundred years may be summed up as the advance of scientific knowledge of nature and its application to serve the needs of man. These achievements viz., modern science and its mechanical inventions, have brought about a new order in the life of the human race, fraught with some evil perhaps but also with an immense amount of good and happiness.

There is no doubt that we in India have been slow—very slow indeed—in assimilating this new knowledge and putting it to use.

We are one-fifth of the world's population today, and further we are not without a history of glorious achievements in the sciences and arts, commerce and industry. What this history was may still be seen in the ruins and remains of these which are strewn all over the country and overseas in countries like Sumatra and Java; in the several indigenous systems of medicine which can even now give a point or two as regards the art of healing; in old iron pillars and other metal castings which stand in various parts of the country immune for ages against the ravages of climate; and a hundred other remarkable monuments. Our valiant wooden ships of these early times carried colonists and merchants across the seas; and our fast wooden chariots sped across the country in the service of war and peace. And our merchandise of all kinds was eagerly sought after in foreign markets, while foreign scholars came to India as to a school of learning and civilisation.

* *Vide Total Education* 1946, M. L. Jacks.

All this past achievement presupposes, without doubt, an adequate and efficient system of education. Without an efficient educational organisation comprehending both research and teaching in arts and technology, such sustained achievement as that of ancient India or that of modern Europe is impossible. The pursuit of knowledge and the imparting of it have always been held in high honour among the Indian people. The scholar and the teacher have been treated with special veneration. As the Hartog Education Committee Report (quoting Dr. F. W. Thomas, the distinguished Indologist) points out:

"Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence."

But all this, or most of this, is of the past. At some time in our early history, a blight fell on the educational system, and progress in knowledge was arrested in all directions. Though the old sciences and crafts lingered on, the impulse to their progress steadily decayed and dragged down the life of the people to that of the backward people of the world. The castes which were not only social but also educational units,--since they specialised in various lines of technical knowledge, viz., agriculture, animal husbandry, carpentry, smithy, trade, engineering, etc.--missed the vital impulse to progress even in their own special fields. A general stagnation set in and even the unique, specialised social system, viz., the hereditary caste system, failed to hold and develop the sciences and crafts. It is a sad story, and historians and archaeologists will no doubt some day reconstruct in detail the causes and the steps of this unfortunate and progressive decay.

THE RECENT PAST AND THE PRESENT

However our present task is to build up a nation wide educational system on modern lines to suit our present conditions. Piece-meal attempts have been made during the last half-a-century or more to establish modern educational institutions in the country. Modern sciences have been placed in the school curricula; modern methods of teaching have been followed; public education has been separated from religious education, and all communities have been given free access to it irrespective of religious and social differences; modern institutions of higher learning, viz., the Universities, have been founded and developed in various parts of the country; modern knowledge of the sciences and humanities has been broadcast all over the country not only through schools and colleges but also through newspapers and journals, lectures and libraries, the radio and the cinema, modern political institutions and various other modern agencies. Western literatures too have come to be widely read through the medium of the English language and this has been a deep and wide channel for the inflow of new social, political, economic and cultural ideas. In word, a complete reorganisation of national education and the educational system has been slowly taking place for about a century.

All this is good, but unfortunately the educational fabric that has been thus being built up has all the features of a rapid improvisation. It is loosely knit, and seems a

conglomerate of diverse patches while in some parts, it is too rigid and narrow. In consequence the country is most behindhand in respect of education among all the civilised countries of the world, the percentage of illiteracy being as high as 85 per cent. Our expenditure on education is 60 times less per individual than, say, in England. There is hardly any widespread popular desire even for primary education. Of all the children of the school-going age, hardly 30 per cent go to school and learn the essential three R's. 70 per cent of the children grow up in ignorance and illiteracy and swell the vast flood of unskilled labour or the idle and the delinquent. And even of these 30 per cent who come to schools, only one-eighth, i.e., about 40 per cent stay on and complete their elementary or primary education. This means an enormous wastage of effort and public funds. If 52 lakhs of children join the first year of the Primary Schools, hardly seven lakhs continue to the last (the 5th) year of these schools. Half of the teachers are untrained, and since women teachers are not available, male teachers have to be employed even in girls' schools and in almost all primary schools. Only a small percentage of the Primary-School-leavers, the children who have finished primary school education, continue their studies in high schools, and still fewer in Universities. The scholarships available even for this small percentage are fewer and less well-organised than in any other modern progressive country. For the education of handicapped children, the institutions are few and far between and the methods in vogue, such as the grouping together of all kinds of defectives, are out-of-date and unsatisfactory. For the education of mentally defective children, the imbeciles etc., there are hardly more than 2 or 3 schools in the whole country. "Educated unemployment" is another of the sore points of our educational picture. The 'discontented B.A.' has become a by-word. Furthermore, there is hardly any systematic organisation of adult education at its various levels. And so on. To cut a long story short, the Indian educational fabric is full of gaps, loose threads and dark patches, indeed.

It is no wonder that efforts at reform commenced very early and steadily increased in volume and extent. Leaders and educationists all over the country have tried to effect improvements in some part or other of this immense fabric. To refer only to a few instances, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, with his wise and far-sighted statesmanship, attempted to introduce the system of compulsory elementary education. Other leaders founded new institutions for the combination of religious with modern secular education. The Gurukul at Hardwar, the Anglo-Vedic Colleges founded under the inspiration of Dayanand Saraswati, the schools and colleges founded by Mrs. Besant of the Theosophical Society and the National Education Trust, and the denominational Universities of Benares and Aligarh are some of the outstanding examples of efforts in this direction. Other leaders wishing to improve the technique and atmosphere of modern schools, founded residential schools characterised by a close contact between the teacher and the taught and embodying the spirit of the

old indigenous Gurukula, of which the modern tutorial system is an adaptation. To this class belong the schools founded at Bolpur by Rabindranath Tagore, the institutions at Hardwar and other places. In the field of University education, various reforms have been introduced in the curricula, the technique of teaching and other aspects. For instance, the system of a two years Intermediate course followed by a two years Degree course has been replaced in one or two Universities by an improved high school course followed by a 3 years degree course. Greater provision too has been made for professional training, such as legal, medical, engineering, teaching, commercial, etc., wherever possible, at the high school as well as at the University stage.

PRESSING NEEDS

But all these developments and reforms together have not succeeded in effecting a substantial improvement in the main fabric. For one thing the efforts have been in some cases sporadic and feeble; and for another, no vigorous and sustained effort has been made to improve the Indian educational system as a whole,—to build a well-co-ordinated system ranging from Nursery education to the highest cultural and technological education in the Universities and Research Institutes. It was inevitable that many of these piece-meal reforms should fail to produce their best results and in some cases any results at all. For instance, Compulsory Primary education failed to make appreciable progress in the areas where it was tried. But neither the causes of this failure were explored nor remedies devised and tried. The result is the worst percentage of illiteracy and of unskilled labour and unemployment in the country.

To take another instance, vocational schools like the agriculture, commercial, industrial, and other schools have been created in spurts of enthusiasm. But they have not systematically developed or become co-ordinated, with the result that neither the rural nor the industrial life of the country has appreciably been benefited by them.

The same may be said of University reforms. For instance, the re-organisation of first-degree courses, the 3-years curriculum was tried by one South Indian University but abandoned before its best results could be produced.

To take yet another instance, several enthusiastic attempts have been made for improving the Indian languages, the 'vernaculars'. But, so sporadic and perhaps also ill-guided have these efforts been that the languages still remain undeveloped, lacking in modern literature, scientific nomenclature and a living and growing vocabulary.

Further instances could be drawn from other aspects of the educational system. There is altogether a lack of organic and living system in the educational field and the need is therefore urgent for a well-co-ordinated and a complete or "total" system.

THE C. A. B. SCHEME

The scheme put forward by the Central Advisory Board of Education (shortly known as the Sargent Scheme) makes an earnest attempt to gather up the many threads of past experience, recent reforms and contemporary opinion in India and abroad. It ranges over the whole

ground and gives a brief but well-co-ordinated and 'total' scheme of education.

A

Among its main features are such reforms as the immediate improvement of the teachers, in regard to conditions of service, their training and their emoluments. It is an old and still fashionable dictum that the child's curricula, his syllabuses and text-books, are the most important part of his education. The present scheme breaks down this myth and exalts the teacher to his real place at the centre of the system. The observations of the Board's Sub-Committee on this aspect are frank and realistic, and are as follows:

"The teacher is the central factor in every educational system and every scheme for educational reform; and in their (the Sub-committee's) view, no system or scheme can be either effective or efficient unless it provides for a sufficient number of properly qualified teachers selected on grounds of merit alone, and unless those teachers are adequately remunerated, have a recognised status, adequate leisure as well as opportunities for research or for self-improvement and security of tenure, and enjoy such other conditions of service as may preserve their independence and self-respect. The Committee regretfully admit that the teaching profession is at the present time far from possessing all these things; it does not enjoy universally the status which it ought to have; and by reason of its undue subjection in many instances to bodies of laymen often ignorant of educational matters and regarding teachers as their servants or employees rather than their partners in the cause of education, it lacks the intellectual and academic freedom without which it cannot give of its best. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the profession does not always attract recruits of a proper quality. All educational reform must begin with the teachers and their condition of service."

B

Another notable feature of the Scheme is the recognition of the value of women teachers in the elementary grades of education. In the teaching of young boys as well of girls, the intuitive gifts of women are of especial importance. It is a distinct misfortune of Indian education that social prejudices of various kinds stand against women coming forward in greater numbers to take their proper place in a national system of education.

Yet another part of the Scheme—indeed a vital part of it—is the complete range of technical education and training planned by it. There is an urgent need for an enormous drive for building up and co-ordinating a vast system of vocational schools, professional colleges, mono-technics, polytechnics and every other grade of technological or craft-education institutions. Machines and technicians are necessary even for village improvement. No labour-saving machinery can be freely used in rural India, because of the lack of trained technicians for making even the simplest repairs. It is no wonder therefore that rural life drags on in its ancient and narrow grooves, and the agriculturist and the village-workman and producer find their output meagre and unmarketable. The villages form 80 per cent of the country; and one of the essential

factors in their improvement will be a new system of craft education or technical schools.

D

Yet another distinctive feature of the Scheme, a feature which is the basis of all education, the foundation of the whole system, is primary "Basic" learning. Sponsored by Gandhiji and developed by the Navee Talim (the Wardha New Education Movement) the Basic system tries successfully to combine elementary craft education with the first psychological need of all human beings for doing some creative work or other with the hands.

The C. A. B. Scheme recommends such system of primary education as compulsory for every normal boy and girl for a period of 8 years. This compulsory Basic education should commence at the 5th or 6th year of childhood and continue till the age of 14, i.e., till the end of the Middle School period; and should be free for all. This involves a large financial provision, but the results are worth the cost many times over. The children of the nation would then acquire the three R's and other elementary knowledge in an atmosphere of joyous creative activities. This new technique and curriculum will get rid of the old passive bookishness and provide scope for practical skill, craft work, and active imagination and invention.

During the last three years of the course, the boys and girls could be given some special training in a selected craft, and they would leave school at the end of it, equipped for some simple craft or labour.

When such a useful, creative, and stimulating system of primary education is given free, it should spread widely in the country. It would perhaps be eagerly sought for and pursued, and then the ugly phenomenon of "wastage" which we noted earlier—of boys and girls coming into schools for merely a few years and then dropping away after finding it merely literary—will cease. It may be hoped that compulsion would not be necessary for spreading such practical education. Pupils should flock to schools as soon as the advantages are realised and it is free.

E

Secondary education also, under the scheme, will breathe the same spirit of practical or vocational work, and at its climax touch and incorporate an extra year from the University. Briefly, the present High School will be a Higher School.

F

University education under the scheme will concentrate among others on an intensive three-year course for the Bachelor's Degree, and tutorial work. It urges further that University centres should no longer be merely examining centres but set up as early as possible teaching and research work of high standard so as to be an example and inspiration to the affiliated colleges. A University which is a mere examining body is disapproved by the Scheme.

G

Other notable parts of the scheme are the provision of a separate Medical Service for at least the Primary and High School students; a mid-day meal on healthy

social lines; a system of well-graded games and other forms of recreation and social service for boys and girls at school; a system of recreation and social service for boys and girls who have left school and are in employment or in search of it and are below the age of 20 years; a system of nursery schools, especially for children of the labour classes in urban and factory areas; a generous system of schools and other institutions for the physically handicapped children like the deaf, dumb, blind, the chronically diseased and others, and the mentally handicapped like the imbecile, the dull and others. It is true there are private institutions of various kinds, founded and conducted by public-spirited men and women in several parts of the country for various educational or recreational purposes. No one can be oblivious of the great work done by the Christian Missionary societies, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Sri Ramkrishna Mission, Muslim Education Society, and a number of others. But while paying due tribute to these noble organisations, the Scheme points out the need for filling in the gaps, the need for co-ordination, and the need too of better organisation and cautious guidance.

H

The Scheme is altogether an attempt to give a 'total' national education, a complete and well-co-ordinated fabric. Critics have sometimes tried to deny it the title of a 'national' scheme of education. The simple reply to such criticism is that a scheme of its scope and its objective of educational progress is nothing if not national. It is true that many details need to be worked out in the course of the actual implementation of the scheme. The Vernaculars (the Indian languages) need to be more and more developed before they can be perfect media of modern education in High Schools and Universities. The details of Art education, Religious education, etc., have also to be determined. Above all, the financial provision for the whole scheme has to be secured. But all these do not obscure the fact that it tries to meet the urgent educational problems of India and solve them in the light of the best modern experience and research.

THE NECESSITY OF AN INTER-PROVINCIAL OR CENTRAL ORGANISATION

Inter-provincial co-operation too is now more than ever necessary. For the exchange of experience, and for careful planning of the lines of future development, it is necessary to have an inter-provincial or central organisation. For the foundation and development also of advanced Institutes of Research and Teaching in Arts, Science and Technology, inter-provincial co-operation is essential. Also, some of the smaller provinces would not be able to afford these costly institutions, except in co-operation with other provinces. Furthermore, the confusion in the standards of studies, degrees, their nomenclature, etc., which now exists among various provinces calls for some central co-ordinating and authoritative body. There are, besides, other common purposes of the provinces for which inter-provincial co-operation is necessary. Altogether, a well-co-ordinated and planned All-India drive on the entire educational front is our best hope for the future.

NEW YORK CELEBRATES INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

By PROBODH MITTRA, M.A.,

Consultant, United Nations, Late Success

CELEBRATIONS of India's Independence day took place in various places of New York. Besides creating unprecedented enthusiasm among the Indian residents of New York, it brought around a number of greetings to Indians from hundreds of Americans, in a formal or an informal manner. As I passed through the various avenues of the city, through sub-ways, buses, taxi cabs and suburban railways, with the ribbon flag of India on the collar of my coat, faces beaming with smiles greeted me from different quarters. Unknown persons of various nationalities went out of their way to come near me, to say a word of halo, a shake of hand, and then 'it indeed is a great day for you.' The same expressions I heard from men who run the elevators, drivers of taxi cabs and fellow passengers in a bus or sub-way. Even the British Assistant Secretary General of the Economic Affairs Department, David Owen of the United Nations, could find time from his flying in Shanghai and Geneva to attend the function celebrating India's Independence. Among many hands that joined my palm in greeting, at one moment I found the little hand of David Owen, this most informal and popular top-ranking U. N. official, uttering the very same phrase with which a while ago I was greeted by the cab driver. On the 34th Street and Fifth Avenue, in front of the Empire State Building, I met a man who was following me from a long distance with an anxious face. I stopped awhile to meet him. Coming very near me and summoning a little courage, in broken English he asked if I was from India. I noticed, he had no tie, his shirt was almost tearing apart, the object which he was wearing on his feet was only an apology for a shoe but yet he was an Indian, my compatriot, a sea-man who like many others had either escaped the immigration laws or arrived in this country at a time when such laws were not very strong. Abdul Hakim, the sea-man who knew very little about Pakistan, was happy, he told me, to learn that "our country is free." Before he left me to return back to his modest hovel in some slums of lower New York, he only smiled, a quiet and pathetic smile, and said, "I have been in this country for more than 15 years now, but now that India is free, I think I should return back." In each of the celebrations that I have had the chance to attend, beautiful displays of colours were seen by the series which Indian women wore on this occasion. American, British, Chinese and European wives of Indians also mingled themselves up in this collection of colours. Besides, Indian women and foreign wives of Indians, one could see many women friends of India belonging to other nationalities joining the celebration in series. A shop in further down town set up a special arrangement to prepare small Indian flags and sell them, 25 cents each. Indian students who had with them their national costumes appeared proudly in these functions. A number of Gandhi caps and scores of ajkars presented an unusual variety of spectacle to foreigners who scarcely find a chance to see an Indian in his native dress. Hindus and Moslems forgot for the time being the political degradation

that had come in the wake of India's freedom. Occasionally, one could hear in some hotel lobbies or college dormitory, whispers and criticisms of our leaders in accepting a divided India but they faded soon in the enthusiasm of the celebration. There was no doubt a large section of the Indian population here who were not satisfied with all that had happened in Indian politics in recent time but it appeared for the time being that they wanted to forget the past.

I had also occasion to meet many of India's hitherto expatriated revolutionaries, Indian revolutionaries who fought for India's freedom from abroad. There was scarcely any sign of jubilation in their face. These matured faces which for years provided inspiration to young bloods in different parts of India and abroad, in military prisons in Singapore, in far-off Geneva, during the first world war in Japan and China and in the islands of the Far East, not to speak of the different parts of the American continent looked grave and sad on the 15th of August, 1947. One of these persons, the story of whose life filled my youthful days with romance of adventure, and in later years at whose feet I had the honour to sit down like a humble child, to listen to those gallant chapters of the history of my motherland which were never written, appeared particularly morose on this occasion. Indian businessmen and organizers of the India League of America accepted a time-honoured attitude and joined in jubilations. In spite of youthful fanfares everywhere, the grim and suffering faces of these ex-Indian revolutionaries created a shadow throughout, which was ominous and set young minds thinking.

INDIA TRADE COMMISSIONER CELEBRATES INDEPENDENCE DAY

M. R. Ahuja, India's Trade Commissioner in New York, hoisted the flag amidst shouts of "Jai Hind" and "Bande Mataram". Speeches sent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for this special occasion was read out. Ambassador Asaf Ali's written speech was also read out on this occasion, besides the speech of Mr. Ahuja. Mrs. Kamala Mukherjee accompanied by other ladies led the singing of 'Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka'. Miss Maya Mukherjee, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Mukherjee, greeted the guests by fixing India's national flag on their dress. After the flag hoisting, refreshments were served to the guests.

INDIA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

In an open invitation to all Indians and their friends, the India Society of America, an organisation initiated by Hari G. Govil celebrated India's Independence day in the Wing's Club of the Hotel Biltmore. The India Society of America is an organisation for the reciprocal study, appreciation, and enjoyment of the arts, culture and commerce of India as they relate to the allied progress and aspiration in the United States of America.

INDIA'S FLAG REPLACED IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Twenty minutes after twelve, on August 15, 1947, Padmanabh Pillai, India's permanent delegate to the United Nations, raised the tri-colour over one of the fifty five flag poles of the United Nations. The former British Union Jack with the seal of the India Government over it was lowered by one of the official guards of the United Nations. In a brief speech, Padmanabh Pillai paid tributes to the memory of all those in different countries of the world who helped and fought for India's freedom and who are no longer living today. He also thanked the British Government for their kind and co-operative attitude. Sir Alexander Cadogan, British representative to United Nations Security Council, also spoke a few words on this occasion. He said, "Among all the jubiliations of the inauguration of India's Independence let us forget bitter histories of the past and start anew in complete mutual co-operation to build a world where friendship and love only abides." The acting Secretary General also greeted the Indian flag as a flag representing one-fifth of the population of the world which joins today with other flags of sovereign nations in making efforts to build a world where peace and fellow-feeling will prevail. Newspaper cameras, movie reels, and scores of private cameras waited in vain to obtain a favourable wind to take a complete snap of the flag. Later, the flag had to be held by a pole and the picture was taken. A small group of United Nations officials and associates were guests of the Indian Delegation at a cock-tail luncheon given in the press lounge of the United Nations at Lake Success. Marking the formalities of the celebrations were those events which preceded the hoisting of the flag. The permanent delegate was at first greeted by the chief of the protocol division and the party proceeded a distance where it met the acting Secretary General and other members of the Indian Delegation. The official party were then led marching to the circular arena in front of the administration building where flags of the 55 nations were flying.

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE

Over the flag pole of the 14-storied students' residential house, called the International House, the Indian students, now resident there who number more than 50 including boys and girls, hoisted the tri-colour with shouts of 'Jai Hind'. The authorities of the House at first hesitated to allow permission but when the flag of the United States was also flown alongside, Mr. Mott, the Director of the House, did not raise any objection. International House is a residential house for students of different nationalities established under the patronage of the Rockefeller. Out of 300 boys and 200 girls for whom accommodation is maintained, there are at present about twenty Indian girls and more than 30 Indian boys living in this house. On the midnight of the 14th August, a small group of Indian students and their other friends of various nationalities collected in the lawn before the house and celebrated the dawn of the Independence day with short speeches. Mr. Kishu and Miss Anjani were the main speakers. A midnight dinner followed the celebrations.

NEW YORK INDIANS CELEBRATE INDEPENDENCE DAY

By far the biggest celebration of India's Independence day was performed at 8-15 P.M. on the 15th August in the Theatre Hall of Hotel Barbizon Plaza. The function was organised by the India League of America. Flags of both India and Pakistan were raised by an Indian and Moslem girl student. The British Flag was lowered by J. J. Singh, who said that he was honoured with the task of lowering the hitherto flying British Indian flag and was accordingly very pleased to perform that solemn function. Distinguished friends of India and Indian residents in New York were allowed the floor to speak a few words on this occasion. The meeting started with the blowing of conch and the display of Indian artistic dances on the stage. Among the speakers included Dr. Soetan Sjahrir, ex-Premier of Indonesia, Norman Thomas, for several times candidate for U. S. Presidency, Representative Emanuel Celler, Louis Fischer, Sidney Hertzberg, Tarak Nath Das and Gobind Behari Lal. Dr. Sjahrir mentioned that although all that has taken place in India in recent times may not be considered very happy by many of the Indians, yet it was undoubtedly a great day for rejoicing. Like India, Indonesia, too, has had many internal troubles but he hoped all those will soon vanish away and India will emerge out into one nation instead of two nations before long. Throughout the aftermaths of the celebration of India's independence day, the personality of one man which figured most prominent in the discussions in coffee circles and small informal political lobbies, was the gray-haired, 65 years old first world-war revolutionary, Prof. Tarak Nath Das. In eloquence, forcefulness, originality and above all sincerity, Tarak Nath Das featured as the most outstanding speaker of the day.

Pointing out with a forceful and spirited eloquence, this silver-haired, decade-seasoned, Indian revolutionary narrated in moving language the history of India's fight for independence, from the dawn of Aurobindo era to the present day. He laid particular stress on those glorious unwritten chapters of India's history when Indian revolutionaries with the help of foreign aids fought and died for India's independence - unlamented and unknown. Deafening cheers to the memories of these heroes greeted the climaxing expressions of his speech as he proceeded step by step to unfold those poignant pages of India's history, which he was one of the few who was entitled to narrate. Idle remarks of impatience at times disturbed his speeches from some recalcitrant corners which were soon suppressed to silence either by the force of the sincerity of his speech or by over-enthusiastic cheers of the audience. Summarizing the forces which at various periods of India's history of struggle played a significant role to awaken the consciousness of the people, Dr. Das laid special emphasis on the role played by the undergrounds in the achievement of India's independence. Without minimizing the contributions of the ideas of non-violence and Gandhiji's mass movements, he presented a new perspective to future historians abroad who knew little about India's half-a-century old revolutionary undergrounds. He was keen and original in pointing out that

the freedom movement of India had its birth in the revolutionary organizations started first in Bengal and later spread throughout India.

The story of India's martyrs, whose character, discipline and self-sacrifice was unparalleled in the political annals of the world was for the first time presented before the American public by one of the earliest apostles of India's underground revolution, in a way that spontaneously excited appreciation. Ladies jumped from their seats, men threw out their hats, cheers of 'hear', 'hear' reverberated the packed-up auditorium of the Barbizon Plaza as he continued to unfold the activities of men who marched towards death. Dr. Das was sad on the day of India's independence for he pointed out that those men both Hindus and Moslems, Sikhs and Christians, who in hundreds gave up their lives, facing the gallows or the bullets in court martials, did not pay that price to buy a divided India and be a laughing stock before the world. Let our leaders, Prof. Das continued, remember that the freedom of India, inasmuch as it is not a gift from the British, is neither also the achievement of any single political party, leadership or personality, however great that may be. It is the result of that accumulated price which was paid in blood in the massacres of thousands of India's patriotic children, of conscious revolutionaries who embraced the gallows or braved the Andamans, men who were shot down in court martials, persons who were killed while undergrounds, deaths unlamented in bomb explosions in forests or secret factories, men who died starving as fugitive in helpless circumstances, people who were poisoned or tortured to death in police barracks and under-trial camps, families which perished for want of sympathy from their own neighbours, youths who in their full blooms took up the mantle of the ascetic with a *Gita* in

one hand and a revolver in the other, men who preferred to shoot themselves down before submitting to humiliating degradations. The blood of all these people has today brought before us the light of independence. No leader in India, however great and exalted he may be, has a right to play games of political pastimes with such sacred objects as India's freedom. Prof. Das summed up by thanking all those foreign elements, particularly progressive people in every land of the earth who helped and financed many an Indian project for achieving independence from abroad. He also warned the present leadership, on behalf of those hitherto ex-patriated Indian revolutionaries with whom he worked in different parts of Asia, Europe and America, that they will never rest quiet until the division of India is broken down, once and for all and one flag flies over the sub-continent of India, the flag whose vision they had seen from the dawn of the present century.

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL GREET'S INDIA'S FREEDOM

Promising to be the world's biggest Cathedral, St. Patrick's Cathedral, a church of the catholic denomination greeted in their Sunday service India, on her emergence to Independence. Cardinal Spilman, speaking about the freedom of India said, we have to look towards Asia, now, for guidance and inspiration. In a free India, lies the greatest hope of mankind. The race of infinite potentiality, along with China, India will lead the way to world peace. India, said Cardinal Spilman, is the biggest force in Asia and is undoubtedly going to be the biggest nation of the world with her old culture and civilization, which will now witness a new orientation with the emergence of the light of freedom.

New York, August 18, 1947.

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COALITION MINISTRIES IN THE TWO BENGALS

By AJIT KUMAR SEN, M.A.,

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THE talk of coalition ministries in Bengals is in the air. Punjabs are on fire, otherwise the talk of coalitions there would also have been heard. Prime Minister Khuhro of Sind points out that a coalition ministry in Sind is only possible if coalitions are settled facts in Punjabs and Bengals. But he is also reported to have said (*Hindusthan Standard*, 29th August, p. 4) that if the minorities in Sind would co-operate with his Government, then his offer of a coalition ministry stands. It is not clear if this offer in Sind presupposes the above two conditions on the second condition only.

Prime Minister Ghosh of West Bengal is also reported to have said that he knows the views of Congress High Command in the matter of coalitions and he would like to know how authoritative Muslim League quarters view this question. S. Kiron Sankar Roy, leader of Congress party in the East Bengal Assembly, has been (*Statesman*, 24 August, p. 1) authorized to entertain a

formal offer on the basis of 2 Congress Ministers for East Bengal. But the coalitions in Bengal must stand by themselves: they must not be conditional on coalition ministries in other provinces.

Thus it is seen that the "coalition affair" is likely to become a live political issue in the Governments of the two Bengals. Mr. Nazimuddin has already seen Dr. Ghosh on this matter (*Hindusthan Standard*, 31 August).

The question can be viewed from the angle of approach of a politician: but in the following lines the subject of coalition ministry in the two Bengals is being discussed from another angle: the angle of approach of a closet-philosopher.

In my view, this concept or slogan of "coalition ministry" in the two Bengals is the offspring of some confusion of thought. Some of us had read or heard of coalition ministries in France or some projected coalitions in some provinces in India after the promulgation of the

Government of India Act, 1935. And they argue that a coalition ministry is a broad-based ministry, evoking the loyalty of the adherents of the political parties who enter into the coalition. Applied to the two Bengals, it means that if the Congress and the Muslim League in the two Bengals create coalition ministries, then the masses, the adherents of the two political parties in Bengal who count, will give their whole-hearted support to such a ministry and the preservation of law and order would be an easy matter, specially in times like these when they are at a discount. Thus stated, the argument in favour of coalition ministries in the two Bengals sounds plausible. But there are certain difficult hurdles.

In politics or history whenever we come across a coalition ministry, such a coalition implies a coalition amongst two or more parties, operating within the confines of *one state* and the loyalties of the parties concerned revolve round a *single state*.

This condition does not obtain in the cases of the projected coalitions in West and East Bengals. The coalition in one part of Bengal does not stand by itself, it is not to be discussed on its own merits, (a coalition in Sind, according to Prime Minister Khuhro presupposes coalitions in Bengals and Punjabs) but there will be a coalition in West Bengal, presumably if there is one in East Bengal and *vice-versa*. This is the first difficulty, that a coalition East Bengal Ministry presupposes a coalition in another province *viz.*, West Bengal. But the difficulty does not stop at that. These two provinces, though politically parts of the same province before 15th August, are now, not merely two provinces, like West Bengal and Bihar, of the same State or Dominion, but what is far more important from our standpoint: they are provinces of two separate Dominions or States *viz.*, India and Pakistan. This is the second and a most formidable hurdle. Thus viewed, a coalition ministry in East Bengal has to pass the local test, then the inter-provincial test as between the two Bengals and finally a test, which such a coalition is not likely to surmount, I mean the inter-statal or inter-dominion test. This is the supreme test and that is why Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the Prime Minister of West Bengal went to Delhi to know the views of the Congress High Command. I advisedly said that the projected coalition in any part of Bengal is not likely to pass the supreme test. The reason is this.

The two dominions, India and Pakistan, are sovereign political entities; the genesis in the case of India lies in the Congress, that of Pakistan in the Muslim League. For all practical purposes the Government of India, for the time being, will be a one-party government, similarly the Muslim League party will run the Pakistan Government. There will thus be a close correspondence between the party and the government of the relevant dominion. If this view of things is accepted, then it comes to this, that the proposed coalition ministry in East Bengal and West Bengal will be under a certain amount of control of the Congress and Muslim League High Commands respectively. Let me make it clear.

This coalition ministry affair, whether in East Bengal or in West Bengal is not going to be an isolated local

affair. That is why Dr. P. C. Ghosh' arms himself with the views of Congress High Command and that is the reason why he would like to know the reactions of authoritative Muslim League quarters, meaning obviously the High Command of the latter. Mr. Nazimuddin would do likewise. Not only in its genesis but also in its working the Congress High Command will have its finger in the pie of the East Bengal Ministry through its Congress representatives, similarly the Muslim League High Command will be enabled to poke its nose into West Bengal ministerial affairs through the League representatives on the ministry. If this is so the single-party government of India will poke its nose into the governmental affairs of East Bengal—a province of a different dominion or State. Similarly, the one-party government of Pakistan run by Muslim League will also dabble in Western Bengal governmental affairs—the Governmental affairs of a province of a different dominion. It thus reduces itself to an absurdity. It means in effect that India dabbles in Pakistan affairs and Pakistan in Indian affairs. If that is where coalition ministry-making in the two Bengals leads us, then there was no sense in the partition of India on the 14-15th August.

The logic of partition of India into two dominions, the fact of one-party government (it may be for the present) in the two dominions and the unfortunate division of Bengal into two parts, one belonging politically to one State, the other being part of the second State; all these prove the political absurdity of coalition ministry-making in the Bengals.

By this I do not mean to convey the impression that a coalition ministry in either of the two Bengals is not desirable or is inexpedient. What I want to say is that on the basis of facts as above stated it is illogical. It may be desirable from the standpoint of the problem of the maintenance of law and order, and possibly also it may contribute to the efficiency and smooth running of the administrative system.

This question of a coalition ministry in Bengals may be viewed from another standpoint. Students of politics are aware of the distinction between a coalition ministry and a "national" government. In emergencies like the last Great War, Mr. Churchill sought the co-operation of all the parties and a "national" government was formed to fight the war. In France, normally all ministries are coalition ministries; and why? No single party in the French parliament can command any majority over the other parties combined: hence in a responsible system of government where the executive has to enjoy the confidence of the legislature, a coalition between two or more parties is necessary to command a temporary majority in the legislature.

The projected coalition in the East and West Bengal (about which the two prime ministers had talks with each other only recently) does not stand in need of a temporary majority in the respective legislatures. Every one knows the Congress party has a safe majority in West Bengal legislature and the same is true of the Muslim League party in East Bengal Assembly. So the

raison-d'être of a coalition ministry is lacking in the Bengals.

But do we need a coalition ministry of the type of a "national Government" as defined above? Is there any emergency confronting the two Bengals which necessitates two coalitions in the two Bengals? What is the nature of that emergency? If there is any realisation of the gravity of such an emergency in the two Bengals, where was then the justification of the division? There might have been a composite ministry everywhere. Besides even if there be a realisation of this nature, it must be noted that East Bengal and West Bengal belong to two separate States. Any coalition ministry based on understandings on the highest level is surely to land us into many pitfalls which, I am sure, the two prime ministers will not relish.

Granting for the sake of argument, that the two Bengals are confronted with identically grave problems, will a coalition ministry, in that case, help to ease the situation?

Before dealing with this aspect of the matter, let us rivet our attention on another aspect of this coalition ministry. If the Congress, in order to run the administration, and secure a majority in the legislature, has to woo the Muslim League, the Muslim League, in that case becomes essential for ministry-making and the latter gets a whip-hand. Similar is the case, if the Muslim League say in East Bengal Assembly, has to woo the Congress for getting a temporary majority. Here the Congress being essential, will wield power. This is what is known as the "tyranny of the minority"; and students of French politics are well aware of the power wielded by the smallest of political parties in the task of ministry-making.

But in the two Bengals this sort of coalition is not a necessity. Had this been so, the Congress would have been readily wooed by the League in East Bengal and the League by the Congress in West Bengal. The stock of the League in West Bengal and Congress in East Bengal would have risen.

The coalition that is visualised is not necessary for majority: it will be, so to say, a coalition based on the principle of charity. Two Congress ministers in East Bengal will be charity boys, counter-balanced by the spectacle of two similar League charity boys in West Bengal. The minority ministers will be there on sufferance: they cannot demand any price like the French prototype.

Hence the question naturally crops up: Is this device of coalition ministry worth having? What good will it subserve? The good that is likely to be promoted (if it is assumed that it may be conducive to some good) may be of the subjective or of the objective type. In the answer to such a question will be found also an answer to the query which we just now put to ourselves and whose answer we deferred giving for the time being. The question was: Faced as the two Bengals are with grave problems almost bordering on emergencies, would the installation of two coalition ministries in the two Bengals help to ease the situation?

(a) It may be claimed that, the mere sight of two Congress-League coalition ministries in the two Bengals will produce a tremendous psychological effect: and that is a subjective good of the highest order. Granting it to be so, it may still be pointed out that whatever subjective good it has a tendency to produce, has been effectively or will be effectively neutralized by two devices. *Firstly*, the scheme of separate electorate has the tendency to nullify this good effect. The scheme of separate electorate, with its concomitants, the division of the legislature and the emergence of parties on religious basis: this goes ill with coalitions at the top, when you have taken care to introduce divisions amongst the electorate and the masses. First thing should come first. *Secondly*, the device of giving option to governmental officers to choose East or West Bengal has very effectively rooted out, in advance, all chances of a good psychological effect. To erect coalition ministries on the pedestal of a divided electorate and (still more worse) a communal-ridden officialdom is a device, the wisdom of which is certainly questionable. If the officialdom is communal from top to bottom, can a coalition produce that good psychological effect? If the electorate is divided into water-tight compartments, if the political parties correspond to such a divided electorate, of what avail will a coalition be? If the pillars of electorate, parties and officialdom are cracked, can the superstructure, however well-designed it may be, mend matters?

(b) The preservation of law and order, an objective good, of first priority, will be facilitated by the projected device of a coalition, it is argued. This argument loses much of its force in the context of separate electorate and communal parties joined with the new device of a communal officialdom.

(c) It may be argued that a coalition ministry in the two Bengals will tend to produce a smooth administration. It would be correct up to a point, but the basic condition of a "coalition officialdom" is necessary. It is well to recall in this connection the grievance which Sardar Patel made, when he said that the executive councillor in one particular department, belonging to one political party, was confronted by a solid phalanx of permanent officialdom having its sympathies on the other side. If the officialdom is communal, let the ministry be a one-party ministry and a communal one, if necessary. This will be clear as we proceed.

The theory of smooth administration as above, in my opinion, refers to the relationship between the ministry, the political executive, and the officialdom, the permanent executive. This correspondence will tend to ensure smoothness in either of the two cases: a communal ministry with a communal officialdom or a coalition ministry (not of the charity type as discussed above) with a coalition officialdom. If a coalition ministry is sought to be created, it ought to be preceded by a "coalition officialdom." I do not emphasise on the sequence: what I mean is that you cannot have a real coalition ministry at the top, with all the advantages, subjective and objective, which you desire, unless it is accompanied by a coalition officialdom which the system of "opting" has effectively killed. Of

course, this argument will lose much of its force, if the permanent civil service can develop real neutrality. Under the circumstances prevailing in the two Bengals the argument stands.

(d) The theory of smooth administration really leads to the question of efficiency in administration. Can a coalition ministry here, by virtue of its being a Congress-League coalition and irrespective of the composition of the officialdom generate that efficiency? For the moment we are not thinking about officialdom, its composition and its relationship with the ministry. We consider the question of relative efficiency as between a one-party homogeneous ministry and a ministry of the coalition type.

Homogeneous one-party ministries can develop bold policies, say, in regard to land, industry, labor, price, education health, etc. Coalitions are a drag. In present-day Bengal imaginative bold policies about social planning are urgently necessary. This will be sadly neglected if coalitions are installed. It may be argued that the League ministers and members in the Assembly are in a majority in East Bengal; therefore coalitions are not obstacles to the enunciation of bold policies. If that is so, coalition becomes unnecessary. Really there is a dilemma: if the projected Congress ministers, say in East Bengal, though controlling 2 or 3 seats in the ministry, can impose their point of view on the other ministers of the League group, then it becomes a drag on the enunciation of bold policies of reform and hence mischievous from the League point of view: If on the other the Congress ministers in East Bengal behave as "good" and "charity" boys, such a coalition is not only worthless, it is mischievous from the Congress point of view. This does not make for efficiency.

(e) Again, a coalition ministry leads to dissipation of responsibility. For weak-kneed policies of the ministry, the members in the assembly and the electorate outside, who generally think, not in terms of compromise, but, in terms of clear-cut issues, will like to locate responsibility; but the League ministers, in their justification, will tend to throw the blame on the other part. Similar will be the case with West Bengal. A coalition, therefore, will not be an efficient policy-maker, nor an efficient executive.

(f) Herein lies the rub. The Muslim electorate, say in East Bengal, on the advent of Pakistan must be entertaining high hopes about its economic status. If the dreams of the Muslim masses do not materialise,—and the chances are ten to one that they will not—the temptation of the League section of the ministry to make a scapegoat of the Congress section will prove irresistible. The breakdown of a coalition will, in all likelihood, be followed by civil commotion and other evils. The chances of future coalitions on the advent of the new constitutions will recede.

(g) The consequences of such a breakdown may, probably will, complicate matters elsewhere. They will not be confined within the two Bengals. Since, for the present, a one-party system will operate in India, I mean the Congress, and also a one-party system in Pakistan, the Muslim League, the consequences of a breakdown in the coalition in the Bengals will embitter the relations between the two contiguous dominions. In my view, the two High

Commands ought not to take any moral responsibility in the coalition affair.

(h) There is another attendant risk on the breakdown of a coalition. There is a possibility of disintegration in the party joining a coalition. When the coalition ceases to be operative for one reason or other, it is possible the new ministry might be constituted with a section of the party seceding from the coalition as was the case in Britain when the Labour party broke away but Ramsay MacDonald and a few of his Labour-colleagues remained in coalition with the conservatives. Those who would like the existing political parties to go into the melting pot will not, of course, be afraid of such a consequence. Probably Dr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. Nazimuddin do not belong to that category.

If it is conceded that a coalition in the two Bengals may lead to serious and unpleasant consequences, should that not be a reason for not hurrying matters? May we not wait till the new constitutions of the two dominions and their provinces are framed? Should we not know the nature of the electorate they are going to constitute in Pakistan? What then is the alternative if coalition ministries are not worth having? Not only they are not worth having, they are positively dangerous. Why then should the two Bengal Prime Ministers meet each other and talk about it? The Prime Ministers themselves might be sceptical about it, but their talks may be intended as a soothing balm to the lacerated heart of united Bengal. The unity of Bengal is gone: are the premiers trying to salvage something by this device of coalition? Or is it merely a show to assuage the feelings of the public?

I do not want to lay myself open to the charge of injecting a spirit of pessimism by exposing the dark side of coalition ministries. What I have attempted to show is that the very basis of coalitions in the two Bengals is politically absurd—two inter-dependent coalitions in two provinces belonging to two different States and implying an understanding between two different political parties, which lie at the basis of the two States. Since the two parties are responsible for the division of India and the provinces, it does not look nice and graceful to talk of such irrational and politically absurd coalition so soon after the event.

Let me return to the point of finding alternatives to a coalition ministry. For this, a functional approach is the best method: what is the purpose for which we want a coalition ministry in the two Bengals. The first and foremost purpose is to instil a sense of security, then to generate a feeling of understanding each other's viewpoints and also to cultivate fellow-feeling. It is also necessary for maintaining law and order in Bengal which has become nowadays priority No. 1: it is expected also to ensure smooth and efficient administration and thereby contribute to common welfare. I shall be very brief in dealing with these alternatives.

This aspect of the question can be looked at from various angles: do we want any immediate spectacular effect? If so, "opting" by officialdom should be reversed—a "coalition officialdom" should be the rule. If we

want some permanent improvement in the relations among masses, we are to abolish separate electorate, root and branch. Every minister, as in France, with some qualifications, may create his "own personal cabinet", which might act as a consultative committee and to which he might bring members from the other party. Liaison officers between the two Bengals may be posted at important centres and frequent consultations at lower and higher levels will generate a feeling of amity. These are institutional devices calculated to infuse a sense of security in the mass mind. For generating fellow-feeling among the masses which is the best guarantee of law and order, a secular and scientific education, of the right type, eschewing all traces of separatism, whether in the shape of denominational institutions or residential Halls, should be injected in the minds of the youth. Above all, the will to develop community life must be ever present. Unless this is so, the other devices, institutional or spiritual, are at best palliatives.

How to generate this will is a difficult problem of
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applied psychology into which I need not enter, because, as a student of politics, I should not transgress my limits.

Till this will is there, it is best, for the minority party, whether in East Bengal or West Bengal to remain in opposition and try to influence the policies of the majority from without and that publicly, rather than from within and behind the screens. The majority controls the minority effectively when the latter has entered the coalition ministry as charity boys: the minority controls the majority in a coalition ministry only when the minority is essential to the majority (not as charity boy) as in France. Since the minority, i.e., the League in West Bengal and the Congress in East Bengal is not essential for ministry-making, it is best policy for the minority to remain in opposition.

Coalition ministry in the present-day Bengal and under existing conditions is incapable of realizing the purpose for which people yearn for it.

To a student of politics—it is far worse; it is insane politics and that too is dangerous.

"RICHER BY ASIA"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

In this work by an American journalist of repute and an officer of U. S. Strategic Services, the author discusses the significance of the Orient in World Politics and World Peace as well the future of the Orient.

Today cold, ideological as well as economic warfare between the Communist Russia and her adherents on the one hand and the United States of America, Britain and their supporters on the other is in progress. Freedom of humanity is threatened with a possible new conflict (war). Clashes of interest of these powers are not limited to Europe and the Balkan regions, but are evident in Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, India, China, Korea, Japan and other parts of Asia. Re-assertion of Asian peoples in the form of overthrow of alien domination or revolutions leading to that end has created a new situation in world politics. In any conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States, Asia may well hold the balance of power. In fact, Asia has assumed the position of greater significance politically, economically and strategically than ever before. For other practical reasons Asia looms large in world affairs. In this connection it should not be forgotten that more than half of the population of the world is in Asia and it is the cradle of ancient civilisations which have influenced human destiny. Thus it is imperative that the problems of Asia should be studied with care.

In the past, in most cases, studies of Asia by western political scientists as well as sociologists have

been biased and inadequate, because of their superiority complex, insularity and studied efforts to ignore psychological aspects of Asian discontent and history of the peoples. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Edmund Taylor's book *Richer by Asia* is an honorable exception; and the reviewer suggests that it should be regarded as a "must book" for all those who wish to understand the present situation in Asia and specially India. However, it should also be noted that it is not an easy book to master.

In the Chapter "The Pathology of Imperialism" (pages 29-104), Mr. Taylor brilliantly discusses some of the fundamental issues which are often ignored. The following will supply some food for thought:

"... The anti-native ideology of the white man, that is, of the whiteman who habitually lived in the East, was more of a political reality than the native's anti-white ideology, white racism more widespread, tainting more individuals, and more intricately entwined with all the individual's attitudes than was yellow or brown racism. The native resented certain manifestations of the white man. The Sahib often hated and feared and despised everything native in all natives.

"The revolutions of Asia, like all revolutions, were economic and political. They were struggles for bread and power, but more than any revolutions which have ever occurred in the West they were struggles for human dignity. They were struggles to win for the peoples of Asia the Four Freedoms we promised them and a fifth freedom we have failed to realise was just as basic—Freedom from Contempt.

"The colonial system in Asia perhaps violated the democratic ideal of human dignity by denying

* *Richer by Asia* by Edmund Taylor. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company 1946. Pp. 281. Ds. 22.00

to the native political, economic, and sometimes legal rights which it gave to the white Sahib. It violated the ideal much more grievously and much more directly by using as political and economic overseers in colonial lands a class of men who believed in and practised systematically rudeness to most of the natives with whom they had any personal contact. *It was the Sahib's rudeness which did the native the most harm because it deprived him of his most valuable possession—his personal dignity.* No reform of colonial rule would represent any victory for the occidental ideal of human dignity unless it included a reform of the Sahib's character, for the Sahib, in terms of the Occident's noblest ideal, was a cultural renegade . . ." (pages 100-103).

What has happened in the Punjab and in the form of Pakistan's recent aggression against Kashmir State through encouragement and support of raiders from the North-Western provinces may be better understood, if one gets acquainted with the policies behind the creation of Pakistan through partition of India. Indeed, there have been the unseen hand of British imperialism, carrying on psychological warfare against Indian nationalism. Mr. Taylor writes :

"While I was in India, the British were obviously supporting Jinnah's Pakistan campaign. Jinnah professed to be as anti-British as Gandhi, but it is one of the tenets of secret psychological warfare that you try whenever possible, to have your enemies spread your propaganda for you. (On the same principle the British supported the Indian Communists during the war). Whether any British funds actually helped to finance the Pakistan campaign, I do not know. The mere fact that the British press in India, officially-sponsored British writers and even some responsible British officials in their unofficial moments, all spoke well of Jinnah and let it be known throughout India that they thought well of him, helped him to attract a wealthy and influential Moslem clientele, even if it roused suspicion among the nationalists."

"The British consciously and deliberately maneuvered so as to keep the native political forces opposed to them weak and divided . . . If, for instance, the British had established an electoral law which would have obliged every candidate for office to seek support from the members of two or more racial or religious communities, the communal issue would soon have disappeared from Indian political life. Instead the British did just the opposite. They founded the electoral law upon the representation of communities, allotting to each a set number of seats in the Central and Provincial legislatures, thus requiring Hindus to vote for Hindu candidates, Moslems for Moslem candidates, and so on. The system inevitably produced the politicalisation of communal tensions, which the British aggravated by supporting personalities or parties as it suited the tactical needs of the moment. Politics in all lands is the struggle for power, and by putting the racial-religious communities of India into politics, the British converted cultural groups into rival power-blocs . . . Thus, in playing the divide-and-rule game with the communal groups in India, the British produced something much more sinister than the political disunity of India. They converted these groups into delusive political sovereignties unable to reconcile their conflicting interests except where reconciliation could be imposed by force, impervious to any logic but

the logic of power. *The British might have used their power to impose solutions which would ultimately have removed communal issues from political field. Instead they used their power to foster the transformation of religious or racial minorities into tribal or religious fanaticisms, disguised as modern political parties.* For two and a half years I watched Pakistan grow like an evil weed under British protection and encouragement . . ." (pages 151-161).

Western scholars of Indian politics often preach that the situation of Indian politics is so complicated that it is not possible to get a clear understanding. But Mr. Taylor thinks differently :

"Much of confusion in Indian politics was really in the minds of Western observers and did not necessarily indicate that the Indians were confused. Much of the conflict in Indian politics—including the inner conflicts of Indians which sometimes made them so ineffectual—was the direct or secondary effect of the British divisive policy . . . The most alarming element in Indian politics—the clash between Moslem nationalism and the All-India nationalism of the Congress Party—might be serious enough to discredit on grounds of public order, the Indian claim to self-government, but it could not be imputed to a defect in Indian culture. The gravity of clash, in my opinion was not due to a historic inability to get along between two peoples, but to the importation from the West of a political concept—nationalism—which had proved itself murderous in nearly any context. It was this Western malady which had caused the Moslems to imagine they were a nation and many Hindus to feel that they had a divine right to govern all Indians in the name of All-India. It certainly was not an expression of political backwardness—unless one considers the West as politically backward." (pp. 162-163).

Thus it is clear, if one judges the situation in India with a single standard of political conflicts in the East as well as in the West, then the situation is not different from what has been happening in the West.

In future India will play the leading role in influencing relations between the East and the West. Therefore, it may be worth-while to consider what might be the attitude of Indian leaders who are mostly western educated men and—women with Britain and western powers. In answering this question most of the western historians think in terms of trade and commerce and ignore the psychological aspect of the possible outcome, while Mr. Taylor shows his deep insight that cultural imperialism of the West is possibly the prime factor in the present as well as future antagonistic attitude of the East towards the West, although East has assimilated much of Western cultural assets which are really assets of the whole world :

"There is obviously a misunderstanding but it seems to me much more a political than cultural misunderstanding. East and West have been at war for roughly some two hundred years. Perhaps this war is nearing its end but it is not over. Even the political independence of India will not abolish all worldly conflict between India and Britain. As long as the imperialist attitude of the West survives in

our economic, diplomatic and social contacts with the peoples of the East a war-mentality will color the thinking of the East about the West and of the West about the East. As long as war-mentality exists, the Indians will refuse to admit to themselves—and to the world—the cultural debt they owe to the West" (page 223).

To understand the peoples of the East, Western scholars should have thorough knowledge of the philosophical attitudes towards life. Thus Mr. Taylor has made an attempt to get a clear understanding of doctrines of *Karma*, re-incarnation, Buddhist conception of illusion as well as enlightenment. He has even tried to fathom the attitude of cherishing "spiritual basis of Indian nationalism" rooted in the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita. He comes to the conclusion that "a new Asiatic culture, owing much to the West but a great deal more indigenous than the dominant Chinese or Japanese cultures has arisen in India. Much will be heard from this new culture in the near future, I think, and we are going to see some developments in the world which we would not have believed possible a few years ago" (page 395).

Mr. Taylor, who have seen enough of war and who was not a pacifist has a world vision that world unity is essential for the future hope of mankind. There must be *One World* in the true sense of the expression. This cannot be achieved without co-operation of Asia on the basis of Human Dignity and Equality. However he thinks that

"Apart from the final goal of world unity, it seems to me that Asia is a vital factor in maintaining the present precarious balance of power in the world . . . If the Chinese war finally ends in a peace that is neither American nor Russian, but Chinese, we shall begin to hear the people of that ancient land talking to us in a new voice. Long before then, I suspect that we shall hear some startling things from the great new Power of

—:0

Southern Asia—India . . . Unless the diplomatic tensions of the world at large tear open her own precariously healed fissures, India in certain circumstances can play an independent mediating role between the Western democracies and Russia, and I think is very likely to follow such a policy in her foreign affairs. It is almost staggering to the Western mind to think that a backward Asiatic nation just emerging from colonialism could pose as a mediator between the power-giants of the West, but it is not an implausible speculation to suggest that this may come to pass, and it shows glaringly the present dramatic lapse in occidental leadership that such speculations are even possible" (p. 307).

Mr. Taylor while studying social, economic, political and cultural revolution in the East, has not forgotten to probe into the most important and supreme factor in the future of man. The destiny of mankind lies in man himself—Man is his best friend and his worst enemy—thus in the last chapter of the book *Back to Man*, he gives the ethical or spiritual foundation of peace in the form of man's attitude to his fellow men, actually in terms of so-called Hindu philosophy. He writes :

"To be at war with one's brothers is to be at war with oneself, to disinherit oneself by cutting off one's heirs. To participate most fully in the society of which one is a member is to perfect one's own inner wholeness to enhance to oneself one's personal meaning, to multiply all one's possibilities" (page 422)

The importance of the book is so great that the reviewer regards the work as a land-mark in the field of study of Asia by Western scholars. The scholarly expository and somewhat heavy style may not attract the interest of ordinary students or general reading public, but it will influence Western thinking regarding the awakened East.

Dept. of History,
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"THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM IN THE ORIENT"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

In *The Future of Freedom in the Orient*, the author who is a roving journalist, gives sketchy accounts of recent political upheavals and possible future developments in India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Siam, Indo-China, China, Korea, Japan and international policies of great powers in relation to the Orient. It is not a serious study of the vast subject but a popular treatment, altho his central thesis or conclusion is sound.

"Asia is still feudal. But Asia is on the move. We are witnessing the labor pains presaging a rebirth. These are the beginnings of a renaissance, political, cultural, economic, which in time will transform the Orient. The renaissance

which brought the Western world out of the Middle Ages into the modern age took nearly three centuries. The renaissance of the Orient will likewise not be completed in a few years. But, like all great movements of history, while it may be interrupted, it will march on to completion."—(p. 233).

The author contends that while the peoples of the East may achieve freedom from alien rule, they however will not be able to establish democracies, because they are not prepared for it, as the colonial powers did not educate the oriental peoples during centuries they had for the job (p. 15). It may not be out of place to remind that it is a kind of superstition that for a nation to have democracy or self-government it is essential to have a very high percentage of literacy. When the British colonies in America overthrew

* *The Future of Freedom in the Orient* by Ralph Conleton. New York. W. W. Norton & Company, 1947. Pages 234, Price \$3.

colonialism and established representative democracy—a republic—percentage of literacy was not very high. It is generally overlooked that before the establishment of alien rule a democratic spirit of self-government, similar to town meetings of New England, prevailed in the villages of the Orient which will be the foundation of future democracies. It is quite possible that there may arise totalitarianism in certain parts of the Orient as in the twentieth century, totalitarianism—negation of democracy—prevailed in highly literate countries of Germany, Italy, Japan; and today totalitarianism in the form of communism is prevailing in Soviet Russia and her puppet States in the Balkan region, central Europe and other localities. No subject people can ever fully enjoy fruits of democratic government; while freedom from alien domination is the first requisite for a march towards democracy.

While discussing the present trend of world politics, the author recognises the existence of rivalry between Anglo-American Powers on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other. "Any further extension of Soviet influence in any part of the globe is bound to be opposed by Britain in the present alignment of the Russian bloc against the Anglo-American nations" (page 152). It seems that the author minimises the aggressive character of Soviet Russian policy of political expansion (which is more than spreading influence) in East Asia for the purpose of controlling Manchuria, Korea, China and even Japan. Mr. Coniston writes :

"There has been much talk to the effect that Soviet actions in Manchuria have been deliberately provocative. This charge does not seem to stand examination. True, Russian behaviour in Manchuria has not tended to create goodwill among the Chinese and other nations. But that was not its purpose. It was designed, not for the effects on others, but for Russia's own individual purposes, to further Russian interests. If there was any provocation, it was furnished by Russian soldiers as individuals."—(P. 160).

The reviewer sharply disagrees with the above statement, because dismantling of factories of Manchuria which have been transported to Siberia was not done by individual soldiers. Mr. Coniston further writes :

"On the whole, Russian policy in the Chinese civil war has been quite passive, considering that the Soviet Union undoubtedly would feel much happier with a Communist China rather than the Kuomintang Government as a neighbour. Certainly it has been more passive than that of the United States, despite the fact that China is on the very doorstep of Asiatic Russia and not on the other side of broad ocean."—(P. 170).

The author should have kept in mind that Kuomintang Government in China is the only government which has international recognition and the Soviet Government by treaties agreed to co-operate with it; but the Soviet Government has turned over vast quantity of arms and ammunitions captured from the Japanese to the Chinese Communists who are waging a war to overthrow the Chinese

nationalist government. Thus Soviet Russian Government is "passive" (?) by aiding the cause of Communist revolution in China!!

The author thinks that Soviet attitude towards the United States in the Orient, has been influenced by the fact that the United States has taken the place of Japan in checking Soviet Russian expansion. He writes :

"At the moment Russia is most unhappy because Japan is under American domination, half of Korea is similarly controlled and the Nationalist Government of China, while perhaps not actively pro-United States, is certainly anti-Russian. If war should break out between the United States and Russia, these three areas would provide potent bases for operations against Siberia. It was just this threat (although influence with the Chinese Government was replaced by active control of Manchuria) which Japan held over Russia's head for years. The Soviets fear that the United States is stepping into Japan's former role."—(Page 174).

This passage really misrepresents the position of the United States in the Orient. Japan and Soviet Russia became rivals, because both wanted to get political control over certain parts of the Far East, by annexation of territories. The United States is only trying to check Soviet Russia which has assumed the role of Japan and is determined to control Manchuria, Korea and China through Chinese Communists.

Mr. Coniston thinks that unless the United States changes her policy of checking Russia in the Orient, specially in Korea, there is every reason to think that there will be a war between Soviet Russia and the United States :

"Korea promises to become the bloody ground of the Far East. Within short bomber range of the most important Soviet installations in eastern Asia, the country is of vital interest to Russia. In Japan, the United States controls the strategic sentinel of eastern Asiatic mainland; and Korea and Japan are possible bases for operations against each other. The Soviet Union cannot relinquish an area of such strategic importance as Korea to American or any other foreign influence. It is doubtful whether the Russian will be able to endure the presence of the United States as the supreme authority even in Japan if it long continues . . . If the present situation, with Americans and Russians staring the occupation of Korea, continues, there must be friction and possibly war to come. These possibilities go with America's new role in the Far East. The people of the United States must accept them and be prepared for all they mean or retire from the Orient to the equally uncertain security of their own home areas."—(Pages 210-211).

The above passage may mean to many that it is the new role of the United States in the Orient (to check further Russian expansion in the Orient) which will be the cause of the Russo-American war. The author nowhere sufficiently emphasises the point that Russian expansionist policy in the Orient is the real cause of the present tense and delicate situation. This is a serious weakness of the discussions on international situation in the Orient.

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Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SELF-RESTRAINT v. SELF-INDULGENCE : By *M. K. Gandhi*. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. September 1947. Pp. x + 232. Price Rs. 2.

Gandhiji's writings on the present topic were formerly issued in two parts. They have now been brought together under one cover, the old arrangement has been maintained but a few additions have been made.

We are sure, the collection will enjoy the same popularity as the previous editions.

TO THE PROTAGONISTS OF PAKISTAN : By *Mahatma Gandhi*. Gandhi Series, Volume V. Edited and published by *Anand T. Hingorani*, Karachi. Sole Distributors : Rupa & Co., Calcutta, Allahabad. 1947. Pp. xvi + 268. Price Rs. 6-8.

Shri Anand Hingorani has been doing inestimable service by bringing out a classified collection of Gandhiji's writings on various topics. In the present volume, he has also incorporated freely from the authorised version of Gandhiji's post-prayer speeches at Noakhali. The Appendix covering about forty pages contains some very important material relevant to the subject dealt with in the body of the book. These include the Muslim League's Resolutions, Mr. Jinnah's letter to Gandhiji, the Rajaji Formula and so on.

Like his other volumes, the present compilation of Shri Hingorani will undoubtedly prove a most useful book of reference.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE SUBHAS I KNEW : By *Dilip Kumar Roy*. Nalanda Publications. Post Box No. 1353, Bombay. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 5-4.

Shri Dilip Kumar was an intimate friend of Subhas Chandra from college days at the Presidency College. A born hero-worshipper, he became enamoured of Subhas Chandra in his youthful student life period and his admiration for Bose grew in intensity with years of close intimacy. The book is a delightful reminiscence of the writer's personal contact with Subhas-Chandra in whom he saw the soul of India reflected—the soul of spiritual *Bharatvarsa* groaning in bondage. As the writer says he has told about Subhas "the man, the idealist, the dreamer I saw in him having known him through a long and unbroken span of personal intimacy for intimacy's sake." Dilip Kumar realised that 'Subhas was born with an obstinate streak of rational madness' and was charmed with his 'steel-white glow and rocky firmness of his character.'

There are interesting accounts as to how Dilip Kumar, himself a mystic and devotee of Sri Aurobindo, tried to wean Subhas Chandra away from politics, the more so when the latter became sick of treachery of his colleagues and misunderstanding of the Congress High Command and grew despondent

from time to time in the deadening gloom of frustration. According to him, Subhas Chandra was 'a patriot on the surface but a mystic deep within.' In fairness to other's views, the writer has, however, anticipated other people's disagreement regarding this trait of Bose's character. To be frank, we do not share Dilip Kumar's views in toto. From his action and words, it is evident like the blazing sun that Subhas was a patriot to the core, a volcano of activity and emotion, restless and impatient to free his *Janmabhumi* from the shackles of slavery to foreigners. He was an embodiment of *rajasika* energy: activity was his *svadharma* and achievement of the independence of India was his *sadhana*. In the reminiscences written in Dilip Kumar's usual style—absorbing and racy—the reader visualises Subhas Chandra as a brilliant and vivacious student, as a noble and tender-hearted friend, as an impetuous activist with a curious amalgam of robust optimism, shade of despondence and the fervour of a *Yogi* turned towards the realisation not of self but of the freedom of his countrymen.

Incidentally we get a fine pen-picture of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dilip Kumar's beloved hero. As a study of Subhas Chandra's bosom friend, though not in the same sphere of activity, the book is a refreshing addition to the ever-increasing volume on Netaji's life and work. There are several attractive photographs in the book. A ponderous list of errata at the outset of the book produces a chilling effect on the reader's mind; neither does it redound to the credit of any aristocratic publishing concern.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

THE HERO OF HINDUSTAN : By *Anthony Elenjmittam*. Published by Orient Book Company, Calcutta 12. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 6.

This book, published in July, 1947, does not add much to our knowledge of the saga that has grown up round the figure of "Netaji." From his "flight" from India in the third week of January, 1941, to April, 1943, the Indian public were kept in ignorance of what Subhas Chandra Bose had been doing except what we heard in broadcasts sent over the ether from Rome, Dresden, Berlin and Munich. It was during this time that the author appears to have come in contact with "Netaji" and his group. Being a student of philosophy and comparative religion, the author's appreciation of the revolutionary dynamism of Subhas Chandra's life is through the intellect devoted to thought and not to action. It is, therefore, that we are treated to "divine romanticism" to "romantic idealism" in the life of the "hero of Hindustan," not a happy characterization when we remember the determined attempt of "Pakistanis" to interpret the work of the Indian National Congress as basically based on Hindu interests, on the maintenance of Hindu communal pre-dominance. The way in which "Netaji" converted the Indian prisoners of war—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Chris-

tian—in Europe and East Asia to Indian Nationalism undelled is a contradiction to the title of this book.

The jacket of the book has introduced the author to us as "competent to apotheosize—as it were the Netaji and the I. N. A. . . ." India which is surfeit with such apotheosism of her great men in the realm of thought and action should have been spared this new attempt. Except the captions of certain chapters of the book—"Mussolini's Guest," "At Hitler's Berchtesgaden" and "Before the Submarine Left," we have nothing concrete to go by in understanding the inspiration of the great adventure for the success of which Subhas Chandra Bose had risked life, left his country and home, left his old mother. The book is all rhapsody of the traditional thought of India which Netaji imbibed with his mother's milk and knowledge of which he enriched as a student. But it is not as a student of philosophy or in quest of his soul that he went to Rome, Berlin and Tokyo. The book fails to bring out the characteristic of the "hero" in Subhas Chandra Bose which enabled him to build up a State and become the Commander of an army of Indians fighting to wrest from alien hands the freedom of their country.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SIMONE (a novel): By Lion Feuchtwanger. *Hamish Hamilton Ltd., London. Thacker and Company, Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Price Rs. 6-14.*

The novel resolves into a story of the fall of France in 1940. The heroine, a sixteen-year-old Burgundian girl named Simone, a St. Joan born long after her time, is impelled by patriotic motives to offer resistance to the Germans in her own way; she sets fire to the petrol and the lorries, the property of her uncle's, lest they should fall into the hands of the national enemy, the Germans. In the solitude of her life, peopled by the characters she created out of her reading of St. Joan's life, she passes through a spiritual development which is worth describing and which has been suitably described.

The remarkable feature of the novel is the way in which the author has woven the dreams, which a young girl can have of her heroine, into practical life—the idealism of the past, never dead, thus inspiring the young. Simone's is the only character which has been drawn, the others merely forming the background, and her portrait gains all the more dignity for that.

P. R. SEN

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF FREE INDIA: By Prof. Brij Narain. Published by Indian Book Co. Ltd., 57 Nisbet Road, Lahore. Pages 168. Price Rs. 7-8.

The author discusses the subjects in six chapters and as a realist explodes the theories of *charkha* economics. He rightly points out that *laissez faire* is a policy of the nineteenth century and as such free and modern India has no place for this policy. He discusses planning, as a classical economist would do, from an individualist point of view and opines that India would benefit if planning is left to private enterprises under State control. It is a much controversial subject but the author gives his reasons for the thesis. While dead against inflation, the learned professor would favour planning with the help of 'created money' as this is not likely to inflate the currency—the increased production being the neutralising factor. The author criticises the Cabinet Mission's proposals as an economist, and condemns it as impracticable because a weak centre can not take up any nationwide planning worth the name. He advocates a very strong Central Government which would be able to plan for economic uplift of the

country and for the defence. In the last chapter he summarises his recommendations and shows 'the way out' of the various difficulties. He has expressed some political opinions in course of his arguments which may not be supported. He would have done well if he had not gone into political controversies. However we wish the book a wide circulation among students who are interested in the economics of Free India.

A. B. DUTTA

EASTERN LIGHT OF SANATAN CULTURE: By H. H. Rana Udaybhan Singhji of Dholpur. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 384. Price cloth-bound Rs. 7-8, board-bound Rs. 5.

The author of this attractive volume is the enlightened ruler of the Dholpur State who was inspired to write this volume by his daughter, Her Highness the Maharani of Nabha. The book, divided into seventeen chapters, deals with transmigration, image-worship, Karma, Sandhya, Caste-system and other Hindu doctrines and practices. Elementary outlines of these essentials of Hinduism are lucidly described in a simple elegant language understandable to the beginners for whom the book is meant. The chapter on image-worship narrates this interesting fact of history in illustration of the point at issue. Emperor Akbar once remarked to his Hindu Minister Birbal that image-worship was a flaw in Hinduism. The intelligent minister played this cunning trick on the Emperor in order to bring home to him the efficacy and importance of this Hindu practice. Birbal was aware that the Emperor was passionately attached to one of his little nephews. He got a very good effigy of the princely baby made with exact size and similar appearance, and privately instructed the attendants of the real baby to take the life-like image to the garden before the emperor goes there for an airing stroll and in his sight push it directly into the lily pool and then pretend concern at the unfortunate accident. The well-laid plan was effectively worked out. The emperor at the sight of the accident ran to the spot and jumped into the pond to save the life of the beloved baby. In vain Birbal lunged to the hem of the imperial garment and pleaded to command him or anyone of the numerous staff or attendants to do this. When Akbar caught hold of the image in the breast deep waters he understood his folly and learnt the lesson, as desired by Birbal. This shows that the image-worship as practised in Hinduism is in reality idolatry, but never idolatry, as wrongly supposed by the ignorant.

The chapter on the great Bhaktas tells of Soordasji, Tulsidas and Ramakrishna. About the last this is wrongly stated in page 200, 'the great Ramakrishna Paramahansa of the City temple of Dakshineswar in Calcutta.' Neither Dakshineswar is in Calcutta nor its temple a city temple. It is a pity that only one line is written about Ramakrishna who has brought about the new renaissance in Hinduism and made it world-wide. The title of the book too makes a grating impression upon the ears. In spite of these and a few other negligible limitations the book is readable throughout and sure to acquaint the reader with some basic conceptions of Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ESSENCE OF HINDUISM: By Swami Nikhilananda. Published by Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 17 East 94th Street, New York 28, N. Y. U. S. A.

It is difficult in the present state of human thought and knowledge to say anything extraordinarily new on a subject like this; and the author also does

not appear to make any such claim. But even an old truth can bear repetition; and there are some truths which ought to be repeated in order to be remembered. 'There are enough religions in the world to hate one another,' as our author has rightly said, 'but there is not religious spirit enough to make the worshippers love another.' The world has heard this often enough but has not always acted up to it. People who put more value upon religion rather than on the religious spirit should see their mistake and a correct interpretation of Hinduism as of any other religion may help this understanding.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

KASHMIRI LYRICS: *Selected and translated by J. L. Kaul. Foreword by Dr. Amarnath Jha. Published by Rine Midray, Srinagar, Kashmir.*

Kashmir is much in the limelight today with her disturbed politics. Kashmir is an ever mysterious land, her chequered past and romantic present making her an irresistible lure. The political turmoil which has engulfed her, should not mar proper vision and one may perceive deposits of centuries lying at the forgotten depths of her socio-political life. These are the lyrics, of which the present volume is a fine collection. Mr. J. L. Kaul has selected and translated a good number of Kashmiri lyrics from various periods of the literary history of that country. Translations and originals have been placed side by side in the manner of Loeb's series for the advantage of more inquisitive readers. The lyrics selected cover a large variety of topics, including devotion, love, nature and death, and represent a large number of poets and poetesses, both Hindus and Muslims, whose culture seems to have met here at least for a time. Dr. Jha's foreword gives a fitting introduction to this volume while in the learned preface the author guides the readers through the beauties and intricacies of Kashmiri lyrics.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

TRIPHALA: *By Ramesh Bedi, Ayurvedalankar. Vignan Parishad, Prayaga, Allahabad. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*

A scientific and comparative study of our country's herbs is an urgent necessity. Therefore, the present publication, pertaining to the three constituents of that poor man's panacea against most of the common ailments—*triphalā*—namely, *harad*, *baheda* and *amvala* is very welcome indeed. It is exhaustive in information and adequate in the description of the properties of the herbs concerned. Such studies in some of the other well-known herbs, one hopes, will be undertaken also by the same author.

TESS (Part I): *By Thomas Hardy. Translated by Mathasudan Das Chaturvedi. Marwari Navayuvak Mandal, Marwari Bazar, Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A highly readable translation of the well-known English novel of that name. Since it was published, the other two parts also, perhaps, would have been published by the same translator.

G. M.

MARATHI

GITANJALI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated into Marathi by D. D. Rega. Indian Home Publications Ltd., Laxmi Building, 88 Pheroseshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Pp. 61. Price Rs. 2.*

One more translation of *Gitanjali*, done by a young man, on military duty, while confronted every hour with the eternal enquiry, "What is life?" Though it has been made evidently from the English edition instead of the original Bengali, there is a ring of fidelity to the spirit of the latter, born of the translator's sincerity and strength of feeling. The get-up is excellent. There is, however, an inaccuracy in the descriptive notice of the sketch of the back cover page. The sketch, which was made on 27.2.44, is by Sri Abanindranath Tagore and not by Rabindranath Tagore, and it appears to be of "Uttarayana" and not of Udichi and lastly *Gitanjali* was composed long before the building came into existence and so could not have been written there, as the descriptive notice erroneously says.

G. M.

GUJARATI

YUVANONE: *By Swami Vivekananda. Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Rajkot. Pp. 52. Price eight annas.*

A good translation of *Thus Spake Vivekananda*, which is a compilation of the select thoughts and poems of Swami Vivekananda. An inspirational book for youths. The printing and get-up are of a high order.

G. M.

(1) **JIVAN SHODHAN:** *By K. G. Mashruvala. Thick card-board. Pp. 337. Price Rs. 2-8.*

(2) **VARNA VYAVASTHA:** *By Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi. Paper cover. Pp. 180. Price twelve annas.*

(3) **GITA GIT MANJARI:** *By Jugatram Dave. Paper cover. Pp. 164. Price Re. 1.*

Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1946.

Book No. 1 is the 4th edition of Mr. Mashruvala's thoughtful work on the way one's spiritual life should be led. Yoga, Sankhya and other systems of Hindu philosophy are laid under contribution and the result is a serious work, which requires deep study; even then we think that all the same a guide or Guru would be required to expound the ideas underlying the subject. Book No. 2 is the 2nd edition of Gandhiji's views on the caste system. Since writing the first edition, his views have undergone a vital change, and he now recognises one comprehensive caste only, viz., that of humanity or the human race. *Gita Git Manjari* is a collection of 68 songs, composed by the author each illustrating some phase or incident of the Bhagavad Gita. It is a very good translation interesting for perusal by little educated persons.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Paracelsus—Physician and Philosopher

No one fought so passionately for a reformation in the whole body of medical learning as did Paracelsus. Basilio de Telepnef writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Theophrastus von Hohenheim, later known as Paracelsus, was born on November 14th (O. S.) 1493 in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, not far from the famous Benedictine abbey. His father, a doctor, was a descendant of an old noble family whose ancestral home was in Hohenheim, near Stuttgart. His grandfather, Jorg von Hohenheim, held a high office in the Order of the Knights of St. John, and became known for his adventurous journey to the Holy Land in 1468. Paracelsus' father was a natural son, since marriage was not permitted to a high dignitary in the Order. His Swiss mother, a humble native of Einsiedeln, died before Paracelsus was ten years old.

Shortly after her death, father and son went to live in the small Austrian town of Villach, where Paracelsus' father remained until his death as a practising physician and as teacher of "alchemy" at the town's mining school. It was here in Villach that Paracelsus, under the tutorship of his father, first learnt to know the healing properties of the plant kingdom and received his first grounding in the mysteries of alchemical processes. At the same time he was introduced to the current medical teachings and got a practical working knowledge of chemistry in the mining workshops of the Tyrol (especially in those of Sigmund Fuger in the town of Schwaz). After that he studied official medicine at various universities in West and South Germany and in 1509 he received the lowest academic degree (equivalent to Bachelor of Arts) at the University of Vienna. In 1513, when he was twenty years old, he went to Italy by way of the Brenner Pass to study at the well-known University of Ferrara which, two years later, conferred his medical degree upon him.

Then began a ten-year perambulation through the countries of the then known world, which took him to Lisbon and to Santiago de Compostela in North-west Spain, to Moscow in the east, to Scandinavia in the north, and to Sicily, Egypt and Jerusalem in the south.

In 1524, when thirty years old, he went to Salzburg, but his wish to settle down there as a doctor was not granted.

After a few months he had to flee during the night. A revolt had broken out among the downtrodden peasants, for whom Paracelsus, it seems, had shown open sympathy. As he was not the man to go back on his word or to change his opinion to save himself, he had therefore to flee when the religious and civic authorities of the town set about crushing the revolt.

He then tried to settle down in Strassburg but, almost immediately after his arrival, he was called to Bale to the bedside of the renowned humanist and publisher, Frobenius, who was suffering from the effects of a stroke. He succeeded in curing him after the leading doctors of the town and university had failed and, after a short treatment, Frobenius was able to

leave his bed and go about his usual tasks. As a result of this success, Paracelsus was appointed town doctor by the city council and permitted to lecture at the university. He gained the confidence of many of the leading men in the town—among whom were the great Erasmus of Rotterdam, Amerbach and others.

Paracelsus attempted a basic reform in the teaching and practice of medicine, both in the town and in the University of Bale.

But, as can be imagined, he soon attracted the opposition of the doctors, chemists and leading men of the city council. As before in Salzburg, he was not willing to compromise and, as unfortunately his friend and protector Frobenius died from a second stroke at this time and his other friends were not in a position to give him the necessary support, he was obliged to flee again.

So began another long period—fifteen years—of restless wandering. Finally, in the autumn of 1541, he was called again to Salzburg, where he died on September 24th, 1541, when not yet forty-eight years old, as the result of daring experiments with quicksilver and arsenic preparations.

He overthrew the 2,000-year-old medical doctrine of humoralism and put in its place an entirely new natural science, the result of his practical and alchemical experience and of the nature philosophy which he cherished.

In the place of the primitive and rather abstract conceptions of nature, he erected a system which opened the way to the modern scientific method which studies the specific structure and meaning of every object.

Even more than this, he laid the foundation for the understanding of every specific illness and he was the first doctor-scientist to have investigated systematically the possible healing properties of the mineral kingdom and to use minerals successfully in his treatments. His brilliant vision and deep understanding of alchemical processes enabled him to achieve this pioneering work with success, the value and truth of his findings being proved by the fact that he was the first to have used remedies such as quicksilver, antimony, gold, silver and zinc, remedies which today are in universal use.

He was also a pioneer in the fight to establish hygiene and scientific exactness in the preparation and dosage of remedies. This endeavour naturally brought him into strong opposition with the chemists. As Paracelsus never succeeded in winning the co-operation of the chemists, he finally decided to prepare all his remedies himself.

He also undertook intensive research in the attempt to find healing material in the animal kingdom, and in this sense is a forerunner of modern organotherapy. He made drugs out of certain animal tissues which he used especially in the treatment of wounds.

During his extensive travels he gathered a wealth of practical experience and knowledge of the devastating epidemics of the time.

Especially interesting are his findings on the terrible disease, syphilis, which suddenly made its

appearance at the close of the fifteenth century and which was then known as the "new" illness. Oribodox medicine used a certain guayac wood imported from America for the treatment of syphilis. Today, no doctor thinks of using guayac wood for the treatment of syphilis, whereas the heavy metal combinations advocated and used by Paracelsus, are still the most effective aids in the treatment of this disease.

Paracelsus was also a pioneer in the surgical field.

He was the first to realize that the infection of wounds came from dirt introduced from outside and was not, as was supposed up to the nineteenth century, the result of some process within the wound itself. One can therefore consider him as the precursor of the famous Semmelweis. He also knew the anaesthetic property of ether, although he used it only in his experiments on animals.

In addition to these medical achievements which have been only lightly touched upon, Paracelsus also took an active part in the religious battles of his time.

A great part of his writings dealing with magic has only recently been studied systematically in Switzerland.

Like all great men who live before their time and who therefore are not understood or appreciated by their contemporaries, Paracelsus has been judged and is still judged by the fact that he had no great influence on people's thought during his lifetime. Apart from the short period when he taught officially in Bale University, he never had any official position in any university of his day. Only a fraction of his writings was printed during his lifetime and his circle of students was small.

We should not forget the warm reverence in which Hohenheim was held by the German Romantics, among whom one should mention Goethe and the young Goethe. The latter studied Paracelsus' writings eagerly and his *Faust* bears unmistakable marks of the great doctor's influence.

The modern Paracelsus research work is based on Karl Sudhoff and his successor, Prof. Walter von Brunn. Today it falls to the Swiss Paracelsus Society to save the immense wealth of ideas expressed by this great man of the European Renaissance from oblivion, and to dig ever deeper into the meaning of his legacy. The *Nova Acta Paracelsica* is a periodical issued yearly by the Society. A Swiss edition of Paracelsus' works, edited by J. Strebel, has appeared since 1943 in St. Gall.

Paracelsus died at the age of forty-seven on September 24, 1541, in Salzburg. He left all his money and possessions to the poor of the town of Salzburg. Among his meagre effects were found a circle and a compass, fitting symbols of the restless wanderer.

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Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya

The genius of Sarat Chandra has given us a literature which is very rich and distinctive and at the same time can be appreciated by all. Satya Bhooshan Sen writes in *The Indian Review* :

Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya was the greatest literary figure of Bengal (Rabindranath Tagore being of course excepted) for over a quarter of a century. Sarat Chandra was no leader in literature like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee nor a poet supreme like Rabindranath Tagore. Sarat Chandra was a novelist and as a novelist his name will go down to posterity.

Bankim Chandra was the greatest literary figure of his time but literature was not his only distinction.

Bankim Chandra loved his country devotedly and felt deeply concerned in the ultimate well-being of the people of his country. That was a period of transition when the impact of Western civilisation and culture was influencing the people and deflecting the ideas and ideals of the country. With a view to check this onslaught Bankim Chandra took it upon himself to plant the standard of traditional Indian culture and ideals before the people. This might have been one of the main objectives why he originally took to literature. The Bengali prose had not as yet sufficiently advanced; it was the genius of Bankim which improved and modernised it. By his example and inspiration a group of litterateurs formed and gathered around him. By the right of his genius he naturally became the leader of them all. So Bankim Chandra can very well be called a *Guru* or a leader in literature.

~ Rabindranath Tagore was essentially a poet.

A sense of aesthetics and of the joy of life were the main heart strings of his life, the outward manifestation of which is the incalculable wealth of his literary output. His poetic nature and his poetic genius also coloured his whole life. As a poet by instinct and by nature and having produced such a wealth of literary output no other poet could claim equality with him. He can thus very aptly be called the poet supreme.

Sarat Chandra essentially belonged to the people. He had not the idealistic attitude of a philosopher like Bankim Chandra or the vision of a poet like Rabindranath. He was content with the matter-of-fact world and the common experiences of the everyday life of the people. But his characteristic literary insight enabled him to find a wealth of joy in the experiences of the common life. The perpetual flow of desires and sentiments, joys and sorrows and love and hatred as the outcome of relations between man and man never failed to set up vibrations in his heart. It is therefore that Sarat Chandra dealt with the life of the common people in his literature.

After Bankimchandra came Rabindranath as if after the close of the nineteenth century we see the dawn of a new century.

In the meantime not only feelings and sentiments of all classes of people but also problems and cross currents of thoughts in relation to the family, the society and the national life found place in the novels of Europe. Instances of these might be seen in the literature of Rabindranath also. Rabindranath's genius was in full bloom at the dawn of the twentieth century. All problems of human life, man's sentiments and desires, all thoughts and feelings of the human heart, imaginations and ecstasies of the poet's mind—all these in their distinctions and diversities have been depicted in Tagore literature. In the literature of Rabindranath

we see the epitome of the literary universe of literature as it were.

Sarat Chandra came at a time when the Bengali literature had attained such a development and had already produced such a wealth of output. He was fully conscious of his surroundings, the travails of social and political upheavals, but in literature Sarat Chandra was true to his instincts and genius. Behind the storm and stress and below the cross currents of diverse schools of thought the genius of Sarat Chandra enabled him to see the man in his essential qualities; and in the literature of Sarat Chandra man in spite of his sin and failings stands forth in all his integrity, and in all his glory.

Sarat Chandra felt deeply interested in the life and destiny of the common people.

The hopes and aspirations, desires and sentiments, joys and sorrows of the common lot of man touched the heart strings of his life and these he has depicted in his literature with broad sympathy and inimitable skill.

Affection for the children is an admirable sentiment in the family life and has also won a traditional place in the Vaishnava literature. This sentiment has received such fond and sympathetic treatment in his literature that the glorious character figures particularly in *Bindur Chhele* and *Ramer Sumati* might be compared with the classical art forms of Madonna pictures.

Another sentiment, the most important of all, is love, conjugal love. It holds an incomparable importance in human life and therefore in all art forms in all ages and climes.

In actual life the current of love does not as a rule flow in smoothness. Complications set in and give rise to problems.

In the lives of the common people also such instances are in abundance. Not only obstacles and difficulties stand in the way of love-life but whole lives of individuals are very often frustrated or blighted. Individually many men suffer but because they belong to the common class, the people even the victims themselves accept the situation as a matter of course and the history of their sentiments and sufferings go unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Sarat Chandra reclaimed them from oblivion and gave them voices. Some of the characters in his literature stand out as if they were representatives of those types and specimens; Rama, Parbati, Achala, Kiranmayee, Raj-lakshmee, Bijai, etc., are instances in point. There is the other side of the picture where love happens to have met with fulfilment; this has also been very beautifully brought out in a few instances in the literature of Sarat Chandra.

Even through the analysis and delineation of love stories stand revealed the fine sentiments of his heart and his sympathetic outlook, which are also the greatest characteristic of his literature. Those not happening to have attained any status in any sphere of life are generally considered very lowly, those at the bottom of the social scale and those who have been turned down by fate and are eking out a miserable existence throughout life—all these destitutes and unhappy people have found recognition and have been allotted due places in the literature of Sarat Chandra.

When taking a measure of the man we generally see the man clothed in his sin and sufferings.

But the literary insight of Sarat Chandra enabled him to see the man, the essential man behind and beneath all these sins and sufferings.

His attitude has found expression in his own words: "Vice, sin and failings are not the only things that go to compose the entire man. The real man in the midst of all these, call it soul if you will, is greater than all his sin and failings. Far be it from me to give any offence to the man in my literature. Whatever justification there might be let not my literature ever give indulgence to any man to cherish any feeling of hatred to his fellowman."

The Bengali prose literature got a well-defined shape and a modern tone at the hands of Bankim Chandra. The genius of Rabindranath working at it for more than half a century sharpened and chastened it to an admirable perfection so that it could rank with the best literature of all countries. Even after so much of culture Sarat Chandra has been able to show his characteristic distinction in handling the Bengali prose in his inimitable style. The language is the vehicle of expression of thoughts and ideas. His sincere heart, broad sympathy and open outlook acquired for him such a clear and transparent, easy and forceful style which could hold his readers spell-bound.

The novelists and story-writers who are even now carrying on their trade with credit to themselves and to the literature are the torch-bearers of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya. This is no small tribute to the genius of any litterateur.

The Kashmir War

The New Review observes:

The invasion of Kashmir showed good strategy and inferior tactics. The timing of the manoeuvre (the Indian Government was then absorbed in the Punjab tragedy), the preliminary feint invasion in the south and north which scattered the State-forces, and the main attack from the west: the whole plan revealed

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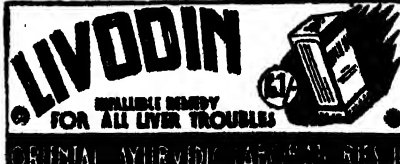
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strategic intuition. But the early stages of the campaign showed tactical inferiority in equipment and in employment of troops. The forces in use were a mixture of tribal free-lancers, of ex-army men, and of State-soldiers who passed to the enemy. The motorised column which made a dash for the capital and captured the power-station was hampered in its progress by the tribal looting, and had too little road-space and insufficient equipment to push on to Srinagar. The Commanders lost sight of the leading elements of successful tactics; fire-power and mobility. One of their main deficiencies was the lack of air-power even for reconnaissance work. A well-equipped and well-led smaller column should have reached Srinagar, captured the airfield, and immobilised all State-forces and could then have challenged any Indian intervention.

The counter-tactics of the Indian High Command were superb. In the midst of the Punjab confusion, and of the military reorganisation consequent on the country's partition, they ex-temporised an air-force which occupied and held Srinagar's airfield and brought in a few well-equipped troops. Once these troops were aligned in front of Srinagar, the fate of the invasion was sealed. A quick relentless sweep by a motorised column strengthened by reconnoitring and fighting planes had soon cleared the main roads, and disheartened the invaders. What was then left was the long series of methodical and slow operations to relieve besieged battalions and mopping out tribal gangs. There was no British officer to share this military feat and the whole credit of what should not be inflated into a modern large-scale campaign goes to the strategic vision and tactical resourcefulness of India's officers and the meritorious endurance of our air pilots and ground troops.

It would be premature to measure the exact responsibility of Pakistan in assisting or tolerating the invasion of Kashmir through its territory. The tension is growing daily. The events in Kashmir and Junagadh fostered confusion and bitterness. Other pointers are the failure of the Lahore Conference when Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Jinnah met, discussed and separated without any *communiqué* being issued: the recruitment of National Guards in both countries, the dissensions in the Joint Defence Council, the daily frontier-incidents, etc. State relations are tenuous and uneasy, tempers rising, armed-peace conditions hardening.

Political Evolution

The same *Review* observes:

Some psychological advance in political opinion was noticeable during the past weeks. India and Pakistan are two sovereign independent nations, foreign to

each other; both the Congress Party and Muslim League begin to admit it and take the consequences. The evolution is more marked in the Muslim League whose leaders in India admit that the League cannot function in India as a political party directed from Karachi. Whether India's Leaguers will join the Congress party *en masse* or remain in opposition as a communal body is not yet decided. One way of toning down their communalism would be an adjustment of electoral constituencies. The majority of India's Constituent Assembly showed their preference for the single-member constituency; they are apparently so obsessed with the English system that they do not realise that in most modern democracies the multiple-member constituency is the rule. With single-member constituencies, it will necessarily happen that individual Hindus will be opposing individual Muslims. Were many members to be elected from the same constituency, it would be normal to have composite lists of Hindu and Muslim candidates in competition, and to group leaders of various communities according to electoral interests; the general electorate would become a reality.

The multiple-member constituency finds little favour in Congress circles; but from the speeches at the sessions of the Constituent Assembly, it would appear that few Congressmen have given time and thought to the technique of the constitutional framework and that a chosen few monopolise the whole task. Congressmen are more engrossed in their own internal problems. The most important is their role in Pakistan. Undoubtedly the Congress stands against partition, and aims at reunifying the whole peninsula. Moreover, besides political work, social and cultural activities are among its essential objectives.

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Common Script

The New Review writes editorially :

It would be waste of time to dream of imposing one language on the three hundred millions of the Indian Union. The illiterate masses cannot be bullied into uniformity, and the literati will rightly defend the cultural wealth embodied in past writings, in local phrases and words. But is it futile to suggest one common script for all the Indian languages?

A script is not so closely connected with a culture as a language is, and if Goethe loses some of its beauty in translation, it is equally impressive when printed in Roman and in Gothic characters. The system of sound-signs (resulting from gestures by tongue, lips, throat, etc.) which is the essence of a language, is distinct from the system of written-symbols which is conventionally admitted as parallel. The masses do not change their sound-signs except very gradually; the literates can accommodate themselves to new written symbols; pandits are nobodies on the streets, they are everything in the class-room. One common script can be introduced through the schools within a relatively short period, and facilitate the access to the central and the provincial languages. One common script would make for India's unity as Sun-yat-Sen tells us the common system of pictographs makes for Chinese unity. When will our statesmen and educationists think of lightening the burden of the poor school-boy and of toning down in youths the fierce spirit of provincialism? Think of the poor Tamil boy who

will have to battle with Tamil, Devnagri and Roman scripts at the same time as he wrestles with three systems of mensuration! Could he not be given a fairer chance of competition with the French kid who has only one script and one decimal system to learn? The single script is indicated by the dire necessities of the country, the necessity of fostering unity, and the need of saving time at school. But which script to choose from among the dozen and a half which are in use? Nobody would dream of destroying the scientific order of Panini's alphabet, or even of denying the beauty of the Brahmi script and its derivatives. But the question arises of modernising and unifying all scripts. Brahmi may have been unexcelled in the days of stone-engraving and palm-leaf drawing, but is it the most suitable to paper and pen, typing and printing?

Not a few advocate the Roman script with suitable additions; they stress its soberness, its speed, its suitability to printing, and they consider that its use would popularize Hindi in foreign countries. But ready-made solutions may not be the best. Could not experts in philosophy, phonetics, drawing, printing, pedagogy and eye-physiology evolve an alphabet easy to the children's eye and hand, and suitable to most Indian languages? The task is hard, but is it too high a price to pay for India's unity? The question is clear: how is reborn India to modernise and unify her scripts as well as her mensuration? Reason faces the problem; sentiment is likely to dictate the answer.

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The Scientific Aspects of Village Uplift

Much has been done to uplift village communities by our leaders but there is one aspect of it which needs emphasis, namely, the scientific aspect. R. B. Lal writes in *Science and Culture* :

So far the scientific talent of the country has mainly interested itself in dealing with big industrial schemes, exploitation of power and important mineral resources and cultural development at high level. The rural problem is a challenge to science. We must take up the challenge with the bed-rock of belief that by isolating problems and subjecting them to scientific research we can and must solve them.

As scientists we must know where exactly do we stand to-day? What are our assets and what are our liabilities? What casual factors are operating and with what force? This involves a systematic study of man, society and environment. Then in turn come planning, organisation, execution and finally assessment and review. Facts first, inferences afterwards, action last. This is the way of science. Why should we not apply the scientific method to village uplift with the same reasonable prospects of success as in other fields? Nobody suggests, that things should wait till the surveys are completed. We should, by all means, carry on as best as we can but we are concerned here with planning. In this connection we may quote a sentence from Sir George Schuster's *India and Democracy*. He says, "A plan cannot be made *a priori*; the experimental method is needed, and the organisation of social service calls for research no less thorough or critical than is found in a scientific laboratory."

Those of us who have worked in rural areas know fully well that conditions vary greatly from place to place.

They vary as regards the man, the society and the environment and consequently as regards the problems. No general plan will suit all parts of a large territory equally well, besides there will be time variations. This leads us to the inescapable conclusion that surveys of representative areas must be carried out from time to time. To be useful, efficient and economical, these surveys must be integrated, that is to say, the study must include all aspects of man, society and environment. We need two types of surveys, namely, (1) Detailed sample surveys of representative units of different sizes, (2) Brief surveys which would be complete induction of each small compact community unit such as a village. Both types of surveys must be designed and interpreted by teams of experts representing all fields of activities. The former will present an integrated picture of fair-sized communities, bring out casual factors, and their relative significance, crystallize problems, indicate priorities and point the way towards remedial measures. They should also serve as base-lines from which progress may be measured. A special service must be organised to conduct these surveys and analyse the data. The second type of surveys should be organised by polytechnical village agents, about whom we shall say a few words later, and conducted by local volunteers. These surveys should provide deeper appreciation of the circumstances of individuals and families, of the liabilities and assets of the village as a whole and of its problems. These surveys should be repeated at suitable intervals. This then is the first ingredient of social planning.

The second ingredient in the evolution of national

planning is to get across to the people the essential results of the surveys. It is wrong to suppose that the average villager is incapable of understanding what these results signify. The subject-matter is of the greatest interest to him. If only the presentation is suitable to his way of looking at things he will grasp them as well as anybody else particularly the results derived from the second type of survey in which he has actively participated and which have a greater ring of intimacy.

The set-up proposed here may be briefly summarised as follows :

1. Welfare is indivisible but relative emphasis on different fields of human endeavour must vary with time and place. This principle will be the basis of planning and specially of organisation of services.
2. The priorities should be determined objectively through scientifically conducted integrated surveys embracing man, society and environment. They will bring out community picture and casual factors.
3. The decision regarding priorities must finally rest with the would-be beneficiaries who should be fully enlightened with the results of the surveys. On them must also primarily rest the responsibility of carrying out schemes.
4. Beginning with the village, suitable territorial units of increasing size have to be worked out on rational basis which may not always correspond with the present union, subdivision or district boundaries and which may need changing.
5. There will be a village council based on adult franchise. Through this council every man and woman will exercise his or her rights and responsibilities of citizenship. It will perform all or most of the functions of the government but its plan of work must fit in the general scheme of the next higher unit. Paid resident polytechnical agents, a man and a woman who have been specially trained in essential rural functions will act as guides and philosophers, as business managers and organisers, and as liaison officers between the villagers and experts in various fields.
6. Each peripheral territorial unit consisting of a group of villages will have a council elected through indirect franchise which will be charged with similar functions in respect of the problems relating to and arising out of the unit organisation as a whole. Each unit will have a polytechnical board and a set of institutions according to requirements. The members of the board will have joint responsibility for service to the unit and its constituents. They will assist the council in the solution of all problems. In case they present difficulties which are beyond their capacity, they will be referred to similar polytechnical boards and institutions attached to the next bigger territorial unit.
7. Similar councils, polytechnical boards and institutions will be provided for each bigger territorial unit till the national unit is reached.

Where do the scientists come in? They come in at all stages, as citizen, as members of the polytechnical boards, as officers of the institutions and as designers and interpreters of surveys to the common man. They have grave responsibilities. They have to isolate problems of different magnitudes and complexities, carry out investigations and researches to solve them. The rate of progress will largely depend upon their efficiency, team work and spirit of service.

China - India's cotton market of the 4th century



There is plenty of historical evidence to show that China was one of India's principal cotton markets in the fourth and fifth centuries. But the brainy Chinese were not satisfied with the trade; they also imported India's Churga Gin and improved it by replacing the hand crank with a foot treadle.

The illustration, taken from a 15th century Chinese Encyclopaedia, shows the Chinese Gin in operation.

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The Advances of Modern Surgery

In the 'Cantor Lecture I, delivered on 27th January, 1947, by A. Dickson Wright and reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, October, 1947, the manifold benefits of modern surgery are enumerated as given below:

In the great increase in the expectation of life which we now enjoy, surgery has played a very great part, not to be compared with the great sanitary epidemic-preventing measures, but, nevertheless, a very considerable part. To take a concrete instance, appendicitis would probably account for 75,000 deaths a year in this country without the surgical operation which now saves 70,000 of these cases annually, or instead of the 50,000 deaths from cancer, without surgery there would be the appalling figure of 300,000.

Surgery since the middle ages has gradually raised itself from the ignominious position of a side-line of the hair-cutting business to a position second to none in the professions, and this has been accomplished by a steady improvement of the service it has offered to suffering humanity. In many diseases the situation is such that the patient has only one choice, surgery or death.

In early days surgery was confined to blood-letting and urgent operations for opening abscesses and removing septic and gangrenous limbs. In amputations great dexterity, speed and strength were shown by the surgeon and great fortitude by the conscious patient. Baron Larrey's amputations in the trail of Napoleon ran into thousands upon thousands, and his skill was perhaps as remarkable as the fanaticism of the soldier who tossed his amputated arm into the air with the cry of "Vive l'Empereur"! Perhaps more useful was the action of the British officer at Waterloo who, after losing his leg below the knee, straightway mounted his horse and galloped back to the battle to encourage his men to greater efforts by his brave example. The painful and all-demanding condition of stone also drove patients to surgery in the olden days, and great skill was shown by surgeons in cutting for this condition, especially at St. Thomas's Hospital where the diarist Samuel Pepys lost a stone the size of a tennis ball on March 26th, 1658. Ever grateful to his surgeon and ever a lover of junketing, this date became an annual celebration for Pepys and his friends for the remaining 40 healthy years of his life. At these celebrations the stone in its 24s. case was produced, and there was much talk of the suffering of the past and the joys of the present. The removal of a stone in those days was a great and perilous adventure, whereas today it is a safe and simple procedure.

Surgery down the ages made steady progress but, as in all sciences, there were epic discoveries, and the first of these milestones was the discovery of anaesthesia. It seems that America and England shared the early steps in anaesthesia, America with ether and Britain with gas and chloroform. The possibility of rendering the patient unconscious and insensitive to the pain removed one of the great barriers to surgery, and more operations now became possible for painful and life-endangering conditions. Still, the death rate remained high because all wounds became infected, and recovery from the simplest operation was a horribly painful and speculative business.

The next milestone, a great and undisputed triumph for this country, was raised by Lord Lister when, seeing the importance of Pasteur's discoveries in relation to surgery, he prevented the infection of operation wounds by destroying and excluding bacteria. At one stroke hundreds of new and helpful operation procedures became possible and mankind the world over reaped immeasurable benefit from Lister's great work, although, it is true, with some little delay because of scepticism on the part of the profession.

The next discovery worthy of being described as a milestone is the discovery of transfusion of blood from the healthy to the desperately ill. This has brought many previously hopeless cases, especially in war days, within reach of surgery and is one of the greatest life-saving discoveries. It is interesting that no less a person than Sir Christopher Wren foresaw the feasibility of this procedure and described the hypodermic needle for its performance.

The last milestone, chemotherapy, is as important as any of the others and is recent. Domagk's discovery of the sulphonamides after a slow start, gave a great impetus to the control of infections through the blood stream. Up to this time there had been antiseptics, but they had all been as deadly to human life and human tissues as they had been to the bacteria. With the sulphonamides, however, there arrived the great antiseptic which had been dreamt of for many years, one which would kill germs but was harmless to life and tissue. Following fast upon this came the elaboration of penicillin by Fleming and Florey, honoured by this Society with the award of the much-esteemed Albert Medal. Now, there is the most recent arrival of the twin sister of penicillin, the drug streptomycin, which destroys the germs which resist penicillin, even the most stubborn of all, the germs of tuberculosis. Defeated by these wonderful agents, the dangers of infection have all but disappeared from surgery, and the scourge of child-bed fever has vanished.

Alongside all these advances in surgical handicraft there has marched a steady improvement in the methods of diagnosis. To operate with a certain and exact diagnosis is to eliminate 90 per cent of the danger. X-rays have played the greatest part, and these rays, discovered over 50 years ago, as a result of the mathematical calculations of Clerk Maxwell, have now penetrated most of the secrets of the body. At first,



the bones and their abnormalities were all that could be studied, but now the hollow organs can be filled with a substance which either prevents or facilitates the passage of the rays and their silhouettes photographed and abnormalities accurately diagnosed. The cavities of the kidneys can be filled with one chemical containing iodine and the gall bladder with another, the blood vessels with thorium, and the cavities of the brain can be filled with air. The air tubes of the lungs and the cavity containing the spinal cord can be visualised with a non-irritating oil containing iodine and the diagnosis exactly made. Before these methods were elaborated many an operation went wrong; because of the imperfection of diagnosis the surgeon would be embarrassed by an incision in the wrong place or he would be confronted with a condition for which he was unprepared or even the wrong kidney would occasionally be selected for operation.

Although X-rays have played the major part in improving diagnostic accuracy, great help has also been obtained from the biochemist in analyses of blood and other body fluids, and also the new science of electronics has given some assistance as will be shown in the subsequent lecture.

The present state of surgery is eminently satisfactory, and, at times, one feels tempted to say that now it has surely reached its zenith but for the recollections that surgeons have said this regularly every ten years since 1830. Surgery has reached out into every nook and corner of the human body, and every part of the human frame but the soul (and this seems even possible) has a chapter in the book of surgery. To prevent omission it will probably be best to consider the various parts of the body *seriatim*.

Abdominal surgery saw its greatest period in the 20 years from 1914 onwards, and, at present, it holds pride of place for surgical opportunities, for probably about three-quarters of all surgery takes place in the abdomen. Appendicitis takes first place, and although the operation seems prosaic now, nevertheless it saves a great number of lives each year for a death rate of less than one per cent. Gall bladder disease is now treated by radical removal of the organ with its contained stones, with a similar death rate. Ulceration of the stomach and duodenum, one of the curses of the hectic hurry and worry of these days, provides a large field for surgery, and the operations, although forced to become more and more radical, bring relief and happiness to those who for years have known no peace from pain. Cancer is rampant in the abdominal cavity, and takes a tremendous toll in the stomach, almost the worst of all sites, but in the bowels there is a different story to tell, and surgery holds out brilliant results for those patients who hear Nature's warnings in time. Wonderful assistance is given to the surgeon by new developments of the sulphur drugs which, instead of being absorbed, remain in the gut, destroying all germs and rendering the contents odourless and clean during the period of operation and recovery. The use of these drugs has reduced the number of cases in which the bowel has to be brought to the surface temporarily or permanently, and this is no small boon to mankind.

In plastic surgery much effort and ingenuity is always to be seen, and one problem after another has been solved. Skin grafts are now put with a planing machine to the exact shape and thickness required. The graft is then glued on to the area to be covered, with a glue manufactured from the patient's own blood. One constituent of the glue is painted on the underside of the graft and the other on the wound. As soon as the two are in contact a tenacious human glue is formed and the graft held securely in place. Human cement is also made by mixing this glue with bone dust made

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by grinding up a piece of bone obtained from the patient's side, and this material moulded in where it is required to fill an ugly hollow in the forehead or the bridge of the nose. The effort of plastic surgeons to help those mutilated in war is excellent and worthy work, but their efforts on behalf of the ageing female sex, are more debatable although it cannot be denied that these patients are grateful for the staying of the remorseless hand of time. Large birthmarks, harelips, cleft palates, misshapen noses, elephantine ears and exaggerated prominences provide a worthy field of endeavour. Similar work to that done for the war-disfigured will present itself when petrol rationing is discontinued.

Eye surgery has not stood still. In recent years the grafting of the cornea of a clear eye to another with a film over the pupil has been carried out successfully, a most ingenious and delicate business. The operative treatment of squint has reached a high degree of perfection and no one need suffer from this humiliating complaint. In cases where the retina becomes detached from the back of the eye there is now a method of securing its replacement in its bed in more than half the cases. A few years ago loss of sight was inevitable in these cases.

Although surgery seems to have gone from triumph to triumph it now seems that the field of surgery will ever diminish. The operative treatments of many diseases at present are makeshifts while we await elucidation of the causes and the medical treatment that will result from their discovery. Penicillin and streptomycin have eliminated some surgery already. Chemotherapy for tuberculosis will follow fairly soon, and so another field of surgical effort will disappear. Ulceration of the stomach and duodenum, diseases of the thyroid gland, high blood pressure and cancer are surely to become medical in their treatment, and the surgeon may be left to live on accidents and congenital

deformities and, of course, the appendix which will never cease from troubling.

Research in the Tennessee Valley

We reproduce the following article by John Perry from the magazine *Federal Science Progress*, March, 1947 :

From the headwaters above Knoxville, Tennessee, to its meeting with the Ohio River at Paducah, the Tennessee River has been tamed and harnessed. Generators spin out kilowatts by the million, enough for big and little industries, and thousands of city and farm homes in seven states. The last big dam, Kentucky, is finished. But the men of the Tennessee Valley Authority have not settled down to quiet lives of turning valves and reading meters. When the last concrete has been poured, they say, their work has just begun. For TVA, by act of the United States Congress, is responsible for using these facilities to promote the physical, economic, and social welfare of the people of the Valley, and for helping them to develop the Valley's resources.

Business in the Tennessee Valley is multiplying and flourishing. There are many new plants, and older plants are expanding. The number of wage-earners has markedly increased; the volume of manufacturing is markedly larger. Bank deposits, wholesale trade, retail trade, buying income—have increased more rapidly than in the United States as a whole. There are many reasons: power supply, the work of public and private institutions, the mobilized initiative of the people of the Valley. Behind much of the new development is co-operative technical research.

"Sacrifice research is the right arm of modern technology," said David Lilienthal, who recently left the chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority to head the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

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"How much better living conditions can be in the United States and in the world—and how soon—will be determined in large part by the kind of research done and by the effectiveness with which the results are applied," says John P. Ferris, director of TVA's Commerce Department.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has an original idea of the usefulness of research and the way to organize it. Its way is unique in that it seeks to mobilize all available research facilities government or private, and bring them to bear on problems and needs of individual businessmen. The mobilizing is not done by TVA alone, but by a working partnership with the agricultural and engineering experiment stations, state planning commissions, state departments of conservation and the universities of seven states, with other federal agencies such as the Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, United States Department of Commerce and with city and private groups throughout the Valley. It is a four-step program:

First, getting information on the kind, quality, quantity, and location of specific resources that businessmen might use.

Second, conducting both economic and technical research to find how these resources can be used.

Third, finding people with the incentive, energy, and ability to take advantage of the opportunities revealed by research.

Fourth, working with them, helping them apply modern technology profitably, using the Valley's resources for the benefit of its people.

Research begins with appraisal of the Valley's assets: the people—3,500,000 in the Valley itself, over 20,000,000 in the seven states which comprise it; the land, mineral-poor and eroded, but still reclaimable and productive if managed wisely; the forests, stripped of the best saw timber, but able to grow again; the riches beneath the soil—phosphate rock, coal, feldspar, mica, vermiculite; and the two new factors, cheap electric power and a navigable waterway connecting with the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi Rivers.

Research begins also with a need of the Valley. No project is good simply because it is new. Indeed, certain new industries might handicap the Valley, by holding down wage rates or draining still further some already depleted resource. Encouragement of new large terminal oil mills might tend to divert to other areas cottonseed meal containing essential minerals which Valley farmers can profitably return to the soil by feeding it to livestock in the producing area. The research has helped develop local mills, which tend to keep the meal in the areas where the seed is grown. Much of the Tennessee Valley Authority's industrial research, both technical and economic, is organized by its own Commerce Department. Under the Department's director, division chiefs deal with river transportation, agri-

cultural engineering development, industrial economics, and regional products research. Into the Commerce Department offices come merchants and manufacturers from towns and cities throughout the United States, interested in new business opportunities. Here they can find information on power supply, transportation, markets, and up-to-date technology. Many American firms have been helped by TVA's facts and advice. A number have benefited directly from its technical research programs which have led to newer, better products, or improved manufacturing processes.

The Tennessee Valley has a wide variety of minerals, many of them offering excellent opportunities for development. TVA has helped to get some of them into use, its geologists and engineers working with the United States Bureau of Mines and Geological Survey and with state institutions. Commercial quantities of massive kyanite were discovered. This super-duty refractory material was previously unknown in the United States. Large quantities of green mica have been produced by North Carolina mines, and recent investigations with Bell Laboratory equipment have indicated that, properly graded and tested, it is equal to ruby mica. Acting upon TVA information, a North Carolina company opened a new feldspar mine near Bryson City. A feldspar milling company has installed an additional grinding unit handling 1,000 tons monthly. A thousand acres of rutile bearing ores, a titanium ore in demand for welding-rod coating and other uses, were mapped in North Carolina and Georgia.

The possibilities of flax as a profitable crop in the American South-east have been studied, with promising results. Working with the State Engineering Experiment Station at the Georgia School of Technology, TVA has produced flax cloth experimentally on cotton spinning machinery, with only minor mechanical changes.

Among those aided by TVA in recent months were a farmers' cooperative in North Carolina planning a \$125,000 poultry freezing plant; a packer of K-Rations planning postwar production of dehydrated soup; and an ice company in Georgia which prepared and marketed 100,000 pounds of sweet-potato puree using a TVA co-operatively developed formula. Tests were being made on the use of oak slabs and pine bark, both waste materials, as a source of tanning materials to supplement the diminishing supply of chestnut tannins. Possibilities of essential oil industries were under way.

The new industries of the Valley are financed, owned, and operated by independent private business. Research, mobilizing the resources of private and public groups, is safeguarding the American public's investment in Valley development, promoting private enterprise, and making the Tennessee Valley a better place in which to work and live.

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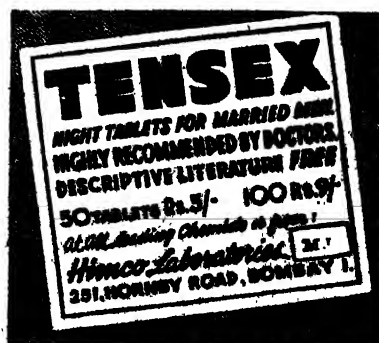
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